

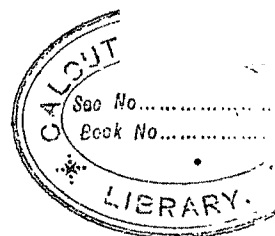
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INDEX

ARTICLES

Achievements of Greece, Rome and India, The ...	669	China's Definite Foreign Policy ..	684
Advent of the Parsees in India, The ...	305	Chinese Labourers in Flanders ...	562
Assimilating Foreign Ideas ...	682	Colonisation of Mesopotamia by Indians, The ...	598
All-India Scheme and an All-India Language—Lajpat Rai ...	382	Comment and Criticism—	23, 148, 317, 373, 545, 649
American Farmer and the Government, The (illustrated)—Dr. Sudhindra Bose, M.A., Ph. D. ...	509	Commercial Education in the United States—Ram Kumar Khemka ...	432
America's Fight against Venereal Disease ...	548	Condition of the Hindu University—Inside View ...	118
An Hour with a World-famous Explorer (illustrated)—Dr. Sudhindra Bose, M. A., Ph. D. ...	63	Constitution for the British Empire, A Crop That Makes Its Own Weed-killer, A (illustrated) ...	22
Animal Spies ...	557	Cross of Honour, The—Pramila Choudhuri ...	309
Another Step toward the Talking Movie from East to West, The—Romain Rolland ...	359	Decline and Fall of the Hindus, The ...	672
India in Muslim India—Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., P. R. S. ...	387	Declaration of Independence of the Spirit—Romain Rolland ...	80
Indian Festival (drama)—Rabindranath Tagore ...	469	Democratisation and Emancipation of the Orient ...	308
Indians ...	70	Depths of Ignorance ...	70
India, The (a poem)—E. E. Speight ...	604	Destiny (Poem)—E. E. Speight ...	485
Inside Hindu University, The : An Inside View of an Inside Criticism — Outside Critic ...	149	Diminishing Number of Hindus ...	543
General Legislatures—Mukandi Lal, Esq. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law ...	425	Does Education Mean Happiness ...	71
Leader of the Blind, A ...	551	Duties of Kings in Ancient India, The—X. ...	160
Institute, The ...	307	Education and War ...	683
Indian Congress Committee, The—St. Nihal Singh ...	30	Education for Citizenship, in America (illustrated)—Dr. Sudhindra Bose, M.A., Ph. D. ...	414
Indian Empire, and the League of Nations, The ...	171	England Humbling Herself before America ...	555
Indian View of Irish Nationalism, The ...	174	"England ! The Time is Come When Thou Shouldst Wean" (Poem)—William Wordsworth ...	21
India and Yasodhara—Sister Nivedita ...	353	Esperanto Versus English Internationalised—Syamacharan Ganguli, B.A. ...	519
Against Nationalisation ...	682	Essential Intention of Indian Culture ..	668
For Nationalisation, The ...	682	Eternal Dream, The (Poem)—E. E. Speight ...	422
India's Nearest Water Power Resource ...	669	Eugenics of Hindu Marriage, The—Rai Bahadur Prof. Jogeshchandra Ray, M.A., Vidyavidhi, Vijnanabhushan ...	493
India University Commission, The ...	673	Fatalism and Manly Endeavour ...	547
India University Commission on Indigenous Systems of Medicine, The—X ...	616	Foreign Periodicals—	70, 171, 307, 395, 552, 577
India against Impurity, and Venereal Disease, A ...	673	Fortunes of the Chinese Republic, The—Binaykumar Sarkar, M. A. ...	296
D. L. Richardson on the Hindu's Ceptiveness ...	550	Franchise for Indian Women ...	549
India or Metre—J. D. Anderson, Esq. (Retd.) ...	288	Future of the Indian Trade, The ...	69
India Welfare—Mrs. St. Nihal Singh ...	378		

Future of Turkey, The	...	395	Japan's Increase of Wealth during the War	...	211
Gleanings (illustrated)	...	72	Junnar (illustrated)—Tulsi	...	516
Good Fellow, The	...	667	Keep-sake, The (short story)—Sita Devi, B. A.	...	373
Hellenism in Ancient India (A Review)—Agastya	...	23	Last Hindu King of Sylhet, The (illustrated)—R. D. Banerji, M. A.	...	200
Hills, The (a poem)—Mayce Seymour	...	411	Lesson from China, A	...	597
Hindi Linga Bichar—Hari Kishore Prasad, B. A.	...	550	Letter from Europe, A	...	271
Hindusthan Association of America	...	678	Letter from Romain Rolland to Rabindranath Tagore, A—Romain Rolland	...	609
Historian Speaketh, The—X.	...	552	Letters from an On-looker—Rabindranath Tagore	...	576
Hope, A (a poem)—Prof. P. Sheshadri, M. A.	...	393	Lichchhavis of Vaisali—Prof. Hemchandra Roy Choudhuri, M. A.	...	672
Hope of Immortality, The—Principal Herambachandra Maitra, M. A.	...	271	Life of an Indian Mill-labourer—C. F. Andrews, M. A.	...	137
Hospitals in Mediaeval South India	...	678	Lord Bryce on the American Commonwealth—X.	...	549
How America Cares for the Children (illustrated)—Dr. Sudhindra Bose, M. A., Ph. D.	...	549	Mass Education in India	...	67
"How Missions Denationalise Indians"	...	676	Modern Indian Artists	...	486
How to Serve Our Village—Vidushekhara Bhattacharyya Shastri	...	552	Modern Indian Painting	...	282
Ideal of Bookselling, The	...	176	Monroe Doctrine, The	...	147
Immortality and Modern Science	...	393	Mr. Jayaswal's Discovery of Two Shaishunaga Statues—Prof. Surendranath Sen, M. A., P. R. S.	...	399
Imperial Unity : The Care of India	...	672	Mr. Tilak's Work in England—St. Nihal Singh	...	668
Improvements of Agriculture in India	...	676	Multiplicity and the Social Order	...	305
Improved Chances for Fiscal Autonomy in India	...	69	National Education in India, the Business of the State—Lajpat Rai	...	670
India and Free Trade	...	566	Nationalism—S. Wajid Ali, Bar-at-law	...	675
India in the Years 1917-18—Politicus	...	549	National Physique	...	317
Indian Cottage Industries and London Stores	...	67	New Plan of Scholarships, A	...	16
Indian Culture	...	282, 486	New Standard Price for Gold, A—Brij Narain	...	172
Indian Deputation and the Joint Parliamentary Committee, The—St. Nihal Singh	...	147	New Status for India, A	...	...
Indian Educational Commission to America, An—Dr. Sudhindra Bose, M.A., Ph. D.	...	399	Note by the Editor	...	...
Indian Labour under the Industrial Millstone : with a plea for International Action before the Coming Labour Conference (illustrated)—Prof. Radhakamal Mukerjee, M.A., P.R.S.	...	668	Note on Mr. Jayaswal's Discovery of Two Shaishunaga Statues (?) (illustrated)—Ordhendra Coomar Gangoly, B. A.	...	...
Indian Periodicals 67, 169, 304, 392, 547,	...	305	Notes (illustrated) 82, 214, 321, 433, 579	...	...
Indian Women and Their Social Position	...	670	Pacifism as Painted by its Opponents	...	...
India's Backwardness in the Use of Power for Industrial Activities	...	675	Paragraphs from the Calcutta University Commission Report—An old Alumnus	...	...
Influence of Ruskin and George Eliot in English Education	...	317	Peace That Is No Peace, A—C. F. Andrews, M.A.	...	...
Inside View of the Hindu University, An : A Rejoinder	...	16	Peace That Makes for Peace, A—Rev. W. E. Garman	...	...
Inside View of the Hindu University : A Reply—A Senator of the Benares Hindu University	...	172	Phases of Slum Life in India (illustrated)—Prof. Radhakamal Mukerjee, M. A., P. R. S.	...	...
Japan and India : As Others See Us	...	...		...	...

ARTICLES

7

ical Education—Lajpat Rai ...	255	Sadler Commission on the Education	
for Freedom for Indian Women, A	307	of Women, The ...	674
cing of Asia, The ...	395	Science of Politics in the Matsya Purana	547
ical Reform and Hinduism ...	397	Scope for Social Service in India ...	67
are For War and You Get War ...	684	Shantung Question, The ...	562
s Act after the Besant Appeal, The		Shivaji (a review)—X. ...	42
ustrated)—St. Nihal Singh ...	208	Shivanath Shastri M. A. (illustrated)—	
blem of Intermarriages, The ...	394	Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M. A., P. R. S.	530
blem of India, The—Lajpat Rai ...	605	Shiva or Mahadev—Sister Nivedita ...	250
icity for India Abroad—Ram		Should Brahmos Call Themselves	
Kumar Khemka ...	650	Hindus?—A Hindu ...	511
ifications for Leadership ...	671	Sir J. D. Rees on Brahmins ...	558
ndranath's Resignation ...	169	Sir J. D. Rees on the Kalhans of	
ndranath Tagore's Reply to		Madura ...	559
Romain Rolland—Rabindranath		Some Aspects of University	
Tagore ...	81	Reconstruction ...	304
sha-bandhan (poem)—Prof. P.		Some Reminiscences of Pandit Shiva-	
heshadri M. A. ...	504	nath Shastri—Sir Narayan	
onstruction of Religion, The ...	398	Chandavarkar ...	563
rm in Korea ...	681	Some Thoughts on the "Yellow Peril"	
tions of Upper and Lower Castes	559	—Samuel Evans Stokes ...	128
gious Education ...	150	Spiritual Basis of the New World-	
gious Education in India ...	306	order, The ...	307
y by Inside View ...	319	Standard of Living and Production ...	670
ort of the Calcutta University Com-		Story of the Lion and the Elephant,	
mission, The—Prof. Rajanikanta		The (illustrated)—Ordhendra	
luha, M. A. ...	629	Coomar Gangoly, B.A. ...	280
arch in Pure Science and Applied		Story of the Lion and the Elephant,	
science ...	562	The—Purna Chandra Das ...	649
rection of Motherhood and		Sugar Problem, The—Prof. Kantilal C.	
ustrated)—Sundari		Pandya, M.A. ...	639
B. ...	189	Swami Vivekananda on Art ...	677
Holland's Allegation		Swimming (illustrated)—Charu Bandyo-	
Annie Besant—K. ...	23	padhyay, B.A. ...	659
es of Books—P. C.		The Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Fisher on Educa-	
andc. (Lond); R. Mukerjee;		tional Problems—Lala Lajpat Rai	25
neri, M. A., LL. B.; Indu-		To A Cloud (poem)—E. E. Speight	432
hattacharyya, B. E.; C. F.		To The Murdered Peoples—Romain	
M. A.; Mula Deva; V. G.		Rolland ...	121
K. Walvekar, B. A., LL. B.;		To Wei Chen (poem)—Mrs. Mayce	
chandra Ghosh, B. A., B. T.;		Seymour ...	361
ranath Sen, M. A., P. R. S.;		Training for Citizenship ...	675
Majid, B. A.; Sunitikumar		Trial of the Horse, The—Rabindranath	
erjee, M. A., P. R. S.; Kalhan;		Tagore ...	188
shekhara Shastri; Jadunath		True Freedom (poem)—J. R. Lowell ...	24
; M. A., P. R. S.; Debendranath		Uplift of Indian Womanhood, The ...	169
Titra, L. Ag.; Rai Bahadur Prof.		Venereal Disease in India ...	548
C. Ray, M. A. 73, 193, 311, 405.	543, 647	Village Life in Denmark ...	560
t Cure for Agricultural Poverty,		Voting Capacity of Indians ...	559
he—X. ...	192	War Work of Indians in Britain (illus-	
away, The (short story)—Rabindra-		trated)—Mrs. St. Nihal Singh	56, 534
ath Tagore ...	241	Was There a Miscarriage of Justice—	
		C. F. Andrews, M. A. ...	13
		Way Out in India, A ...	177
		We Live to Learn ...	396

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

What Constantinople Means to Britain and Islam ...	308	William Archer's "India and the Future" (a review)—Lala Lajpat Rai	34, 144, 267, 4
What Has Japan Done in the War ...	174	Wireless Telephony ...	5
What is the Matter with China ? (illustrated)—St. Nihal Singh ...	164	Word on Historical Criticism in India, A.—Prof. B. C. Mazumdar, B. L. ...	
What the World Wants Today ...	68	Working of the Hindu University, The —Inside View ...	
Who Painted a Picture of Shakoontala ...	320	Yoga, the Way to Save Civilisation ...	5

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

Abdul Majid, B.A.— Reviews and Notices of Books.		Indushekhar Bhattacharya, B. E.— Reviews and Notices of Books.	
Ananda Rao, K.— Rev. W. E. S. Holland's Allegation Against Mrs. Annie Besant ...	23	Jadunath Sarkar, M. A., P. R. S.— Art in Moslem India ...	
Anderson, J. D., I. C. S. (Retd.)— Chhanda or Metre ...	288	Shivanath Sastri, M. A. ...	
Andrews, C. F., M.A.— Was there a Miscarriage of Justice ? Life of an Indian Mill-labourer A Peace that is No Peace ...	13 137, 263 150	Jhaveri, K. M., M. A., LL. B.— Reviews and Notices of Books.	
Reviews and Notices of Books.		Joges Chandra Ray, M. A.— The Eugenics of Hindu Marriage	4
Apte, V. G.— Reviews and Notices of Books.		Kantilal C. Pandya, M. A.— The Sugar Problem ...	6
Banerjee, P. C., B.Sc. (Lond)— Reviews and Notices of Books.		Lajpat Rai— The Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Fisher on Educational Problems	
Banerjee, R. D., M.A.— The Last Hindu King of Sylhet ...	504	William Archer's "India and Future" National Education Business of the State Physical Education An All-India Scheme India Language The Problem of India	
Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A.— The Fortunes of the Chinese Republic ...	296	Mahes Chandra Ghosh, B. Reviews and Notices of	
Brij Narain— A New Standard Price for Gold ...	42	Mazumdar, B. C., B. L.— A Word on Historical India	
Chandavarkar, Sir Narayan— Some Reminiscences of Pandit Shivanath Shastri ...	563	Mukandi Lal, B.A. (Oxon) Bar. Bi-cameral Legislatures	
Charu Bandyopadhyay, B.A.— Swimming (illustrated) ...	659	Mukerjee, R.— Reviews and Notices of Books.	
Debendranath Mitra, L. Ag.— Reviews and Notices of Books.		Ordhendra Coomar Gangoly, B. A.— The Story of the Lion and the Elephant (illustrated) ...	
Garman, Rev. W. E.— A Peace that Makes for Peace ...	373	A Note on Mr. Jayaswal's Discovery of Two Shaishunaga Statues (illustrated) ...	
Hari Kishore Prasad, B.A.— Hindi Linga Bichar ...	373		
Hem Chandra Roy Choudhuri, M.A.— Lichchhavis of Vaisali ...	48		
Herambachandra Maitra, M.A.— The Hope of Immortality ...	597		

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

vi

mila Choudhuri—				Seshadri, P., M.A.—			
The Cross of Honour	...	309		A Hope (a poem)	..	11	
na Chandra Das—				Raksha Eandhan (a poem)	..	32	
The Story of the Lion and the				Seymour, Mrs. Mayce—			
Elephant	...	649		To Wei Chen (a poem)	...	51	
Rabindranath Tagore—				The Hills (a poem)	...	57	
Letters from an Onlooker	...	1		Sister Nivedita—			
Rabindranath Tagore's Reply to				Shiva or Mahadev	...	50	
Romain Rolland	...	81		Buddha and Yasodhara	...	52	
The Trial of the Horse	...	188		Speight, E. E.—			
The Run-away (short story)	...	241		The Eternal Dream (a poem)	...	22	
Autumn Festival (drama)	...	469		To a Cloud (a poem)	...	32	
hakamal Mukerjee, M. A., P.R.S.—				Destiny (a poem)	...	35	
Phases of Slum Life in India	...	291		The Beloved (a poem)	...	32	
Indian Labour Under the Industrial				Stokes, Samuel Evans—			
Mill Stone	...	399		Some Thoughts on the Yellow Peril		28	
Rajanikanta Guha, M. A.—				Sudhindra Bose, M. A., Ph. D.—			
The Report of the Calcutta Univer-				An Hour with a World-famous			
sity Commission	...	629		Explorer	...	53	
am Kumar Khemka—				An Indian Educational Commission			
Commercial Education in the				to America	...	47	
United States	...	482		How America Cares for the Children	...	71	
Publicity for India Abroad	...	650		Education for Citizenship in America	...	14	
Romain Rolland—				The American Farmer and the			
A Letter from Romain Rolland to				Government (illustrated)	...	59	
Rabindranath Tagore	...	80		Sundarimohan Das, M.B.—			
Declaration of Independence of the				Resurrection of Motherhood and			
Spirit	...	80		Fatherhood (illustrated)	...	39	
To the Murdered Peoples	...	121		Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, M.A., P.R.S.—			
The Arch from East to West	...	359		Reviews and Notices of Books.			
Nihal Singh—				Surendranath Sen, M. A., P.R.S.—			
The British Congress Committee	...	30		Mr. Jayaswal's Discovery of Two			
What is the Matter with China?				Shaishunaga Statues	...	56	
(illustrated)	...	164		Reviews and Notices of Books.			
The Press Act after the Besant				Syamacharar Ganguli, B. A.—			
Appeal (illustrated)	...	208		Esperanto vs. English Internationalised	...	59	
The Indian Deputation and the Joint				Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya Shastri—			
Parliamentary Committee	282, 486			How to Serve Our Village	...	69	
Mr. Tilak's Work in England	...	367		Reviews and Notices of Books.			
Saint Nihal Singh, Mrs.—				Wajid Ali, S., Bar-at-Law—			
War Work of Indians in Britain	56, 534			Nationalism	...	36	
Child Welfare	...	378		Walvekar, G. K., B. A., LL. B.—			
anta Devi, B. A.—				Reviews and Notices of Books.			
The Keep-sake (short story)	...	178					

ILLUSTRATIONS

American Milk-maid	...	512	At the Well (in colours)—Bireswar Sen	...	59
Jun Singh	...	537	B. Bonnerjee	...	537
Gold Nundy	...	539	Bhandarkar, Dr. Sir R. G.	...	639
Artificial Propagation of Parasitic			Burden of Life—Debiprasad Roy		
Insects	...	511	Choudhuri	...	37

Calcutta Slum	... 293	Map of English Channel	...
Care Cultivation and Paper	.. 213	Map Showing Infant Mortality in Bengal	...
Care for Children	273, 274, 275, 276, 277	Miss Mithibai A. Tata	...
Carass—Asitkumar Halder	... 179	Mrs. Barubai Shevade	...
Cave of the Minister of the Saka King at Manmori	... 655	Mrs. Bhagwati Bholanath	...
Chengting Te Wang	... 165	Mrs. Hirabai A. Tata	..
Classes in Live-stock	513, 514	Mrs. Mrinalini Sen	... 59
Coin of the Last Hindu King of Sylhet	... 509	Mrs. P. L. Roy	... 57
Cupola of a Pillar	... 280	Music (in colours)—Hiralal Babbanji	353
David Graham Pole	... 210	O Come to My Lake (in colours)—Anil Prasad Sarbadhikary	... 241
Detecting Inaccuracies of Voice by a Dictaphone	... 278	Open Air Meeting	... 415
Drug Garden	... 515	Piston Propeller	... 665
E. E. Dutt	... 95	Plant-Life Class	... 516
Elementary Education—Charu Chandra Roy	... 259	Poresh Lal Roy	... 538
Famine-stricken Women and Children	91, 92, 93, 94	Princess Sophia Dalip Singh	... 62
Fly Campaign	... 277	Qilladar's Palace	... 659
Fugitives Swimming	... 660	Ramendra Sundar Trivedi	... 90
Grain Binder	... 510	Rose and the Wine Cup (in colours)—Muhammad Abdur Rahman Chughtai	1
Grind ! Grind !	... 403	Shivadarshan Lal Agarwala	... 61
Hard-plates for Swimming	... 662	Shivanath Shastri	533, 535, 579, 580
Harvesting Corn	... 510	Shivneri Hill	... 657
Hinged Leg-flaps	... 662	Sir C. Shankaran Nair	... 96
Hinged Flaps for Leg-Wear	... 663	Sir R. G. Bhandarkar	... 689
Home Coming	... 416	Slum in Trichinopoly	... 295
Image of Buddha	... 280	Snow-house and Dog's Sled	... 64
Image of Manibhadra	... 423	Spraying the Trees	... 510
Image of Yaksha	419, 420, 421, 422, 423	Staff of the Department of Political Science at the State University of Iowa	... 417
Indra Lal Roy	... 539	Stefansson	... 63
In Poverty, Hunger and Dirt	... 401	Swimming Appliances	... 6
Jatramohan Sen	... 690	Swimming Paraphernalia	... 6
Jaina Temple	... 94	Talking Picture Film	... 211
Kanta Prasad	... 59	Teaching Children How to Play	... 279
Krishna and Sudam (in colours)—Nandalal Bose	... 597	Temple of Amba Bhavani	... 658
Lady King	... 61	T. N. Mukherjee	... 688
Laila and Majnun (in colours)	... 121	Utam Singh	... 540
Liberating the Imported Parasites	... 512	Viresalingam Pantulu	... 91
Making a Talking Movie	... 212	Webbed Gloves	... 66
		William Ingram	... 200



THE ROSE AND THE WINE CUP.

By courtesy of the artist, Mr. Muhammad Abdur Rahman Chughtai,
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WHOLE
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LETTERS FROM AN ON-LOOKER

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

[*Translation revised by the Author.*]

I.

ONCE upon a time I had nothing whatever to do,—that is to say, my chief relations were then with the great world towards which we own no responsibility. Then came a period when I had to set to work to make up for the accumulated arrears of my earlier days—that is to say, now my relations were mainly with the work-a-day world which depends upon ourselves for its building up and maintenance. At last my health failed me, and I got a few days' respite from my work. And here I am, at length, stretched out on a long easy chair by the second-storey window, travelled so far, all in a day or two,—no railway ticket could have brought me this distance.

When I had thrust my universe behind the bars of my office habit, I gradually came to plume myself on having become an important personage of usefulness. From such a state of mind it is only a step to the belief that one is indispensable. Of the many means by which Nature exacts work from man, this pride is one of the most efficient. Those who work for money, work only to the extent of their wages, up to a definite point beyond which they would count it a loss to work. So they insist on an off-time. But those whose pride impels them to work, they have no rest; even over-time work is not felt as a loss by them.

So busy used I to be under the belief that I was indispensable, that I hardly dared to

wink. My doctor now and again would warn me saying: "Stop, take it easy." But I would reply: "How will things go on if I stop?" Just then the wheels of my car broke down and it came to a stop beneath this window. From here I looked out upon the limitless space. There I saw whirling the numberless flashing wheels of the triumphal chariot of time—no dust raised, no din, not even a scratch left on the roadway. With its progress I could see bound up all progress that we come across in this world. On a sudden I came to myself. I clearly perceived that things could get along without me. There was no sign that those wheels would stop, or drag the least bit, for lack of any one in particular.

Thus, when I stepped from my desk to this window, I seemed to pass in a flash from the country of cannot-do-without-me to the country of can-do-without-me. . . . But is this to be admitted so easily as all that! Even if I admit it in words, my mind refuses assent. If it be really quite the same whether I go or stay, how then did my pride of self find a place in the universe, even for a moment? On what could it have taken its stand? Amidst all the plentifulness with which space and time are teeming, it was nevertheless not possible to leave out this self of mine. The fact that I am indispensable is proved by the fact that I am.

Egoism is the price paid for the fact of existence. So long as I realise this price within me, so long do I steadfastly bear all the pains and penalties of keeping myself

in existence. That is why the Buddhists have it, that to destroy egoism is to cut at the root of existence: for, without the pride of self it ceases to be worth while to exist.

However that may be, this price has been furnished from some fund or other,—in other words, it matters somewhere that I should be, and the price paid is the measure of how much it matters. The whole universe—every molecule and atom of it—is assisting this desire that I should be. And it is the glory of this desire which is manifest in my pride of self. By virtue of this glory this infinitesimal “I” is not lower than any other thing in this Universe, in measure or value.

Man has viewed this desire in two different ways. Some have held it to be a whim of Creative Power, some a joyous self-expression of Creative Love. The others I leave aside who call it *Maya*, predicating existence of that which is not. And man sets before himself different goals as the object of his life according as he views the fact of his *being* as the revealment of Force or of Love.

The value which our entity receives from Power is quite different in its aspect from that which it receives from Love. The direction in which we are impelled by our pride, in the field of power, is the opposite of that given by our pride, in the field of Love.

Power can be measured. Its volume, its weight, its momentum can all be brought within the purview of mathematics. So it is the endeavour of those who hold power to be supreme, to increase in bulk. They would repeatedly multiply numbers,—the number of men, the number of coins, the number of appliances. When they strive for success they sacrifice others' wealth, others' rights, others' lives; for sacrifice is of the essence of the cult of Power; and the earth is running red with the blood of that sacrifice.

The distinctive feature of Realism is the measurability of its outward expression, which is the same thing as the finiteness of its boundaries. And the disputes, civil and criminal, which have raged in the history of man, have mostly been over these same

boundaries. To increase one's own bounds one has necessarily to encroach upon those of others. So, because the pride of Power is the pride of quantity, the most powerful telescope, when pointed in the direction of Power, fails to reveal the shore of peace across the sea of blood.

But when engaged in adding up the quantities of this realistic world, this field of power, we do not find them to be an ever-increasing series. In our pursuit of the principle of accumulation we are all of a sudden held up by stumbling upon the principle of Beauty, based on proportionateness, which bars the way. We discover that there is not only onward motion, but there are also pauses. And we repeatedly find in history that whenever the blindness of Power has tried to override this rule of rhythm, it has committed suicide. That is why man treasures up such sayings as: “Pride was Lanka's undoing.” And that is why man still remembers the story of the toppling over of the tower of Babylon.

So we see that the principle of Power, of which the outward expression is bulk, is neither the final nor the supreme Truth. It has to stop itself to keep time with the rhythm of the universe. Restraint is the gateway of the Good. The value of the Good is not measured in terms of dimension or multitude. He who has known it within himself feels no shame in rags and tatters. He rolls his crown in the dust and marches out on the open road.

When from the principle of Power we arrive at the principle of Beauty, we at once understand that, all this while, we had been offering incense at the wrong shrine; that Power grows bloated on the blood of its victims only to perish of surfeit; that try as we may by adding to armies and armaments, by increasing the number and variety of naval craft, by heaping up our share of the *loot* of war, arithmetic will never serve to make true that which is untrue; that at the end we shall die crushed under the weight of our multiplication of things.

When the *Rishi*, Yajnavalkya, on the eve of his departure, offered to leave his wife Maitreyi well-established upon an enumer-

ation of what he had gathered together during his life, she exclaimed :

Yenaham namrtaayam kimaham tena kuryam !

What am I to do with these, which are not of the immortal spirit ?

Of what avail is it to add and add and add ? No amount of adding up of material things will take us to the perfectness of the immortal spirit. By going on increasing the volume and pitch of sound we can get nothing but a shriek. We can gain music only by restraining the sound and giving it the melody and rhythm of perfection.

In the field of Perfectness the current of man's pride flows in the reverse direction, the direction of giving up. Man grows gigantic by the appropriation of everything for himself: he attains harmony by giving himself up. In this harmony is peace,—never the outcome of external organisation or of coalition between power and power,—the peace which rests on truth and consists in the curbing of greed, in the forgiveness of sympathy.

The question which I had raised was : "In which Truth is my entity to realise its fullest value,—in Power or in Love?" If we accept Power as that truth we must also recognise conflict as inevitable and eternal. Many modern European writers have taken a pride in proclaiming such recognition. According to them the Religion of Peace and Love is but a precarious coat of armour within which the weak seek shelter, but for which the laws of nature have but scant respect ; for it is Power which triumphs in the end. That which the timid preachers of religion anathematise as unrighteousness,—that alone is the sure road which leads man to success.

The opposite school do not wholly deny this. They admit the premises but they say:

**Adharmenaidhate tabat, tato bhadraṇi pashyati,
tatah sapatnan jāyati,—samoolastu vinashyati.**

In unrighteousness they prosper, in it they find their good, through it they defeat their enemies,—but they perish at the root.

The pride of prosperity throws man's mind outwards, and the misery and insult of destitution draws man's hungering desires likewise outwards. These two

conditions alike leave man unashamed to place above all other gods *Shakti*, the deity of Power, the cruel one whose right hand wields the weapon of wrong, and her left the weapon of guile. In the politics of Europe, drunk with power, we see the worship of this *Shakti*. Hence does its diplomacy slink from the path of publicity; yet it has nothing wherewith to hide the nakedness of its lolling tongue.—Behold, how it slides and slithers at the Peacetable!

On the other hand, in the days of their political disruption, our cowed and down-trodden people, through the mouths of their poets, sang the praises of this same *Shakti*. The Chandi of Kavikankan, and of the Annadamangal, the ballad of Manasa, the goddess of the snakes, what are they but paeans of the triumph of evil? The burden of their song is the defeat of Shiva, the good, at the hands of the cruel, deceitful, criminal *Shakti*.

Today we see the same spirit abroad in our country. In the name of religion some of us are saying that it is cowardly to be afraid of wrong-doing; others, that unrighteousness ceases to be wrong in the case of the powerful. And so we see that those who have attained worldly success, and those who have failed to attain it, are both singing the same tune. Both fret at righteousness as an obstacle, which both would overcome by physical force. But as it happens, physical force is not the supreme Power, even in this world.

In these terrible days of evil, it is my prayer that we may not be frightened by frightfulness nor bow down to it in worship—but ignore it, despise it. May ours be that pride of manhood which, standing in the midst of the appalling piles of the realistic world, can keep its head erect and say : *My wealth is not here* ; which can say : *Chains do not bind me, blows do not wound me, death does not kill me* ; which can say : "*What have I to do with these which are not of the immortal spirit.*" Our forefathers have said : "Worship Him who is beyond death and beyond fear and thereby attain Peace." On our heads be their commandment, and in that Peace, which is beyond death and all fear, may we be established.

II.

The point about the so-called "Mangal" poems of the old Bengali literature, is their dislodgement of one deity and the placing on his throne of another. To the simple mind it would seem that the question at issue, in a quarrel of this kind, would have been some difference in religious ideals. If a new divinity can furnish something more satisfying to man's sense of Right, that alone can be a valid reason for a change.

But here the fact was exactly the opposite. The male deity who was in possession was fairly harmless. All of a sudden a feminine divinity turned up and demanded to be worshipped in his stead. That is to say, she insisted on thrusting herself in where she had no right. Under what title? Force! By what method? Any that would serve. The methods that were eventually employed are not known as rightful to the ordinary understanding. But those were the methods that ultimately turned out to be victorious. Outrage, fraud and frightfulness were not only successful in capturing the Temple, but also in making the poets dance attendance and sing hosannas at its shrine. In their shame they faltered forth the excuse that they had received divine commandment in a dream! . . . This was the nightmare that once rode our land.

The history of that day is not clearly known, but the picture which we get is somewhat as follows: When Bengali literature raised its head, like a coral reef, out of the still lagoon of its origin, the religion of Buddha in its decay was crumbling into degenerate fragments. And, in the manner of one dream melting into another, Buddha had turned into Shiva. Shiva was a mendicant, an ascetic; he did not conform to the Vedas; he was for all men and sundry. In Kavikankan's poem and in the Annadamangal his quarrel with Daksha, of the Vedic cult, is treated of at the very outset. Anyhow, this deity of peace and renunciation did not survive.

In Europe also, the modern cult of *Shakti* has it that a god like the meek Jesus, the poor man's Jesus, the pale anaemic Jesus, will not do. What is wanted is a muscular, ravening god, who will acknow-

ledge no barriers, feel no compunctions, and own no shame in the process of proclaiming his worship. From what riotous assembly rises this European cult? From that of victors at their carousals, merry over the spoils of their success, who have cut up the earth into toothsome morsels as a zest for their liquor.

The self-same creed was formulated in the gathering of bards at which the Annadamangal was sung. But what were its authors? Those who were starving and in rags, shelterless and honourless,—it was the dream of their hungry, terror-stricken, wearied out condition.

History does not write itself in blank verse,—after every line there comes a rhyme. How perfectly rhymes the end of the line to-day with that of the line which was completed five hundred years ago! With high pomp and festivity does Europe celebrate her *Shakti* worship. Wine has reddened her eyes like unto a hibiscus flower, the sacrificial knife has been sharpened, the victims are bound to the sacrificial posts. Some of her priests are denying Jesus; others would temporise, saying that double-meaning psalms may propitiate both Christ and *Shakti*, who are but the male and female halves of one and the same deity. In short, some of them have got drunk on their thrones, others in their pulpits.

And we also,—we will not have Shiva, the good. We needs must sing the "mangal" of Chandi, the terrible, lauding her as the *summum bonum*. But our chant is dream-conceived, born of unsatisfied hunger, carking fear and unrequited toil. That is the difference between the victor's worship of Chandi, and her glorification by the defeated.

What is the proof that the original cult of Chandi, from beginning to end, was only a dream? Look at what happens to Kalaketu, the hunter, of the story. The whimsical goddess gives him a ring as a boon, and at once his house overflows with gold. This petty hunter then engages in battle with the king of Kalinga, whereupon Hanuman, the monkey who is strength personified, comes all of a sudden to the rescue and cuffs and kicks the Kalinga

forces into a rout. What is this if not the *Shakti* of dreamland, the offspring of hunger and terror? Everything there happens all of a sudden, out of connection with the order of the universe. And in the expectation of some such catastrophic good fortune, our people began shouting *mother! mother!* in their chants of the praise of Chandi,—the Chandi who knows no distinction between right and wrong and for the furtherance of whose designs truth and untruth serve with equal facility. She cares not how or why she makes the small to be big, the poor to be rich, the weak to be powerful. No worthiness is required, no purging away of internal poverty. Everything may remain in slothful stagnation, just as it is,—only with folded hands one must shout: *mother! mother!*

When the Moghuls and Pathans came upon Bengal in a devastating flood, then from an outside view, *Shakti* alone seemed rampant in the eyes of all observers. No moral law, no sign of Shiva, the good, was visible. In such a pass, if man can stand up and say: *I will suffer all, but not bend the knee to this awful thing*,—then he can win through. In the case of Dhanapati and Chand, the merchants, we find, up to point, the man showing himself and making such stand. Blow upon blow was hurled at them; force and guile assailed them from every side; but they refused to allow the seat of their worship to be shifted. And then,—if fear could cow them, grief shatter them, losses weaken them, if their very backbone had to be broken for it, they must and shall bow to her in worship,—so vowed Chandi, the terrible. Otherwise?—otherwise her *prestige* was at stake. It was not of the prestige of any moral ideal that she was thinking, but the prestige of her Power. And so she punished and punished and punished.

And at last when the suffering was past bearing, the half-dead merchants moved Shiva from his pedestal and bowed their head to Chandi. What was the hurt of the previous sufferings compared with the hurt of this insult to manhood? The fearless, deathless soul thus owning allegiance to fear, and worshipping death as

its god, as greater than itself! That is where the victory of *Shakti* was most ghastly in its heinousness.

In our latter-day dreams we have set to the worship of Europe's divinity,—therein is our defeat at her hands seeking completeness. If she insists on hurting us, let us suffer,—but worship? No! Our worship must be reserved for the God of Right. If she insists on causing us sorrow, let her,—but defeat us? Never! No hurt can be greater than death. But if she can make us forget that even in death we can be immortal, then indeed shall we suffer Death Everlasting.

Mahantam bibhum atmanam matwa dheera ne sochati.

Knowing his soul as great and eternal, man attains peace and grieves not.

III.

In our country it is accounted the greatest calamity to have one's courtyard brought under the plough. Because, in the courtyard, man has made his very own the immense wealth called space. Space is not a rare commodity outside, but one does not get it till he can bring it inside and make it his own. The space of the courtyard, man has made part of his home. Here the light of the sun is revealed as his own light, and here his baby claps his little hands to call to the moon. So if the courtyard be not kept open, but be used for sowing crops, then is the nest destroyed in which the outside Universe can become man's own universe.

The difference between a really rich man and a poor man is, that the former can afford vast open spaces in his home. The furniture with which a rich man encumbers his house may be valuable, but the space with which he makes his courtyard big, his garden extensive, is of infinitely greater value. The business place of the merchant is crowded with his stock,—there he has not the means of keeping spaces vacant, there he is miserly, and millionaire though he be, there he is poor. But in his home that same merchant flouts mere utility by the length and breadth and height of his room—to say nothing of the expanse of his garden—and gives to space

the place of honour. It is here that the merchant is rich.

Not only unoccupied space, but unoccupied time, also, is of the highest value. The rich man, out of his abundance, can purchase leisure. It is in fact a test of his riches, this power to keep fallow wide stretches of time, which want cannot compel him to plough up.

There is yet another place where an open expanse is the most valuable of all,—and that is in the mind. Thoughts which must be thought, from which there is no escape, are but worries. The thoughts of the poor and the miserable cling to their minds as the ivy to a ruined temple.

Pain closes up all openings of the mind. Health may be defined as the state in which the physical consciousness lies fallow, like an open heath. Let there be but a touch of gout in the remotest point of the smallest toe and the whole of consciousness is filled with pain, leaving not a corner empty. So the expanse that the mind desires is not to be had when it is miserable.

Just as one cannot live grandly without unoccupied spaces, so the mind cannot think grandly without unoccupied leisure,—otherwise for it truth becomes petty. And like dim light, petty truth distorts vision, encourages fear, and keeps narrow the field of communion between man and man.

On coming to this window I have come to realise that, as Indians, the greatest misfortune for us has been the closing of all windows. And thorny weeds have sprung up and overrun all the little fallow spaces of leisure which had been left to us.

In old India one thing was plentiful—a thing we knew to be invaluable—the broad mental leisure which permitted of the pursuit and realisation of Truth. There was a day when India stood in the open, above pain and pleasure, loss and gain, and thence obtained a clear view of the truth "by gaining which no other gain seems greater."

But that large leisure for meditation is lost to us to-day. The Indian, now, has no day off. The stream of his holiday time has dwindled and dwindled till its very fount is dry; and the whole of his consciousness is now only full of pain.

So as I came to the window, there rose

from the courtyard the wailing of the weak, with which the length and breadth of our sky, from North to South and East to West, now resounds. Never in all history were the weak so terribly weak as they are to-day.

Thanks to science, physical force, in these times, is so utterly, so cruelly all-powerful. The yell of the athlete, flaunting his brawn, fills the earth. Even the sky, once impervious to man's evil passions, has now been invaded by man's cruelty. And, from the bottom of the ocean to the top of the atmosphere, blood is spurting from pierced hearts.

In this state of things, when the difference between the strong and the weak is so immeasurable, if we find that this terrible strength is also timorous, it becomes important to devote careful thought to the causes of this timidity. All the more so because, in order to come to a conclusion as to whether the Peace which is being made in Europe is likely to be permanent or not, it is necessary to understand the strong man's psychology.

When the war was at its height, when the fear of possible defeat was not less dominant than the hope of possible victory, then, in that divided state of mind, the aggrieved party charged the aggressor with what they called crimes against international law,—the crime of the breaking of treaties, the crime of the bombing of non-combatants from the skies, the crime of employing forbidden engines of destruction. When do men commit crimes? When the claims of some necessity become, in their view, greater than the claims of Right. Thus with the Germans the desirability of victory weighed more than the desirability of right-doing. When this hurt the opposite party they kept complaining that what Germany was doing was very very wrong indeed. What if it was war,—were there then, no such things as Law and Right? When Germany pitilessly meted out, in her conquered provinces, unduly severe punishments for comparatively light offences, she had always some expediency to plead as justification. Nevertheless the opposite party waxed eloquently indignant: Was expediency the highest aim of Man: has

civilisation, then, no responsibilities: could those who ignore these responsibilities be allowed, any more, a place amongst civilised communities?

From the standpoint of Right, of course, these questions admit of but one reply. And, as we heard that reply given, we thought to ourselves that the fiery ordeal of the war would at last burn away all the sin of this iron age, that the condition of man could not fail of betterment since men's minds were undergoing a change; for, was it not a truism that change of law or order without change of mentality is futile?

But we made one miscalculation. In our country the longing for renunciation immediately following upon bereavement is looked upon with suspicion. The heart weakened by the wrench of parting is only too prone to self-abnegation. The renunciation of the strong, therefore, is the only true renunciation. So we should not have put full trust in the words of righteousness issuing from lips trembling at the prospect of possible defeat.

However, this party has won. They are sitting in conclave to decide how the foundations of a world Peace may be made secure. Debates are proceeding, proposals and counter-proposals, the partitioning and parcelling of territories. I am unable to imagine the kind of weapon that will be forged in this factory.

But one thing is becoming clear to me. All the fire of the war has *not* served to purge this *Kali Yuga* of its sin, nor has the psychology of Europe undergone a change. On what rests the throne of the *Kali Yuga*?

On Greed.—We would have, we would keep, we would on no account lose the tiniest part of our possessions. So is even the strongest pursued by incessant fear, lest now, or in some hereafter, however distant, any loss should haply befall. Where the very idea of loss is so intolerable, of what avail are counsels of law, of righteousness? It takes no time to persuade oneself that wrong is right when it is judged, not on its merits, not in relation to law, but from the standpoint of one's own greed.

In these days of this terrible greed, in cases where the strong stand in fear of the strong, both loudly parley in the name of

the Right, and strive with might and main that no weak spot be left in their mutual regulations. But where, at the same point of time, this same greed makes the strong ever the least bit afraid of the weak, then in the passion of punishment great rents are made in the text of the law, and considerations of right find no place.

There is a difference between the fear of the strong, and the fear of the weak. The weak are afraid of getting hurt, the strong of obstacles crossing their path. We all know the fear that took possession of the Western world under the name of the "Yellow Peril." At the bottom of this was the apprehension, felt by an all-devouring greed, lest its full satisfaction should somewhere meet with some check.

Where was the possibility of this check? In the possibility of one of the weak rising to be as strong as the strong ones,—to become as strong as they,—that was the Peril! And to prevent this, the weak had to be kept weak. That is the policy which guides Europe's treatment of the rest of mankind. How can Peace prevail in the midst of the chronic apprehension which this policy generates?

Anatole France writes:

It does not, however, appear at first sight that the Yellow Peril at which European economists are terrified is to be compared to the White Peril suspended over Asia. The Chinese do not send to Paris, Berlin, and St. Petersburg missionaries to teach Christians the Fung-Chui, and sow disorder in European affairs. A Chinese expeditionary force did not land in Quiberon Bay to demand of the Government of the Republic extra-territoriality, i.e., the right of trying by a tribunal of mandarins cases pending between Chinese and Europeans. Admiral Togo did not come and bombard Brest Roads with a dozen battleships, for the purpose of improving Japanese trade in France. . . . He did not burn Versailles in the name of a higher civilisation. The army of the Great Asiatic Powers did not carry away to Tokio and Peking the Louvre paintings and the silver service of the Elysee.

No indeed! Monsieur Edmond Thery himself admits that the yellow men are not sufficiently civilised to imitate the whites so faithfully. Nor does he foresee that they will ever rise to so high a moral culture. How could it be possible for them to possess our virtues? They are not Christians. But men entitled to speak consider that the Yellow Peril is none the less to be dreaded for all that it is economic. Japan, and China organised by Japan, threaten us, in all the

markets of Europe, with a competition frightful, monstrous, enormous, and deformed, the mere idea of which causes the hair of the economists to stand on end.

That is to say, greed will not suffer itself to be checked. He who is down must be kept down, and he who shows signs of rising must be dealt with as a peril.

So long as this greed persists, no Peace Conference will have the power to give Peace to the world. Factories can make many things, but I refuse to believe in a factory-made peace. The differences between Capital and Labour, Governments and Peoples, are all due to this greed. So our conclusion must be in the words of our old saying :

In greed is sin : in sin is death.

When in these circumstances the strong sit down to adjust their mutual differences, they put up dykes on their own side and cut channels on the side of the weak, so that the current of their greed may flow away from their own interests. Amongst themselves they would divide those parts of the world which are soft, into which the teeth may be comfortably fastened, and which, if the rending claws come by any hurt, may afford those claws an easy revenge. But it may emphatically be asserted that this cannot last for ever. They will never remain agreed upon the division of the spoils ; contending greeds can never be equably satiated ; the leaks of sin can never be stopped ; and one day the leaky vessel will founder with all on board.

Providence has kept us safe from at least one source of anxiety. Every inch of the way to become physically strong has been barred to us. Even hope, which flies over barriers, has had its wings clipped. Only one royal road remains open to us,—the road which leads beyond all sorrow. Let evil assail us from without, but let us not allow it within. When we shall become greater than those who hurt us, then shall our sufferings be glorified. But this road is neither that of fighting, nor of petitioning.

*Atha dheera amrtatwam yiditwa
Dhruvam adhruveshviha na prarthayante.*

Men of tranquil mind, being sure of

Immortal Truth, never seek the eternal in things of the moment.

IV.

Some part of the earth's water becomes rarefied and ascends to the skies. With the broad movement and the music it acquires in those pure heights it then showers down, back to the water of the earth. Similarly, part of the mind of man rises up out of the world and flies skywards ; but this sky-soaring mind attains completeness only when it has returned, time after time, to mingle with the earth-bound mind.

There are, however, desert tracts in which the greater part of the year is rainless. That which ascended as vapour does not, there, rain back on the earth : the higher mind cannot commune with the lower. Such regions may manage to get along with artificial canal water, but where for them is the joyous festival of downpour : where the music of the mingling of the waters of earth and sky ?

So far for mere drought. Then there are the rain of mud, the rain of blood, and such like dire phenomena of which we hear tell. These happen when the purity of the atmosphere is sullied and the air is burdened with dirt. Then it is not the song of the sky which descends in purifying showers, but just the earth's own sins which fall back on it.

That is the kind of stormy visitation, which has overtaken us to-day. On the sin-laden dust of the earth pours tainted rain from the sky. Our long wait for the cleansing bath in pure water from on high has been repeatedly doomed to disappointment ; the mud is soiling our minds and marks of blood are also showing. How long can we keep on wiping this away ? Even the pure silence of the empyrean is powerless to clarify the discordant notes of the prayer for peace which is rising from a blood-stained world.

Peace ? who can truly pray for Peace ? Only they who are ready to renounce. Those whose clutching fingers are wriggling ; like so many snakes, with the greed of absorption, they want peace,—but by trickery, not by paying its price. The peace they desire is the unchecked opportunity to lick up the cream of the earth.

As it unfortunately happens, the cream jars are mostly in the keep of the weak. Naturally the curbing of their greed becomes all the more difficult for the strong. Where the treasure is well guarded, self-restraint comes easy, as also the feeling of self-congratulation at having been good. There are hard places in this world where it distinctly pays to be good. But there is no dearth of examples of soft places where it becomes so terribly difficult for the strong to keep up their good character. Where the guard is feeble, both fear and shame depart. Let me give another extract from Anatole France. He is here talking about China :

In our own times, the Christian acquired the habit of sending jointly or separately into that vast Empire, whenever order was disturbed, soldiers who restored it by means of theft, rape, pillage, murder, and incendiarism, and of proceeding at short intervals with the pacific penetration of the country with rifles and guns. The poorly armed Chinese either defend themselves badly or not at all, and so they are massacred with delightful facility. . . . In 1901, order having been disturbed at Peking, the troops of the five Great Powers, under the command of a German Field Marshal, restored it by the customary means. Having in this fashion covered themselves with military glory, the five Powers signed one of the innumerable treaties by which they guarantee the integrity of the very China whose provinces they divide among themselves.

The destruction, pillage and rapine which then went on at Peking was far from being a small thing, viewed as a torment and insult to man; but we all know to what insignificant proportions that has now been reduced by the shame that was wrought and suffered in the great European war. This only shows how the strict ideal which alone serves to hold man up to his highest good is lowered by contact with the weak.

Man unconsciously enters into treaties with himself, and seeks to confine the struggle between good and evil, which continually goes on in his heart, within certain boundaries, allowing it to be relaxed outside them where compulsion is feeble. We have done this in India, where the Sudra was kept so weak by the Brahmin that no sense of fear or shame obtruded in the latter's dealings with the former. This becomes

abundantly clear on going through our ancient law books. And we have lost even the faculty of recognising the character of the evil fruit which the country is reaping—so low has been our fall.

The weak are as great a danger for the strong as quicksands for an elephant. They do not assist progress because they do not resist, they only drag down. The greater the bulk and strength on the one hand, the more terrible this downward pull on the other. The harder the strong kicks the weak, the worse for his foot.

Where the air is light there is the storm-centre, and so Asia and Africa are the real origins of all the stormy outbreaks in Europe. In these weak spots there is no resistance, and the inspiration which maintains the European ideal is correspondingly weak. So maddening is the intoxication of power that man fails to realise this lowering of his standard,—which again indicates the touching of bottom in his downfall.

This insensibility, this blindness, sometimes goes to such absurd lengths as to provoke a smile as well as a tear. There are a set of youths in our country who, drunk with the wine of Europe's political vintage, revel in committing murderous assaults upon one another. I have often had occasion to lament the intolerable burden of evil thus placed on our country,—which had enough sins of its own,—by this addition of sins imported from the West. And yet we find a former Governor of Bengal unblushingly proclaiming that these murders go to show how different is the sense of Right in Bengal and in Europe. According to him the Bengali looks upon murder as nothing more than the transaction of the soul from one state of existence to another.* To think of the mockery of being thus arraigned by our very teachers for having learnt their lessons so aptly. One can only suppose that habit has so dulled their vision that they are unable to see, as outsiders do, how cheaply human

* In 1912 in the British Isles 17 per mille of the population were tried for murder. In 1911 in Bengal the proportion was only '08 per mille. I have not the book now before me and so cannot quote the rest of the statistics.

lives are reckoned in their politics. But are these political libertines, I cannot help wondering, really oblivious of the special psychology which they have so sedulously cultivated and which propagating itself all over the world, is spreading bloodshed throughout the path of its progress?

Those who assert that the East and the West are radically different at bottom, pollute the very source of intercourse between the two. They keep their conscience pacified by laying down the principle that what is good for one cannot possibly do for the other, and with this they would stifle all qualms and prickings which injustice and cruelty elsewhere evoke. These shibboleths have come into use ever since the West first came into touch with the East. Where physical force makes it so easy to be unjust, the obstacle of moral force is thus, with equal ease, got rid of.

That is why I say that commerce with the weak destroys the moral sense of the strong, the process being the creation of different ideals, one for oneself, another for others. When one's own school-boys get out of hand, it is indulgently remarked that boys will be boys. When others' school-boys give vent to their excitement, they are glared at and dubbed scoundrels. Race feeling rouses a high indignation when it is found in a weaker race, but, even if ten times more intense in the stronger, so many good reasons for its existence are discerned, that it is hailed almost with affection. Once more I have to beg hospitality from Anatole France. His mind is clear, his imagination vivid and no absurdity can escape his keen sense of humour. He is still telling of the Chinese:

They are polite and ceremonious, but are approached with cherishing feeble sentiments of affection for Europeans. The grievances we have against them are greatly of the order of those which Mr. Du Chaillu cherished towards his Gorilla. Mr. Du Chaillu, while in the forest, brought down with his rifle the mother of a Gorilla. In its death the brute was still pressing its young to its bosom. He tore it from its embrace, and dragged it with him in a cage across Africa, for the purpose of selling it in Europe. Now, the young animal gave him just cause for complaint. It was unsociable, and actually starved itself to death. "I was powerless," says Mr. Du Chaillu, "to correct its evil nature."

So, as I was saying, the greatest danger to the strong comes from the weak,—so insidiously is their moral sense stolen away that even its loss is not felt. This danger is much greater to-day, now that physical force has gained such tremendous resources of strength. There is no obstacle in the way of holding the weak in utter subjection, for they have absolutely no hope of ever finding any way out of the net of scientific method with which they are enmeshed. And yet, in spite of this enormous disparity of strength between the men in power and the men under them, the timorousness which is inseparable from greed keeps the strong in a state of chronic anxiety. And the strong have at length come to the conclusion that the thumb-screw must be so tightened that the weak may not dare to make their plaint at the bar of the world, nor to offer evidence of their sufferings,—not even to set up audible wailings in their own corners.

But those who are thus rendering their autocracy absolutely easy and safe will have to draw upon the capital of their manhood in order to count out the cost. And in their own home shall they rue this continual dissipation of such capital. Even now they are beginning to feel the effects, but even yet they are not taking the trouble of casting up their accounts to find out the cause.

So much for what is to be said about the strong. I feel a world of shame in discussing this matter from our side, because though from an outer view it may sound like a homily, from the inner side it has too much resemblance to a wail of helplessness. To tremble and to whine are the two most shameful things for the weak to do. If we cannot prevail against the strong, we must prevail against ourselves. Whatever else we may do, let us not give way to fear; and if we are not allowed to speak out, let us at least refrain from sending forth our voice of lamentation from one shore to the other.

When the fire of misery is burning, the greatest loss of all would be to suffer its scorching, and not avail of its light. May that light destroy our illusions and enable us to make an effort truly to see. Let us

ask our conscience: Is this hideously overgrown Power really great? Poised on the pinnacle of office, men are priding themselves on their loftiness. The laws which they are making and breaking from their artificial eminence are not in conformity with the laws of the universal God. Are, then, these men really so great as they would appear? They can break from the outside, but can they add a particle to man's internal wealth? They can sign peace treaties, but can they give peace?

It was about 2,000 years ago that all-powerful Rome, in one of its Eastern provinces, executed on a cross, in company with certain miscreants, the simple, unpretending *guru* of a tribe of fishermen. On that day the Roman Governor felt no falling off in his appetite or sleep. From the outside, which of them then appeared the greater? And to-day? On that day there was on the one hand the agony, the humiliation, the death, by the cross; on the other, the pomp and festivity in the Governor's palace. And to-day? To whom, then, shall we bow the head?

Kasmai devaya havisha vidhema :

To which god shall we offer oblation ?

V.

The traffic of human progress has never met with so serious a block as it has to-day. The reason is that the long trains of modern history move by steam power, and their tracks, which spread all over the world, cross and recross in an intricate maze. So whenever the different trains fail to run clear of one another, a hideous smash-up is inevitable, and the whole world trembles at the shock.

Such an accident has now occurred; the loss of life and property has been stupendous; and on all sides questioning is heard: what has happened: how did it happen: how can it be prevented from happening again?

Do these questions, affecting the history of all humanity, cast no burden of thought on us? Are we to be content only with carping at others: are we not to search out our share of the responsibility?

For, as I have suggested before, and I repeat definitely here, a grave respon-

sibility lies on the weak. It is they who afford hospitality to all the disease germs floating about in the air, and nourish them and help them to multiply with their own life. Cowards are the cause of repeated attempts at frightfulness. Those who cringe keep on creating their own insults. Our sensibilities do not extend to where we cannot see. We lightly crush underfoot the insects on the way, but if it be a bird, fallen across our path, we hesitate to tread on it. Our standard of feeling is different for the bird and the ant.

It is thus an important duty for man so to bear himself that he may not fail to be recognised as man,—not only in his own interest, but because of his responsibilities to others. It is not good that man should trample man underfoot, neither for the downtrodden nor for him who treads. The man who belittles himself lowers not only his own value but that of all mankind. Man knows himself as great only where he sees great men,—and the truer is such vision of greatness, the easier it becomes to be great.

In countries where each individual has value, the whole nation grows to greatness, by itself. There men put forth their best efforts to live great lives, and they fight to the end if obstruction be placed in their way. Such men cannot fail to make themselves evident, and in dealing with them others needs must be careful how they behave. In judging such the judge's own sense of justice is not the sole factor, but they have within them something that calls forth right judgment.

The characteristic sign of a people progressing in the way of greatness is, that the negligibleness of any class or individual constantly tends to disappear. More and more do all get the right of demanding their full manhood. So do they busy themselves to assure good food, good clothing, good housing for all; good sanitation and true culture for all.

But what has happened in our country? By our preaching and practice and by our institutions it has been our one concern to keep the greatest number small. We have left no loophole for dispute or argument

as to whether they are really small or not, but have made it a matter of blind faith. And so it has come to pass that those we have charged with smallness are pleading guilty with folded hands, and if attempts are made to raise them in the social scale, it is they who protest most vehemently.

Thus have we made systematic provision for the unresisting acceptance of insult and contumely in every stratum of our society. Those who are kept under, are by far the most numerous,—yet the lowness of their ideas of life causes no pang in the hearts of the upper few. On the contrary, if they try to set up the standard of the upper set, the latter wax wroth.

When these men, habituated to perpetual insult, fail to assert their rights of manhood in sufficiently clear tones,—wherefore the foreigner finds nothing within or without which can make him keep back his contempt,—then, must we not recognise therein the true fruit of our own *Karma*? When the sin which we have codified in our social regulations returns on us, at the hands of foreigners, in the field of politics, whence are we to draw the strength for effective protest?

So we base our protests on the sense of justice of those very foreigners—oh the shame, the added insult of such protests! How low do we stoop when we say, in the same breath, that in our own society we shall continue to drag our ideal in the dust, but in your politics you must keep it raised aloft. We shall keep in full force the slavery sections of our social code in all their variety, but you, of your greatness, must place in our hands the reins of equal sovereignty. Where ours is the power we shall be utterly miserly in the name of Religion, but where the power is yours we shall importune you, in that same name of Religion, for unstinted largess. With what face are we to say these things? And what if our prayers be granted? If then we should still be as callous as ever about offering insult to our own countrymen, whilst foreigners out of the fulness of their generosity should be showing respect to the insulted ones,—would not that be for us the very acme of defeat?

Whatever may be the reason, the burden of wrong and insult lies heavy on us to-day. In this condition our sole hope is, that since our opponents are failing to maintain their own in the field of righteousness, we may there rise superior to them. In that event the wrong they do us will not hurt our honour, but rather add to it. Are we even now to persist in our cry: *May you excel us in moral power, so that we may expect more from you than we are prepared to render to ourselves*; in other words, *let us keep ourselves for ever low that you may go on lifting us up to your level*? All responsibility thrown on others, nothing borne by ourselves,—are we forever to hold ourselves in such contempt and others in such high esteem? What defeat can physical force wreak on us compared to such self-inflicted degradation?

Only a short while ago I have heard with my own ears an argument of which the conclusion was that Hindu and Moslem cannot dine under the same roof, even though no prohibited food should have been brought in. Those who have no hesitation in affirming such principle are the first to suspect foreign interference when Hindu and Moslem fall out; and along with such suspicion is an implied moral judgment against the foreigner concerned! The only explanation can be that they hold the foreigner to be more amenable to moral law than they are themselves. According to them, it is right when, in our own social system, we make the barriers between man and man intolerably rigid, but when the foreigner seeks to make use of such barriers for his own purposes, that is wrong. We may keep our own side weak in the name of religion, but the sin comes in when advantage is taken of that weakness by our opponents.

If it be asked why Hindu and Moslem should not dine under the same roof, it is not considered incumbent to make any reply,—so lost are we to all sense of the absurdity and shamefulfulness of this denial to our conscience of the right of question. We are not to render any explanation in regard to the greater part of our habits and customs, just as the beasts and birds and trees are not. We are not to render

any explanation in regard to our social relations with one another on which the welfare and misery, the joy and sorrow, of so many so absolutely depend. But in our commerce with the foreigner, in the world of politics, how glibly have we learnt to ask questions, how accustomed we are becoming to require reasonable explanations of all laws and regulations !

In a land where man has kept himself in slavery by thus ignoring the claim of human rights in social relations, how can there arise any true demand for self-determination ? All rights in such a land needs must be concessions made by the generosity of others.

So I repeat that where man keeps himself petty he fails to catch the eye, his plaint for rights fails to reach the ear. And when such men come into contact with the strong they bring about their downfall by lowering their ideal of the relation between man and man. Such relations with the weak gradually make pride, injustice and cruelty become natural for the strong. The very ease with which they can wreak their will on the weak makes them unconsciously relax their belief in the sanctity of human freedom. So is the weakness of those who have not the power to resist, such a potent poison for all humanity. And our social system is but a vast machine for perpetuating such weakness. Its countless forces of unreasoning injunctions have, on the one hand, completely hemmed us in, and, on the other, they have cut at the very root of that freedom of conscience which alone could have served to find us a way out. Then again, there are the punishments of disproportionate severity

for even the most trivial offences by way of nonconformity. And so under the burden of unthinking stupidity, and the pressure of distracting fear, all sensibility and initiative, even in the least of life's affairs, is utterly crushed out. And then ? Then only beg and beg, and if alms be denied, weep and wail !

If alms should have been forthcoming for the asking, and our travail should have ceased with the dole, then indeed would our abjectness have become hopeless. It is because God will not curse us with the curse of eternal abjectness, kept continually pampered by gifts of rights out of others' magnanimity, that He is showering upon us sorrow after sorrow.

When the ship's hold is full of water then only does the buffeting of the outside waters become a menace. The inside water is not so visibly threatening, its inrush not so stupendously apparent,—it destroys with its dead weight. So the temptation is strong to cast all blame on the waves outside. But if the good sense does not dawn in time, of all hands manning the pumps, then sinking is inevitable. However hopeless the task of getting rid of the internal water may now and then appear, it is surely more hopeful than trying to bale away the water of the outside seas !

Obstacles and opposition from without there always will be, but they become dangers only when there are also obstacles and opposition within. Only if true endeavour should replace beggary will all insult disappear and fruition be ours.

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

WAS THERE A MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE ?

I was shown by the C. I. D. Inspector at Amritsar a telegram from the Punjab Government prohibiting the entrance of Mr. Eardly Norton into the martial law area for the purpose of defending the

accused under trial at Lahore. The Inspector asked me if I knew Mr. Eardly Norton by sight, and I told him I did not. He kept the mail train waiting while a thorough search was made from end to

end of the train a second time. This was the earliest information which I received about the refusal to allow any counsel from outside to come to Lahore to assist the prisoners who were being prosecuted on charges which involved the severest sentences under the law. Later on, I sent an urgent telegram to the Government of India stating that this matter was of the most serious consequence, and asking for the order to be rescinded. It appeared to me to be a flagrant denial of British justice: for it was clear that the members of the Lahore Bar were in a great measure panic-stricken by the arrests that had taken place, and were refusing to appear. A very poor man, like Mr. Kalinath Roy, would be the last person in the world to wish to incur the very heavy expense of calling up a counsel from Calcutta, if he were able to get efficient counsel on the spot. Many similar telegrams were sent to the Viceroy and after some days a formal reply was received from the Home Office. Mr. Hasan Imam showed me his telegram, which was practically the same as mine; and Mr. J. N. Roy told me he had received a similar one also.

There were two points in the official telegram which appeared to me to be palpably inaccurate. First, it stated that the civil authorities could not interfere with the military. This, I felt sure, was incorrect, because the Government of India had, only a few days earlier, interfered in the matter of the public flogging that had gone on in the open streets of Lahore. Furthermore, it is a well-known fact, that the Viceroy of India is Head of the military, as well as of the civil, authorities. One of the sections of an Act of the Constitution states clearly that the Governor-General in Council shall direct, superintend and control both the civil and military authorities. The telegram also stated that the Government of India had ascertained that the prisoner under trial had obtained the service of efficient counsel. One can acquit the Government of India for accepting the assurance sent to them from Lahore; but it is difficult to acquit the Lahore authorities themselves, who sent to the Government of India that news

without full verification. For, in Mr. Kalinath Roy's case, the fact is as clear as day, that he never did have efficient counsel, and that Kunwar Dhuleep Singh,—the Barrister appointed to defend undefended cases,—had to be called in at the last minute lest his case should go undefended. I believe it is true that Kunwar Dhuleep Singh had little more than a few hours in which to get up the whole case. With regard to Mr. Harkishenlal, I have seen with my own eyes the telegrams which his advocate sent, stating definitely that *senior counsel could not be obtained in Lahore*. The same must have been true in other cases also. That Mr. Kalinath Roy suffered grievously in this respect, and was denied a privilege which the greatest criminals possess as a matter of course in every civilised country, cannot, I think, be questioned. The whole course of the prosecution might have been different, if a senior barrister, fully versed in the complicated procedure of such trials, had been acting on his behalf from the first.

One further line of action taken in the course of this trial appears to me scarcely less unfair than the one I have mentioned. I will quote Mr. S. K. Mukerji's own words to show what I mean:—

"The prosecution took advantage of the Court-Martial procedure and refused to show its hand—and then only at the instance of the Martial Law Commission—till the fag end. Indeed, it was *in the course of the final argument that the Crown Prosecutor indicated the particular passage among the articles under charge which the prosecution considered objectionable*, and then all that the accused could do was to take his chance and hurriedly interrupt Kunwar Dhuleep Singh, in the midst of his argument, with a view to giving him instructions and laying his explanations before the Commission."

Now, this was not a civil suit but a criminal trial, where the prosecution represented the King Emperor himself. The Crown Prosecutor represents the Crown. If it is actually true, that the Crown Prosecutor deliberately withheld the leading grounds of the accusation against Mr. Kalinath Roy, in order to confuse the defence and take an unfair advantage, then the matter is of the gravest consequence,—scarcely less serious, as I have said, than the refusal to allow the prisoner to be

represented by a counsel of his own choice. Mr. Mukerji's statement as to the consequence runs as follows :—

"The result of this double handicap was that Mr. Kalinath Roy never had anything like an opportunity of having his full say: many passages which are wholly innocent, and capable of a satisfactory explanation, have been entirely misunderstood by the Commission and inconsistencies found where none really existed. On the other hand, some important points in Mr. Kalinath Roy's favour were not fully explained, and some unhappy misapprehensions on the part of the Commission were left uncorrected."

A further point, of a different character, arises with regard to the form of the trial, under which Mr. Kalinath Roy was prosecuted. Even accepting for the moment, for the sake of argument, that the Government were acting well within their powers in proclaiming Martial Law in the Punjab, yet the accepted opinion of the most eminent lawyers is, that only cases of open violence committed on the spot, or cases of open incitement to violence committed on the spot, should be tried under Martial Law; while complex cases which involve knowledge of intricate details of law and are concerned with the exact meaning of words and definitions of what is, or is not, legitimate criticism, should be taken up by the common courts, from whose decision an appeal is always possible and a revision of sentence. It is agreed also, that the ground for such procedure under common law is far stronger still, if there is present no hindrance of a violent character to the common law courts being opened. In Mr. Kalinath Roy's case, there is a strong argument that the common law courts should have been used, instead of Court Martial. There would have been no difficulty whatever in those law courts being opened in Lahore at the time,—no danger from the mob was imminent. Also, the case was an extremely complex one,—there could hardly be a case where words and phrases counted for more in the question of the guilt or innocence of the accused. Therefore, to drag this special case under *Martial Law*, and not to allow it to be tried by *Common Law*, seems to be unfair both in law and equity.

I have already written very fully to the Press about Mr. Kalinath Roy's personal characteristics and antecedents; his services to Government in the most critical time of the war; his public record for great moderation, caution and sanity of judgment; his nature and character which placed him unhesitatingly and unquestioningly from first to last on the side of law and order; his fundamental creed as a constitutionalist and a firm believer in the benefit of the British connexion. All these have been put before the public, and will gain more emphasis still when Mr. Kalinath Roy's own statement, made in his own defence, is in the Press. They add to the presumption, that he could be the last person to be a conspirator, eager to stir up rebellion among the masses by his pen, or an inflammatory politician, attempting to do mischief by violent and mischievous writing. He was not that kind of person at all, and men of forty or fifty do not change their fundamental habits in a day.

But it is when we come to the actual case itself,—the prosecution charge, the articles condemned, the judgment and the summing up,—it is when these are studied carefully, that we become more and more amazed and bewildered, and begin to wonder if we are really living in the Twentieth Century in a country where British liberty and justice are professed as the only principles of government! The amazing character of this judgment has been shown up by Mr. M. K. Gandhi in "Young India", June 11, 1919, and I will not go into it again, but I do wish to say, with the utmost deliberation, that so far as my own reason, intellect and judgment carry me,—as one whose mother tongue is English and who can weigh the value and use of English words,—if these issues of the *Tribune* from April 1st to April 13th make the Editor a criminal, then not a single Indian Editor, who seeks to say soberly what he feels to be the truth, is safe. If Mr. Kalinath Roy, a Moderate of Moderates, is a criminal, then no Indian Moderate, who speaks on the public platform, is safe. If Mr. Kalinath Roy, a strict constitutionalist, is a criminal, then no Indian constitutionalist, who claims and uses that

freedom of speech which the British Constitution implies and involves, is safe.

If it is necessary I shall try to show this to the public, clearly and concisely, in a written pamphlet. The present article is intended to bring out some points surrounding the trial which appear to me to strengthen the main plea, either for a retrial, or else for a withdrawal of the sentence. In conclusion, I will quote the words of Mr. S. K. Mukerji, who is living in Lahore and has visited quite recently Mr. Kalinath Roy in jail. He thus gives us the news of his present condition :

"Notwithstanding the philosophic fortitude with which Mr. Kalinath Roy has been bearing up his present affliction, notwithstanding his living faith in the beneficence of an all-wise Providence, there can be no doubt that a prolongation of the present conditions—specially those pertaining to rigorous imprisonment—is fraught in the case of a person of his delicate health and nervous temperament with great risk and may well give cause for anxiety to his friends. His Honour the Lieut. Governor's decision, therefore, "declining to interfere in the order passed by the Martial Law Commission" has been a serious disappointment."

Shantiniketan.

C. F. ANDREWS.

AN INSIDE VIEW OF THE HINDU UNIVERSITY: A REPLY

IN the last issue of this journal a gentleman signing himself "Inside View" has contributed an article entitled "The Present Condition of the Hindu University" in which facts have been mixed up with half-truths in a manner that makes the whole article to a large extent sensational. An attempt is made here to represent the facts correctly and show a true view of the situation. For the convenience of the readers the same headings will be used as those used by "Inside View" and the answer to each paragraph in the article in question will be found in the corresponding paragraphs that follow.

"Rapid Dissolution."

Pointing out how the Hindu University, so munificently financed by the public, is a "matter of national concern," the writer says: "Bad as the present condition undeniably is, judging from the public reports of its internal disorders and the resignation of its eminent Vice-Chancellor Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, its future is absolutely hopeless unless radical reforms are effected and men with sole devotion to educational work and academic experience are placed at its head and supported against factious opposition and capricious and reckless demands for changes of policy." The public reports of its so-called internal disorders have hitherto only spoken of a number of resignations, which have been reiterated by the press over and over again, with the effect that the affair has been magnified beyond its actual dimensions. The fact is that out of a total of about a hundred academical officers, the number of those who have resigned is only 7, including one Head Master, 2 Profes-

sors, 2 Principals, one Pro-Vice-Chancellor and one Vice-Chancellor. The Vice-Chancellor's tenure of office terminated on the 31st March, 1919, but owing to a different interpretation of a proviso of section 8 of Act XVI of 1916, put upon it by the Hon'ble Dr. Sapru, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Sir Sivaswamy himself, the latter continued as Vice-Chancellor. Certain differences between him and the Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya precipitated his resignation. Press reports were deliberately made such as to make affairs appear more sensational and important than they actually were. Authoritative contradictions have been published from time to time, which show that the present condition of the University is *not* undeniably bad, though the personal eminence of Sir Sivaswamy may give it such a look. Its future therefore is not at all hopeless and *radical* reforms are *not* needed. Men with sole devotion to educational work and academic experience are already at its head. In a democratic institution, as the University is supposed to be, they cannot, however, be *always* supported against "factious opposition and capricious and reckless demands for changes of policy." Elsewhere they may.

The University has *not* got enough money for its work, though it is nearly a crore. A learned professoriate and a devoted and heroic leader it *has*. "Inside View," however, says, "the Hindu University at present has so small a staff of teachers that it is intellectually incapable of doing the work of a decent first-grade College even, not to speak of the higher, more varied and more responsible work of a self-contained and self-governing University." And then he proceeds to give a list of some

existing vacancies. But one has to bear in mind also that the Central Hindu College, when affiliated to the Allahabad University, was a *decent first-grade College* with a *smaller* staff than at present. Since it became the University College, the strength *has* increased *considerably*. In 1913-14, when the College came into the hands of the University Society, it had 21 professors only; yet it was a decent first-grade College of the University of Allahabad; but now it has 42 professors. It is difficult to see how the college has been *degraded* by an *increase*, to exactly double the former number, in the staff. This college is now only a *part* and not the *whole* of the University, which of course is *preparing* to do "higher and more varied and more responsible work of a self-contained and self-governing University." The movement is admittedly not full two years old and higher work *cannot* be undertaken without first having laid the foundation wide and deep and built the fabric at least up to the plinth. The buildings of brick and mortar may grow sooner but the real University takes *years* and *ages*, and "Inside View" or the public should know that it does not grow "like the Prophet's gourd." There are at present 36 paid and 6 honorary professors, 8 of them being University Professors, of whom very few have got teaching work, as many post-graduate and research classes have not yet been formed and it is impossible for several to have been formed so soon. There are some vacancies in paid University Professorships, which should be only filled when there is need for them. As the classes are not formed, the University should not waste money by financing researchers *doing no teaching work*. "Inside View" has totally misrepresented the situation.

The writer proceeds in his third paragraph to give in heightened colour an account of some past and future resignations, including that of Professor Jadunath Sarkar, of which I learn only from the writer. If Professor Sarkar leaves, there will not be only *one* but *seven* University Professors left, of whom *two* are paid University Professors, who are taking research classes. Professor Sarkar has got no research class to guide and help. No well-wisher of the University would suggest completing a contemplated staff just now, no matter whether there is work for it or not. The Head Master of the Central Hindu School left before the present summer vacation commenced, with no detriment to the work, which is being done by another Head Master. Very prudently the Council had appointed him on *probation* for a year and the cause of his resignation need not be discussed here. Principal Zutshi was also deputed to the University on a short-time contract. He left at the end of the session for domestic reasons, and a new Principal is soon to be appointed; the work is not suffering at all. The first batch of trained teachers is ready, and the second

session is to begin on the 14th of July, 1919. It is plain untruth to say that Mr. Guha is going away. So, things have been understated, overstated and misrepresented by "Inside View."

The state of things is thus not so discreditable as "Inside View" would have the public believe. He has so far tried to show only one evil in his first three paragraphs, that the University is *understaffed*, which it is not. Sir Sivaswamy, according to "Inside View," set himself strenuously to remedy the evil. That is, one can easily infer, he wanted to fill these vacancies *though there was hardly need for doing so*. Now, as a matter of fact, attempts were made to fill up the University Professorships in English, Economics, Physics and Ancient Indian History and two University Professors were appointed for Botany and Geology who are to join in a few months. The average work, however, of the professors in the Central Hindu College has been hitherto only 10 hours per week. Work has to be provided for them to make the average 18 or 20 hours per week as in other Colleges and Universities generally. Still students are only 683 in number. With about double this number, (the exact figure for the Calcutta Presidency College for March 31, 1918, being 1,035) 'a decent first-grade College,' viz., the Presidency College, Calcutta, has about 50 professors to quote an example nearer home. In 1916-17 the average number of pupils per teacher in Arts Colleges was 15 in Madras, 27 in Bombay, 20 in Bengal, 17 in the United Provinces, 27 in the Punjab, &c. In 1918, the average number in the C. H. College was 16, which is not very discreditable. I believe the University classes in Calcutta University are not more lavishly staffed. It would be mid-summer madness to waste money over further appointments in the Hindu University too soon. The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who is at present the sole financial "Resource" beggar of the University, presumably opposed Sir Sivaswamy in this matter and did so rightly. But the Hon'ble Pandit must have been supported by the Council, else his personal or private opposition is altogether meaningless. This obviously according to "Inside View" led to Sir Sivaswamy's resignation. This whole section is named "Rapid Dissolution," which is meaningless, as the University is not rapidly *dissolving*, but *precipitating* necessary resignations, probably of workers whose demands or proposals would have involved waste of public money. But except Sir Sivaswamy, others may have resigned for other reasons.

"Why the Vice-Chancellor resigned."

According to "Inside View" it would appear that Sir Sivaswamy wanted to "enjoy plenty of initiative and support from the Council." But this was not always possible. The Act and the Statutes very clearly define the duties and the powers of the Vice-Chancellor and of the Council

and work has to be done within these limits, doing anything beyond which would be illegal. The constitution of this University is quite unlike that of any other Indian University, and Sir Sivaswamy misunderstood the situation when he probably wanted to be an autocratic executive head, despite the University laws. No councillor could bind himself to support him, much less the Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya who is said to have not been able to co-operate with Sir Sivaswamy in his autocratic ways, seeing that Sir Sivaswamy could resign if he could not have his way, but the Hon'ble Pandit cannot, as he is morally bound to remain in the University for every pie that he has brought to the University on the credit of his personal services to the country. Perhaps Sir Sivaswamy's proposal to appoint somebody was likely to be rejected by the Council, and the Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya wanted to postpone the proposal, to be made in the right time for acceptance, but Sir Sivaswamy could not wait any longer. This may be the so-called "procrastination" which has been imputed to the Hon'ble Pandit almost *ad nauseam*. If this is not the case of procrastination so often referred to, I do not know of any other, as the Hon'ble Pandit has attended more meetings than Sir Sivaswamy and the latter was usually the President and ruled the deliberations, so the cause of any other kind of procrastination, by absence from or mistake in proper guidance to the meeting, may be Sir Sivaswamy himself. The writer makes a vague reference to some proposals of reform, but as he does not specifically mention the proposals which Sir Sivaswamy made to the Hon'ble Pandit "in January last," and the reason why the Hon'ble Pandit "procrastinated" them away, by an inference from the preceding paragraphs of "Inside View" one can only suppose that the so-called reform proposals refer only to the case of fresh appointments.

"Mr. Malaviya's manoeuvres"

Mr. Malaviya is not the "hidden hand" or "the power behind the throne" as "Inside View" describes him. He has not done a single thing on his own initiative till now. Even the Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya is powerless against the constitution of the University. In the meetings of the Senate he has been often outvoted and ruled out of order by Sir Sivaswamy himself, he never took or wanted any advantage beyond the privileges of an ordinary member, he never cared who voted for and who against his proposals. The resignation of Sir Sivaswamy does not prove that he is "powerless against Mr. Malaviya," though he may be so in respects other than as a Vice-Chancellor. It only proves that law and constitution are stronger than any man, including Sir Sivaswamy. "Inside View" has made an unjust and inaccurate imputation. The Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya has rejected proposals for his own election as Vice-Chancellor, because perhaps he thought it would be

selfish on his part to accept the Vice-Chancellorship; at least he said it would mean "accession of no new strength to the University. Sir Sivaswamy's appointment will." But innumerable friends and electors wish he should accept it and "Inside View" only makes the case stronger when he desires the University to be "saved from the danger of his wielding power without responsibility," if such danger there be. There is none however, as he is the Pro-Vice-Chancellor already, which means in certain respects *more responsibility and less power*. "Inside View," however, does not apparently wish him to be the Vice-Chancellor, "as the course," according to him, "has disadvantages of a serious nature." He has freely minimised the Hon'ble Pandit's scholarship, scholarly intelligence and range of reading. I cannot enter into invidious comparisons, as in academical qualifications, the Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya is in every way equal to Sir Sivaswamy and there may be numberless points in which one may excel the other. Those who have read his note as a member of the Industrial Commission may judge whether or not his knowledge is extensive and intensive, whether he has scholarly intelligence or not. It is generally a lawyer who is made Vice-Chancellor in Indian Universities, but the Hon'ble Pandit is a legislator, too, and I do not see any of the disqualifications hinted at by "Inside View" which would make him an unsuitable Vice-Chancellor.

The Hon'ble Pandit can be expected to attend to the University affairs more than Sir Sivaswamy, in spite of the Pandit's multifarious duties, tours and engagements. "Inside View" excuses Sir Sivaswamy for his being detained at Madras for a month owing to influenza, but blames the Hon'ble Pandit for attending to his duties only 29 days out of 105 at Benares from January to April 1919. But one must not forget that if influenza, which was a personal danger and discomfort could prevent Sir Sivaswamy for a month, there is no wonder if the Hon'ble Pandit could not spend more time at Benares than was absolutely necessary, being all the time engaged in discussing the Rowlatt bills in the Imperial Legislative Council, which he reasonably considered a matter of greater urgency and importance to the country.

As to the loss the Hindu University will suffer from the withdrawal of Sir Sivaswamy, opinions may differ both as to the kind and the degree. But there cannot be two opinions on the point that an autocratic ruler is quite out of place in a democracy. Sir Sivaswamy's tenure of office terminated on the 31st March, 1919, according to many, and the question was before the last meeting of the Court, when Sir Sivaswamy decided things in his own favour. To say, in the circumstances, that Sir Sivaswamy found "his position intolerable owing to Mr. Malaviya's action" is a pure misrepresentation.

"How the College is being run."

"Inside View" seems to have made much of the ordinary progress report of the College. Considering the numerical strength of the C. H. College in previous years the number of students is at present certainly very large. But 683 students do not give sufficient work to a large professoriate like the one we have; the accommodation at present is also limited. To obviate the latter difficulty, the shift system has been advantageously adopted. While complaining that the college was understaffed, "Inside View" showed much solicitude for "Teaching work of a higher kind" (*vide* his para. 2). One wonders why the writer should grow critical now (in his 9th para) in respect of the work of a "higher kind" in reference to the so-called D.Sc. class, and begin to quote, or more correctly *misquote*, chapter and verse against it. There is a whole chapter (XXXI) for the "D.Sc." in the Benares Regulations, which hardly leaves room for any doubt on the point. For the so-called "D.Sc. students" residence is not required by the regulations, as they at present stand; moreover, research work in mathematics does not involve daily lectures or of daily consultation with the Professor, and can be carried on purely by correspondence also. I take care to point this out, as "Inside View" seems to be innocent of this "scholar's point of view." But, as a matter of fact, as "Inside View" himself admits, "the D.Sc. students of Calcutta" do come to Benares to take necessary instructions as often as needed. "Inside View" need not grudge the privilege.

So far as admission of students is concerned, there are rules and regulations laid down for the guidance of the Principal, who is, however, bound to consult the Syndicate in certain cases. "Inside View" complains of the Principal not having informed or obtained permission of the Vice-Chancellor in enrolling D.Sc. students. But he forgets that there is neither any necessity nor is there any rule requiring the Principal to consult or inform or take the permission of the Vice-Chancellor. "Inside View" wants certain Professors to be appointed for "higher work" which, on account of the residence rule, can be commenced only after two years' residence and the taking of the M.A. degree in the case of arts subjects. He should have rejoiced that in some science subjects higher work can be started at once, *in keeping with* the rules. The regulations referred to by him apply to other cases than that of the D.Sc. class, as held by the Senate Sub-Committee, *vide* p. 164, Minutes, Vol. III A. Admission to the M.Sc. class will involve residence, but as the D.Sc. class is in fact no class, no residence can be insisted upon. Research work need not be confined to students in residence, and a candidate qualifies by his work, be he working anywhere. There is no class or course of instruction prescribed by the regulation.

"Inside View" complains of a transitory regulation having been moved to meet the case of two students who had passed their previous M. Sc. before the University was chartered. It is unjust to call it "indecent haste to secure pupils." The word *transitory* makes it plain that the object was to meet special cases for one or two years. *Transitory* regulations are no *innovation*, other such regulations being still in force.

There is hardly any difference between the M. Sc. courses of Benares and Allahabad as yet and at least for the first two years of Benares University, the candidates who have passed their "previous" at Allahabad can easily appear at the "final" at Benares; at any rate, if two candidates enjoy this privilege, the fears of "Inside View" that the University will soon become "The mother of a large brood" are surely ill-conceived. The charge that a rusticated student was admitted is vague. Was he admitted while he was undergoing rustication? Or, was he rusticated for life? The Hindu University was recognised only six months ago by the Allahabad University for Inter-University relations. There is no reason to doubt that the Principal always took assurances as to character and conduct of each candidate for admission and the present Registrar himself had to certify in one doubtful case—long before the Inter-University relations were established in January last, on the motion of Doctor Ganesh Prasad himself. "Inside View" says, the Registrar reported to the Syndicate the admission of a student who was rusticated elsewhere, but he is conveniently silent on the result of such report. The fact is that the Syndicate did not take any notice of such report, as the exact situation was explained to the Syndicate by Dr. Ganesh Prasad.

The mad race for "Efficiency" and "Quality" in education with which the bureaucracy seems to have fascinated our friend "Inside View" to such an extent that he seems to have lost his sense of proportion. He says, "The undergraduate classes of the Central Hindu College are in a still worse plight in consequence of this mad race for increasing the number of pupils on the rolls and bringing grist to the financial mill. Quantity is the only thing cared for." The Presidency College of Calcutta, for instance, is not the *only* arts and science College of the University of Calcutta, yet the number of students in that College is about double that of the C. H. College, but it is *not* in a worse plight. But what is this *plight* after all? What was the *bad plight*? That certain D. Sc. and M. Sc. students were admitted? That must be a wretched plight, indeed! Are the undergraduates in a worse plight because there is more to teach them? This allegation, as has been shown, is absurd. In fact, how the undergraduates are in a worse plight, is not clear. The larger the number of students the greater the profit from the fees, indeed! It should be

borne in mind that the total income under the head "tuition fees" is yet less than one-fourth of the total expenditure and even four times the present number of students will not make up the deficiency, for reasons obvious to every educationist. Is it desirable that the number of admissions should be necessarily limited merely to show that "grist is *not* being brought to the mill?" Or, does "Inside View" want that the number of students should be reduced and of Professors increased, so that the latter should have still less work and much more leisure?

"Machine worked by shifts."

"Inside View" seems to be needlessly jealous of the shift system. The institution is growing and it was natural that it should outgrow its present accommodation. Every Indian, including "Inside View",—if he is not a non-Indian—should rejoice that the buildings which were occupied for 5 or 6 hours before are now being used for double the period. Other countries have already been observing this economy and our new University has shown that this method would be beneficial in more ways than one, especially because it is purely residential. The timetable is so nicely regulated and arranged that it suits the convenience of every individual professor. There is a meeting-time of both the shifts and some professors find it more convenient to work at the end of the first and at the beginning of the second. Even the menial staff has its work divided. The complaint, so unfounded, is only an invention of the writer, as no student, or menial, or professor has ever complained of it. The system, on the other hand, was warmly appreciated by the colleagues of the principal. Professor Jadunath Sarkar, for instance, wrote to the Principal in reference to the evil of making the same staff work in both the shifts, "The draft timetable drawn up by the principal very happily avoids this evil, and is, therefore, not objectionable from this point of view."

It is utterly untrue to allege that periods are of various durations. The morning periods are of 40 minutes each, and the day periods are of 48 minutes each. The starting point of the college work is not changed *from time to time* but *from season to season* with regular notice, and the allegation of "Inside View" is pure untruth. The practice is in close conformity with that followed in many Western Universities. I need hardly say that to show that the change in starting-time was "capricious", exaggerated and fancied examples have been given and a whole paragraph wasted over it.

The teaching staff is "*repleted*," as we have shown above, and the admission of students should be pushed on to provide sufficient work for the staff. "Inside View" is wrong when he says that admissions are being recklessly made and the staff is being depleted.

"Inside View" next insinuates that few

members of the Council as at present constituted have academic experience, sense of duty and strength of character enough to fight for true ideals. An examination of the list of members nevertheless will show that there is a considerable number of such members as can be described as having academic experience, sense of duty and strength of character enough to fight for true ideals. The sweeping statement of "Inside View" is unjustly derogatory to the generality of members of the Council.

"The root cause of the evil."

["Inside View" proceeds to trace "the root cause of the evil" in 7 sections, *viz.*, (1) Election of unsuitable members, (2) Consequent want of homogeneity and prolonged discussions, (3) Legal subtleties, (4) Procrastination, (5) Absence of clear academic ideals, (6) The "hidden hand," and (7) The divorce of power from responsibility in Mr. Malaviya. Each section will be taken one by one.]

1. Election of non-educationists cannot be altogether avoided in the Court, which nevertheless contains nearly seventy per cent. of educationists. The representatives of "the wisdom of our Grandfathers" are few and far between. The All-India character of the University will be said to have been lost if its working bodies are confined to local men. Absentees can never be avoided in practice. What is the state of things even in Calcutta ordinarily? The Council mostly and the Senate and the Syndicate, as also the Faculties, are entirely composed of educationists.

2. Such homogeneity as "Inside View" aims at is not possible in this world. It is inaccurate in the case of the Court and plain untruth in the case of the Senate to say that the majority are ignorant of and indifferent to modern educational ideas, problems and experiments of Europe. As to prolonged discussions, they are not peculiar to the Hindu University. Older Universities have longer discussions. And a new University, with something new in it, must necessarily have long deliberations in its earlier years. In the specific instance given, the Course in Domestic Economy had to be framed on national lines; a mere imitation of the European system was not desirable. It was being newly introduced into this country and it is very necessary that fullest consideration should be given to it. The Honours Course in the University has got regulations of its own, the meeting did not want any change at present, but the Vice-Chancellor, who presided, wanted to introduce the Madras B. A. Honours and to abolish M. A. Examinations altogether; but as he found the sense of the meeting against these changes, he left them undecided for good reasons. There are regulations which guide such deliberations, and if they are followed a single question need not remain undecided. But in the case quoted, the Vice-Chancellor himself favoured indecision! "Inside

View" here seems to have had no scruple against *suppresio veri* and *suggestio falsi*.

2a. The five representatives of the Government from the very beginning attended very seldom. Besides these there are two European members only, who attend as regularly as many other members do. MM. Dr. Jha resigned because, as he said, the University was proceeding at such a tremendous speed that he found himself unable to follow in all its movements. This may be contrasted with Sir Sivaswamy's complaint of "Procrastination"—a case of *polar diversity of views* among great scholars. The Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani was never in the Senate. He is still in the Council.

3. Dissatisfaction with and consequent disregard of the existing regulations of the University on the part of certain members, not excluding Sir Sivaswami himself, have always given rise to endless discussions on legal points. A dispassionate study of the minutes will bear ample testimony to this. The Vice-Chancellor instead of acting as a judge and jurist often advocated violation of such regulations as he thought were unnecessary or cumbrous. But in the University, the Vice-Chancellor cannot override regulations, which may be amended or repealed by the Senate by regular constitutional methods.

4. *Procrastination* was a speciality with Sir Sivaswami himself. To take one instance out of many, the meeting to be held on the fourth of May 1919, could have disposed of the items standing over from the meeting held on the 16th of April 1919. When the agenda paper was issued it contained only a few new items. Several members suggested that the items standing over from the previous meeting might be included in a supplementary agenda paper. But the Registrar replied that the items had been omitted by the explicit order of the Vice-Chancellor himself. "Inside View" has totally misrepresented the truth.

5. The academic ideals have been declared times out of number by the promoters of the University, and it is in conformity to these ideals that the regulations have been framed. True, there is no such special heading in the laws as "Academic Ideals." The University however has not been old enough to be judged whether it is moving only in a *circle* or is marching forward step by step in the *right line*.

6. The Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya's is not a "hidden hand." His position in the University has always been clear and plain and in its affairs he can never be accused even by his worst enemies of having adopted political tactics. The idea of the University has been originally his, the movement was started by him, and although at the time of the Benares Congress many a political leader vowed to devote the evening of his life to the Pandit's idea, it is only the Pandit who has been working incessantly for it. As to the funds, he is the only worker for their increase. Every

meeting stands in need of his help and advice and every consideration is justly made to make it possible for him to attend. These are inevitable circumstances. He has always been constitutional and has not so far as the records go, upset what others ever did in his absence. If the meeting at which he was expected found him unable to attend it, it could have done the needful in case of pressing questions and I am sure the Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya would not have minded it, at all. I am sure he never could nor did deprive the meeting of its power of initiative. "Inside View", I hope, does not mean to say so.

7. If there was truly divorce of power from responsibility in the Hon'ble Pandit he would not care to attend so regularly the meetings of the University, as he has always done. Many of those who are *mere* members, as he has been till of late, have been very indifferent as to attendance. It was his admirable selflessness which not only materialised the idea of a great future University but also made him refuse any "definite and public position." His aim in refusing position can be very well inferred from what he said in proposing Sir Sivaswami in the meeting of the Council held on the 13th April, 1918 (Minutes, Vol. II B. P. 515). With reference to his own name having been proposed for election as the Vice-Chancellor, he said: "So far as I am concerned my services already are, and will remain throughout my life, at the disposal of the University. My being elected as Vice-Chancellor will not mean the accession of any new strength to the University. The election of Sir Sivaswami will." He was conscious of his multifarious and India-wide engagements and agreed to be elected temporary Pro-Vice-Chancellor very reluctantly, as the acceptance of an office very much militated against his own principles of selflessness. He cannot be said to have ever fought shy of responsibility. "Inside View" is guilty of grave injustice to a great nationalist leader, eminent lawyer and legislator when he accuses him of want of the sense of responsibility. As the letter of Sir Sivaswami is not before us it cannot be seen how it proves according to "Inside View" that "no responsible head of the University can do his duty unless he bows to the will of Mr. Malaviya and takes his orders from him." This might refer to a specific case of making certain appointments where the council would not agree, as shown elsewhere. If my surmise is right, it is not clear why the Hon'ble Pandit is being taken to task for it refers to cases in general, it would be interesting to know if the late Sir Sunderlall, M.M. Pandit Adityaram Bhattacharya and R.B. G.N. Chakravarti, as long as they were in office, used to take orders from the Hon'ble Pandit. If they did, and also discharged their duties properly, as is admitted on all hands, the will and the orders of the Hon'ble Pandit proved to be agreeable, just and acceptable to them. If they did not take orders from him, surely it would seem wonderful that they *could*

do their duties despite their disobedience of the Hon'ble Pandit's orders! And if there was disagreement between them and the Pandit owing to this disobedience they must have suppressed it, as they never mentioned their differences while Sir Sivaswamy did. In the absence of definite evidence, it may be argued that at least Pandit Adityaram who retired and Mr. Chakravarti who resigned may have done so owing to such differences. From the records, however, it appears that the reasons why they withdrew are different from those of Sir Sivaswamy. As to the daily change of opinions on the part of the Hon'ble Pandit, again no proof has been given, and if he is making humanly impossible promises from a hundred or more platforms, I hope he does so before human audiences who can judge well for themselves whether he is serious. It is, however, inhuman on the part of "Inside View" to impeach the speaker without producing any proofs.

"Queer Choice of Men."

Benares is surely "the city of the dead and the dying." But it has been a seat of learning for thousands of years, perhaps because learning and experience flocked to it at the last stage and passed on from the older to the younger generation, as the old man is reborn in the new child. This unique privilege is claimed by this city only in all India, though it may be only a third rate district town for commercial and political reasons. It has been a University town for years unnumbered, by force of a divine, and not human, charter as it were. Oxford and Cambridge, Gottingen and Jena, Palermo and Pavia are even much smaller towns. A University is, however, in no case confined to the small area it occupies. It is the intellectual metropolis of all the districts, provinces and countries from which its alumni hail. "Inside View" ought to know that a University, *wheresoever it may be*, does rely almost entirely on its professoriate for its mental guidance and *sometimes*, but *not always*, for its administrative efficiency. It is always better for the advancement of knowledge that the professors and scholars be kept so far as possible free from the worry of administration. Still, the University Court has been from the beginning showing its great faith in the educationists by including them in the administrative bodies. They never *preferred* absentee lawyers against them, so far as the records go. There has been no known Urdu or Hindi poets elected as such in the Court. Poor old-type Sanskrit Pandits are too few to need mention. Of 187 members at least 115 or roughly 60 per cent. will feel insulted if they are not considered educationists. Only 11, or 6 per cent are oldtype Sanskrit Pandits. Of practising lawyers (of whom *all* may not be *absentees*) there are 19 at the most or about 10 per cent altogether. So it will be seen that

"Inside View" is *not correct* when he says that "the policy of those who rule the Hindu University is clearly one of distrust and exclusion towards educationists", etc. "Inside View" must remember that he has made an unjustified sweeping remark against the princes, educationists and scholars of India, chosen for the work of the University. If Mr. Nag was rejected in favour of Mr. Mehrotra, the University Office Superintendent, it only means that the donors preferred him or perhaps the "clerk" cavassed better than the "professor". If quondam *colliers*, hawkers, news-boys and bookbinders can some day become members of the British Parliament, surely our clerks should have *better* aspirations and should leave professors alone to compete for membership in the University Court! The "somnolent octogenarian" Pandit Cheda Lal, B. A., has been serving the institution for the last 20 years as an honorary worker, has been all his life in the educational department, has been one of the active members of the governing bodies of the Central Hindu College and is yet taking the same interest in the University. In the governance of the financial affairs of the University, I think, an honorary worker like him should be *preferred* to a paid servant of the University.

As to the number of our professors in the court, they are surely in a great minority, (1) because they cannot *all* be elected, (2) because they *need* not form a majority in an administrative general body. From the Council, however, they are *not* jealously excluded. There are six professors of the Hindu University in the Council. True, they form a small minority—about 20 per cent only. But it is *not an academical body*. The quorum is always fixed to make the work possible. The institutions where membership is paying in no sense, attendance is always indifferent. Moreover the principles and the policy of administration are laid down by the court. The Council is only the executive body thereof, not "the supreme governing body" as "Inside View" misrepresents it. [Vide Sec. 9 (11) act XVI of 1915].

Why should it be considered as objectionable that expenditure of tens of thousands of rupees is sanctioned by *less* than *one-fourth* of its members, when the Council is so authorised by law and when the Court exercises control over the council? [Vide statutes 15, 17 (7), 18 (1) and (2)]. I may be accused of entering into a legal discussion here, but as a chartered University we have to abide by the Act, the Statutes and the Regulations, and if we are dissatisfied with any part of them, we should take steps to get them amended and it is no good blaming one man or another for being too legal, regular or punctilious. "Inside View" has, however, shown great solicitude for local educationists to have sole authority in the administration and he ought to have rejoiced that the Council decides important matters

mostly with a bare quorum, consisting of the six professors, who are of course local educationists, the seventh being the President himself. But then he would have made himself consistent!

"Inside View," in conclusion, is a misnomer

as the writer has disclosed deplorable ignorance of true facts, besides other things.

Benares City, } A SENATOR OF THE BENARES
The 16th June, 1919 } HINDU UNIVERSITY.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Rev. W. E. S. Holland's Allegation against Mrs. Annie Besant.

The May number of the *Modern Review* publishes on page 533 an article entitled "A Menace to Hindu Society" and on the next page (534) a passage from the "Goal of India" by Rev. W. E. S. Holland is quoted. The quotation referred to, with which I am concerned, runs as follows:—"Mrs. Besant loudly trumpets social reform; but her Central Hindu College at Benares and the Theosophical Schools at Ernakulam and Madanapalli refuse admission to all out-casts and Panchamas." As against this, there is an asterisk marked with the query, "Is this true?" by the Editor of the *Modern Review*. I am in a position to answer the query and to state that the information intended to be conveyed by the passage quoted is incorrect. The Central Hindu College at Benares is part of the Hindu University and is not under the control of Mrs. Besant. There is no Theoso-

phical School at Ernakulam. The Madanapalli College is an institution affiliated to the newly founded National University of India, and I know that there is no restriction in the matter of the admission of Panchama students to the Madanapalli College as well as the other institutions affiliated to the National University. Thus there are only two of the three institutions referred to in existence and both of them are governed by Boards duly established therefor, and are not under the sole control of Mrs. Besant. The passage quoted appears to insinuate that Mrs. Besant is insincere in her social reform work. My statement above recorded clearly indicates that the aim of the author of the "Goal of India" is one of the many unsuccessful attempts made to discredit Mrs. Besant, a real and sincere lover of India, who has dedicated her life for Her service.

R. ANANDA RAO,
High Court Vakil, Trivandrum.

HINDUSTHAN ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

THE objects of the Hindusthan Association of America are to further the interests of Hindusthanee students, to interpret India to America and America to India.

It is a branch of the World's Hindusthanee Students' Federation. It has a membership in America of about two hundred, nearly all of whom are Indian students in American universities. The present headquarters are in New York, and there are Chapters in university towns in America where there are more than four Indian students. Some of these chapters have rented club houses where students can obtain room and board at very reasonable rates. It is non-political and non-sectarian.

The official organ of the Association is the *Hindusthanee Student*.

The work of the Association consists of:

1. Publicity—a committee which publishes articles, circulars and booklets of information to students and business men in India concerning commercial and educational facilities in the United States. This committee arranges lectures in America, sells lantern slides pertaining to India, answers inquiries of prospective students from India, and publishes articles in Indian papers about American achievements in art, literature, economics and education.

2. Granting loans to students in need.

Plans and Needs for the Future:

1. To encourage more Indian students to come to America.

2. To carry on a publicity campaign in India for scholarships in American universities for Indian men and women.

3. To establish a platform from which may be heard lectures upon the best thought and achievements of the two nations—India and America. Two American women have pledged \$50 a year each toward a \$2500 travelling lectureship fund upon Indian history, art, literature, architecture, industries, economics, traditions and ideals of India.

4. A membership committee to establish new chapters, Nalanda Clubs, Women's Auxiliaries and study circles.

5. To hold frequent lectures, entertainments and socials.

Honorary Members: The Poet Rabindranath Tagore, Miss Jane Addams, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Miss Ellen Key, Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, Dr. David Starr Jordan, President of Stanley Hall, President W. H. P. Faunce, Professor A. U. Pope, and many others.

The Association invites correspondence from students intending to specialize, do research work, or to continue their higher studies in America. It takes special pains to supply

accurate and complete information about courses in American Universities, cost of living, self-support and so forth, free of charge.

It is not in a position to help the prospective student financially, but after he has reached the United States, it will do all it can to make his stay comfortable.

The Hindusthan Association of America is an organization of Hindus and Americans with the aims to foster social relations between the two countries and to help the Hindu students in this country [U.S.A.]. It has done good work in the past and the new officers just elected assure us of good work in the future, and that they are

going to put fresh energy and zeal into the work of the Association. It is needless to say that we wish the Association all the success that it deserves.

The officers for 1919 are :

President : Ram Kumar Khemka.

Vice-Presidents : B. N. Bysack.

S. R. Mandal.

General Secretary : S. N. Bose.

Treasurer : A. K. Som.

Members of the Board of Directors :

B. B. Sarkar.

G. B. Desai.

J. S. Anjla.

TRUE FREEDOM

Men whose boast it is that ye
Come of fathers brave and free,
If there breathe on earth a slave,
Are ye truly free and brave ?
If ye do not feel the chain,
When it works a brother's pain,
Are ye not base slaves indeed,
Slaves unworthy to be freed ?

Is true freedom but to break
Fetters for our own sake,
And with leathern hearts forget
That we owe mankind a debt ?

No ! true freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear,
And with heart and hand to be
Earnest to make others free.

They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak ;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think ;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three !

J. R. LOWELL.

"ENGLAND ! THE TIME IS COME WHEN THOU SHOULD'ST WEAN"

England ! the time is come when thou should'st wean
Thy heart from its emasculating food ;
The truth should now be better understood ;
Old things have been unsettled ; we have seen
Fair seed-time, better harvest might have been
But for thy trespasses ; and, at this day,
If for Greece, Egypt, India, Africa,
Aught good were destined, thou would'st step between.
England ! all nations in this charge agree :
But worse, more ignorant in love and hate,
Far—far more abject, is thine Enemy :
Therefore the wise pray for thee, though the freight
Of thy offences be a heavy weight :
Oh grief that Earth's best hopes rest all with thee !*

1803.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH.

* It may or may not have been true in some former time but it is not true now that "Earth's best hopes rest all with" England.—Ed., M. R.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE MR. FISHER ON EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

BY LAJPAT RAI.

"The capital of a country does not consist in cash or paper, but in the brains and bodies of the people who inhabit it....."

—The Right Honorable Mr. Fisher, *President of the Board of Education, U. K.*

RIGHT in the middle of the war, the greatest war of the world, at the time of the greatest danger to the country and the Empire, Mr. Fisher, the minister responsible for the control of education in England, has been considering and enforcing consideration by the nation and Parliament, of the question of national education. In the Preface to a pamphlet called "Educational Reform", which is a collection of his speeches on the subject, delivered in 1917 in and outside Parliament, he observes:

"Obviously education is important. Everybody who has a child knows that the future of his child depends upon the way he is brought up. Is he to be competent for the business of life or incompetent, *a profitable member of the community or a parasite*. Is he to be prudent, or profligate, cultured or ignorant, brutal or refined, social or anti-social, *a citizen or an anarchist*. The answer to all these questions is to be found partly in descent; but far more largely in circumstances which, unlike the unalterable traits handed down in blood, can be affected for better or for worse by education."

(The italics in this quotation are mine).

After these basic remarks, Mr. Fisher proceeds to consider if there is any force in the adverse criticism of popular education, made by classes interested in keeping the masses down. These latter have often been heard speaking of popular education with contempt. "They are prepared to believe that it is good for well-to-do people—for the aristocracy of the human race," but not for the common people, whose business is to toil with their hands and produce the things of the world for the use of the former, their natural leaders. They admit that "education should be somewhere, but deny that it should be everywhere". "I wish to prove," adds Mr. Fisher, "that it should be every-

where, and that no State can flourish without a sound popular system of education."

We have to "conceive of education as the drawing out of a man all that is best and most useful in him, so that it may be employed to the advantage of the community and of himself as a member of it.

We must regard it not as bearing fruit in the science and art of earning a livelihood *alone*, but as yielding *the science and art of living*. It is the means by which the individual citizen may be trained to make the best use of his innate qualities and the means by which the State may be enabled to make the best use of its citizens. Spiritually conceived it is Plato's 'turning of the soul towards the light'; materially conceived it is Napoleon's 'open career to talent.' In any case it is of great democratic interest, for indeed a wise democratic government is impossible without it."

The remark which follows next, shows that it is not in India alone, that people are dissatisfied with the education imparted in public schools, but that the complaint is directed against the public schools of the British Isles as well. "I have heard people say," observes Mr. Fisher, "that much of our present education is very poor stuff, and that if we drop into a school and listen to the lessons, we are apt to find *that the wrong things are being taught by the wrong people in the wrong way*."

But if this be so, who is responsible? The culprit is the nation.....It cannot be too urgently represented that the future of the children of the people, so far as it is affected by education, depends upon the number of men and women in the community who can be found to insist upon a high educational standard in their several localities.....

"Until the people of this country (i.e., Great Britain) come to view education as the most fruitful of all benefits which age can confer upon youth, and not as one of those troublesome ailments of childhood which must be got through as quickly as possible, it is vain to expect any great improvement in the standard of our National Schools."

Analysing this criticism of popular education a little in detail, he says :

"Education is apt to evoke in many minds the idea of a little dull book-learning drilled into a reluctant brain by a deadening machine. Such, indeed, it once was, and so in some backward parts of the country (alas ! too many !) it may still be ; but if we take our present elementary school at its best and consider the general conception of educational policy which animates our present practice, the description would be grotesquely unfair. We have made great strides towards a better method and a wider and more catholic view. Books, of course, remain, as they always should, the principal fashioning instrument of the mind ; but they no longer stand alone. The training of hand, eye, ear, and voice supplement the older and central discipline of literature, opening new windows into the world and quickening the senses to new forms of happy exercise."

Having thus defended the present public school education in England, Mr. Fisher then descends to the very palpable nature of the deficiencies which remain to be cured, and which, in the French phrase, "leap to the eyes." Some of these are stated in the following sentence :

"It has also been long evident not only *that the State contribution was insufficient in amount* and that an undue share of the schools were *undermanned* and the teachers *underpaid*."

The duty of the State in this respect is stated thus :

"But though the State cannot forbid wage-earning among young people, (why it cannot, we don't see), it should and must assign a value to learning as well as to earning. *It has a right and a duty to affirm that it believes in education for the masses*, and that by education it means not a sham and make-believe, but something substantial, something which will leave a durable mark on mind and character, and that the claim of this education, on the child, is paramount. Then if it be found that the minimum upon which the State insists cannot in all cases be secured without inflicting real hardship, those cases of hardship should be separately met. The State should not allow itself to be diverted from its great object of diffusing knowledge and intelligence among the people, by the fear of being involved in some expenditure based on personal circumstances. It should first devise a course of education, as thorough and effective as the object demands and the available means of instruction furnish, and then, having settled on a plan likely to give to each of its citizens the fullest chance for self-development, it should be prepared to give adequate assistance in special cases."

Mr. Fisher then confidently pronounces that the present amount of education obtained by the great majority of the population is "inadequate" to the "present and future needs" of the British nation, and says that "if we ask whether, as a result of all this training in our schools, the great mass of our population is getting out of life as much value as life can give them, having regard to their material circumstances, there can be only one answer" and that answer is "that millions of our countrymen and countrywomen are making very little use of their lives for want of an agency which may direct and educate them and their sense of value during the whole period of youth."

In a word, he adds, "our system is half-hearted". "Meanwhile the conditions of modern industrial life are steadily increasing the dangers of under-education. Processes are becoming more mechanical and monotonous, as they become standardized and subdivided, with the natural result that a claim is made for shorter hours and larger leisure" and, I may add, for better skilled knowledge in the use of these processes. The whole argument is then summed up in the following pithy paragraph :

"...the province of popular education is to equip the men and women of this country for the tasks of citizenship. All are called upon to live, many are called upon to die, for the community of which they form a part. That they should be rescued from the dumb helplessness of ignorance is, if not a precept of the eternal conscience, at least an elementary part of political prudence, to which the prospective enfranchisement of several million new voters...adds a singular emphasis. But the argument does not rest upon grounds of political prudence alone ; but upon the right of human beings to be considered as ends in themselves, and to be entitled, so far as our imperfect social arrangements may permit, to know and enjoy all the best that life can offer in the sphere of knowledge, emotion and hope."

In his first speech in the House of Commons, on April 19, 1917, introducing the Education estimates, Mr. Fisher expressed his gratification at the "quickened perception of the true place of education in the scheme of public welfare" brought about by the war, resulting "in a very earnest resolve to give to our national system all the improvements of which it is capable."

In making a plea for an additional grant for education after citing the figures relating to the expenditure on education in England (some "£ 16,000,000 are paid out of the taxes, another £ 17,000,000 out of the rates, and perhaps, though it is impossible to make an exact calculation, a sum of £7,000,000 out of fees, voluntary contributions and endowments"). This makes a total of £ 40,000,000 or 60 crores of rupees in Indian coin.

Mr. Fisher says: "But when we are considering a form of productive expenditure which is not only *an investment but an insurance*, that question cannot stand alone. We must ask a supplementary question. We must ask not only whether *we can afford to spend the money*." He calls the supplementary system "more important and more searching." He then goes into the defects of the existing system and machinery of education in England, and finally sums up as below:

"What is it that we desire, in a broad way, for our people? That they should be good citizens, reverent and dutiful, sound in mind and body, skilled in the practice of their several avocations and capable of turning their leisure to a rational use. And what do we see? Our level of physique as a nation is deplorably below the standard which a great people should set before itself. Our common taste in amusement is still in the main rude and uncultured. We have lost and are only now slowly beginning to recapture something of that general taste in music which was long ago a special note of our English civilization.....our aptitude for technological studies is great, but only half-developed. ...We are only just beginning to realise that the capital of a country does not consist in cash or paper, but in the brains and bodies of the people who inhabit it."

He ends with a plea for a change on the additional ground of the universal cry for economy, "*we should economise in the human capital of the country, our most precious possession, which we have too long suffered to run to waste.*"

In his second speech, delivered in the same place while introducing a new Education Bill, on August 10, 1917, Mr. Fisher "describes some aspects of the movements of opinion, which have made a considerable measure of advance, in education an absolute necessity.

In the first place, attention has been increasingly directed to the close connection between educational and physical efficiency. One of the great dates in our social history is the establishment of the school medical service in 1907. We now know what we should not otherwise have known, how greatly the value of our educational system is impaired by the low physical conditions of a vast number of the children, and how imperative is the necessity of raising the general standard of physical health among the children of the poor, if a great part of the money spent on our educational system is not to be wasted. Another element is the growing consciousness that there is a lack of scientific co-relation between the different parts of our educational machinery.... Everyone realizes the elementary fact that some children, if they are only given opportunity, will profit most through modern language and history, others by a scientific and technical education, and others again are destined by their turn of mind to profit most from an education based largely on the study of classical antiquity. But under our existing system we have no security, that in any area of accessibility, to adopt a vague but convenient term, these various needs and aptitudes will be provided for. There is not even a reasonable probability that the child will get the higher education best adapted to his other needs."

A third feature in the movement of opinion is the increased feeling of social solidarity which has been created by the War, "which leads people to realize" "that the boundaries of citizenship are not determined by wealth, and that the same logic which leads us to desire an extension of the franchise points also to an extension of education."

Upon this basis Mr. Fisher explains the different provisions of the Bill under six heads:

"First, we desire to improve the administrative organization of education.

"Secondly, we are anxious to secure for every boy and girl in this country school life up to the age of fourteen which shall be unimpeded by the competing claims of industry.

"Thirdly, we desire to establish part-time day continuation schools which every young person in the country shall be compelled to attend unless he or she is undergoing some suitable form of alternative instruction.

"Fourthly, we make a series of proposals for the development of the higher forms of elementary education and for the improvement of the physical condition of the children and young persons under instruction.

"Fifthly, we desire to consolidate the elementary school Grants, and,

"Sixthly, we wish to make an effective survey

of the whole educational provision in the country and to bring private educational institutions into closer and more convenient relations to the national system."

I do not propose to reproduce his detailed statements and arrangements under each of these heads, but I must give the following extract illustrating what he means by "comprehensive schemes":

"First, we want to make it plain that the education given in our public elementary schools is not to be considered an end in itself, but as a stage in the child's education destined to lead to a further stage. Secondly, we propose to require local educational authorities under part III of the Education Act of 1902 to make adequate provision, either by special classes or by means of central schools, for what may be termed higher elementary education. We desire to meet the objection which is commonly, and not without justice, advanced against so much of the work done in our public elementary schools during the last two years—that the children are marking time, that their education is not bringing them on, and that it does not fit them for their future calling. We desire to change all that, and our Bill provides not only for the introduction of practical instruction at appropriate stages, but for the preparation of children for further education in schools other than elementary, and for their transference at suitable ages to such schools.

"I pass now to a series of proposals which are designed to improve and to strengthen our existing fabric of elementary education so as to secure for every child in the Kingdom a sound physique and a sound groundwork of knowledge before the period when the part-time system begins. We propose to encourage the establishment of nursery schools for children under five years, and we empower the local education authorities to raise the age at which normal instruction in the elementary schools begins to six, as soon as there is an adequate supply of nursery schools for the younger children in the area. We propose to amend the law of school attendance so as to abolish all exemptions between the ages of five and fourteen, and we propose to place further restrictions upon the employment of children during the elementary school period."

He ends his speech by a general summary of the objects of the Bill:

"We assume that education is one of the good things of life which should be more widely shared than has hereto been the case among the children and young persons of the country. We assume that education should be the education of the whole man, spiritually, intellectually, and physically, and that it is not beyond the resources of civilization to devise a scheme of education, possessing certain common qualities, but admitting at the same time of large varia-

tion from which the whole youth of the country, male and female, may derive benefit. We assume that the principles upon which well-to-do parents proceed in the education of their families are valid also *mutatis mutandis* for the families of the poor; that the State has need to secure for its juvenile population conditions under which mind, body, and character may be harmoniously developed. We feel also that in the existing circumstances the life of the rising generation can only be protected against the injurious effects of industrial pressure by a further measure of State compulsion. But we argue that the compulsion proposed in this Bill will be no sterilizing restriction of the wholesome liberty, but an essential condition of a larger and more enlightened freedom, which will tend to stimulate civic spirit, to promote general culture and technical knowledge, and to diffuse a steadier judgment and a better informed opinion through the whole body of the community."

The pamphlet "Educational Reform" includes five more speeches delivered by Mr. Fisher at Manchester, Liverpool, Bradford, before the Lancashire Teachers' Association in 1917, and before the Training College Association in January, 1918. The principles enunciated in these speeches are the same which I have quoted from the speeches made by him in the House of Commons, but there are some very apt phrases which are calculated to emphasize certain phases of the problem, which might well be collected in one place for facility of future reference. In the speech delivered at Manchester on September 25, 1917, he characterized the Education Bill as a measure "for the diminution of ignorance, unhappiness, misconduct and disease".

"I venture to plead for a state of society in which learning comes first and earning comes second among the obligations of youth, not for one class only, but for all young people. At present the rich learn and the poor earn."

"Education is the eternal debt which maturity owes to youth. Now I do not care whether youth be poor or rich, we owe it education—all the education which it can afford to receive and all the education which we can afford to give."

At Bradford he said:

"My point of view is that education is one of the most precious goods of life, and that the more fully and equally it can be distributed the more happy we shall be and the stronger will be our community. And this belief in the value of education has been very much deepened by the

experience of this country during the War. Have you ever reflected, ladies and gentlemen, upon the astonishing influence which education has exercised over the course of this titanic conflict; how those countries have best succeeded who have equipped themselves with a modern provision of education, and how those countries have succeeded least who have been most backward in their provision of popular education? I suppose there has never been a war in which the contending armies have been so well educated, or in which the contending armies have owed so much to science and education. And whether you talk to the officers at the front—who will all speak to you of the value which they attach to a well-educated non-commissioned officer or private—or whether you go to the headquarters' staff, or whether you go to the great munition factories and sources of military supply, you always have the same answer to the same question. Always you will be told that education is the keynote of efficiency.

"When I began my survey of national education I was struck—as I suppose everybody is struck—by the fact that there are millions and millions of men and women in this country who are not getting as much out of life as life can afford to give them. There are millions of men and women who derive no profit from books, no pleasure from music or pictures, very little cultivated joy from the ordinary beauties of nature. They pass their life bound down to dull mechanical toil, harnessed to iron and steel, without a gleam of poetry, without a touch of imagination, without the faintest sense of the glories and splendors of the world in which we live, unable to attach to their ordinary dull task the interest which belongs to a scientific appreciation of the principles upon which that task is founded, unable equally to turn their leisure to any rational or cultivated account; and I ask myself this: Ought we to be content with a state of civilization in which these things are possible, and should it not be part of our duty so to provide for posterity that they may have within their reach a happier, more cultivated, and wider life?"

In conclusion :

"This is a people's measure. This Bill is intended, not for the well-to-do classes of the community—they already have adequate educational opportunities. This Bill is intended for the laboring classes of the community. It is intended to give to the children of the people of this country an opportunity of developing to the highest possible extent the good that is in them. One of the tragedies of this War lies in the fact that young men are called upon to lay down their lives in support of a policy which has been framed by old men, and I ask you whether the time has not come for some measure of reparation; whether the time has not come when

the old or the elderly men should contrive some measure of policy which will secure to the future generations of this country extended opportunities for educational development. Let us throw our minds into the future. We are sailing in very perilous waters. For the first time in the long history of this country we have encountered the enmity of a people more highly organized, more systematically educated than ourselves; and we should be living in a fool's paradise if we supposed that, contrary to all the teaching of history, this War would leave behind it no aftermath of bitterness, rancour, and competition. Our children, and our children's children, will be born into a more difficult world, and I think we shall be doing less than our duty to posterity if we do not take steps to arm them for the conflict in which they will be engaged."

In the last speech included in this collection, Mr. Fisher makes the following observation about the French system :

"The aim of the French Elementary School is conceived with a clarity and pursued with a degree of force and intelligence which compel admiration. The Elementary School teacher is regarded as a missionary. In particular he is a missionary of the French language. It is his duty to uphold in every little village the purity of that wonderful instrument of human expression, to enforce its precise and correct usage, and to spread a delicate perception of its beauties as expressed in the masterpieces of national literature. And though it is always hazardous to make generalizations, my experience leads me to believe that the French Elementary School succeeds in this part of its mission, even when it is contending with an alien language like Breton, far more successfully than is the case with us.

"Then again the French Primary Schools are regarded as organs for the spread of the Elementary ideas and principles of Natural Science among the great mass of people, and here again it is my impression that they achieve their mission with signal success.

"And lastly, the French Elementary School teacher is regarded as a missionary of enlightened patriotism, and for this reason great stress is laid upon the teaching of History in the Normal Schools or Training Colleges of France. Indeed it is clear that the syllabus of historical instruction for these Schools has been drawn up by an historian who knows the weights and measures of the past, for it lays stress upon all the fundamental points of National History and enables the student to obtain a clear perspective of the leading factors which govern and constitute the progress of the nation to which he belongs."

(The italics and capitals in these quotation are everywhere mine).

THE BRITISH CONGRESS COMMITTEE

II : ITS REORGANIZATION.

By ST. NIHAL SINGH.

FROM the historical outline given in the preceding article,* it is not difficult to deduce the reasons why the British Committee of the Indian National Congress has come into collision with the Congress, nor why it has been in a state of "suspended animation", during the most critical period of Indian history.

First. The precise relationship between the Committee and the Congress has never been properly defined. From what Dr. Clark said in his interview, and from what I have heard from time to time from various sources, that omission was partly due to the fact that the men who "ran" the Congress were also the men who "ran" the Committee, and partly due to the sense of courtesy innate in Indian character.

Second. At the time the Congress voted its annual subsidy to enable the Committee to keep going, the general lines along which that money was to be spent were not indicated, nor was any control, even in cases of emergency, reserved. This was a strange proceeding on the part of men who were agitating that Indians be given control over the national provincial and local purse of India. It was due, I think, partly to the reasons already noted, and partly to shortsightedness and lack of prudence.

Third. From the very beginning to this day the *personnel* of the British Committee has been almost altogether non-Indian, and its staff has been wholly non-Indian. Even the (paid) Secretary, who has in his power to make or mar an organization, has been, throughout, a non-Indian. The (paid) editor of the propaganda organ, whether that organ belonged to the Committee in name

or otherwise, has always been a non-Indian.

Fourth. The non-Indians who have controlled the Committee have belonged from the very beginning mostly to a single British political party, and, as a consequence, through choice or otherwise, their activities have been largely confined to members of that party. Party-spirit is so strong in Britain that, to put it mildly, a Committee presided over by a man with a distinctive party badge, cannot count upon the support of men belonging to other British parties.

To put matters right, the constitution and *personnel* of the Committee needs to be reconstructed altogether.

First. The relationship that the Committee is to bear to the Congress must be clearly defined. (a) Is it to be the agent of the Congress charged with the dual task of carrying on Congress propaganda in Britain and of reporting on the Indian situation there; or (b) is it to enjoy a status equal to that of the Congress, to formulate its own policies and plans for carrying on propaganda irrespective of whether or not such policies and plans are in full accord with the Congress policies and plans, and to advise the Congress upon the Indian situation in Britain; or (c) is it to have a status even superior to that of the Congress and be the "neck that moves the head"? The Committee can occupy any of these three positions, but cannot combine even two of them, let alone all three.

Second. Upon the determination of the status of the Committee will largely depend its financial responsibilities. But the question must be settled once for all—(a) are Indians to continue to give a *blank* cheque annually to the Committee, or (b) are they to reserve some measure of control

* The British Congress Committee, I: A retrospect. An interview with Dr. S. B. Clark of the Committee. *The Modern Review*, May, 1919.

over the manner in which the Committee expends the subsidy sent from India?

Third. The issues pertaining to the *personnel* of the Committee and its paid servants must be settled,—(a) shall the Committee continue to remain overwhelmingly British in agency and its servants and the editor of its propaganda-organ continue to be non-Indians or (b) shall the Indian element of the Committee be strengthened, and (c) if so, to what extent?

Fourth. Is the Committee to work among all sections of the British people, or is it to confine its activities to members of a certain political party?

Fifth. The connection between the British Committee and *India* must be defined and arrangements for editing that organ must be considered with great care.

(a) Is that paper to serve as a propaganda organ of the Congress, or that of the British Committee, or is its editor to determine the general lines he is to follow? In other words, who is to shape the general policy of that paper? (b) Who is to see that the policy laid down is properly carried out? What are to be the functions of that paper? Is it merely to carry on propaganda work in Britain, or to keep India informed as to what goes on in Britain, or is it to fulfil both functions?

Can that paper be so edited as to fulfill both functions? Can the affairs of the paper be so managed that the heavy drop in the subscription list, of which Dr. Clark spoke so frankly, will be stopped? Can its appeal be so widened that it may not be necessary heavily to subsidize it? Finally, is that paper to be edited by an experienced journalist, and if so, is it to be edited by an experienced Indian journalist with special experience of conditions in Britain? Can such an Indian be found? Upon the right solution of all these questions depends in no small measure the success of the Indian propaganda in Britain.

In answering these questions, Indians may draw upon the experience of the Irish Nationalists, who have had to carry on propaganda similar to ours in Britain. Their methods have been diametrically opposed to ours. Unlike us, they did not throw the burden of their agitation in Britain upon the British, nor did they place their agents in Britain in a subservient posi-

tion, nor make arrangements that would limit their activities to one political party, or that would place them in a position where they would be boycotted by members of all but one party. They used the utmost discretion in choosing their British co-workers and allies, and preserved their independence.

A reference to the Home Rule for India League will not be out of place here. The *personnel* of that organization is almost altogether British, and its work is largely confined to Labour. But Mr. George Lansbury, its Chairman, and his colleagues do not look to the Indian National Congress or to any other Indian body to finance them. On the contrary they seek to propagate the Indian Home Rule idea *at British expense*. We cannot have in Britain too many leagues working to advance our cause without imposing any financial burden upon us or committing us in any way.

By a strange irony of fate, while the Congress Committee that must have cost Indians several lakhs of rupees has been in a state of suspended animation, the League that has not depended upon us for support of any kind has been carrying on a vigorous unceasing, and effective Indian propaganda. It has issued a large number of neatly printed books, pamphlets and leaflets—setting forth various aspects of the Indian case in simple, clear and interesting language. Again and again it has sent out by the thousand circulars, to influential bodies like trades-unions, and to important persons, calling attention to grave Indian grievances or combating mischievous anti-Indian propaganda. Its energetic and able Secretary Mr. John Scurr, and others connected with the League, notably Mr. Joseph Baxista and Mr. E. Lakshman Iyer, have delivered numerous lectures on Indian conditions and aspirations in England, Scotland and Wales. Mr. Lansbury, Major D. Graham Pole and others have striven to marshal the democratic forces in Parliament in support of the reform of the Indian constitution *in consonance with Indian wishes*. In a subsequent article I hope to give an idea of the valuable work that these staunch friends of India have been doing to help us, without

asking us to find the capital to finance them.

Which of these precedents do Indians wish to follow? That set by the Irish, or the Home Rule League for India, or neither?

The answer to this series of questions will depend upon our political faith and our devotion to the Indian cause. Do we or do we not desire a national agency in Britain? If we do, then we must have recourse to measures that will express the Indian will, and will enable us to give faithful, effective and adequate expression to our national aspirations?

I cannot conceive that, at this stage of Indian evolution, Indians would be satisfied with an organisation in London that is not truly national. Anything short of that would not appeal to our imagination, nor would it be adequate to our purpose. It would, moreover, leave room for our political enemies to continue to jeer at us for lacking the intelligence and men to conduct propaganda in Britain to secure self-government for India. Above all other considerations, the question of national dignity is involved. Shall we be found so wanting in national pride as to continue to trust our national work in Britain to an organization that, in spite of its name, is not national?

For me, at any rate, the question has but one answer. We must have a national organisation in Britain to voice Indian aspirations and demands in that country, and to keep India informed of the constantly shifting Indian position there. And I believe that there must be a very large number of my people who feel exactly as I do.

The practical question that we have to consider is, therefore, whether (a) the British Committee of the Indian National Congress shall be *nationalised*, or (b) if an altogether new organisation shall be set up? If I had to choose between the two courses, I, for one, would unreservedly vote in favour of the Indianization of the British Committee. My reason for giving preference to that alternative is that the British Committee, in spite of its recent disappointing record, is capable of being converted into a living, active, Indian organisation. It would be a

pity to waste such experience as it has acquired.

The reader may well ask at this point, whether the men who are in control of the British Committee would permit it to be nationalised. That, I admit, is not an easy question to answer. As Dr. Clark hinted in his interview, there are two factions in the Committee—one in favour of reform, the other in favour of *laissez faire*. To put the most favourable interpretation upon what the acting Chairman of the Committee said; the reform party has found it politic to force the pace of the "stand-patters". I am, however, not at all sure that that party is sufficiently strong to carry the day, when the real struggle comes. I know of one Indian who can speak with some authority about the Committee who is inclined to be pessimistic, and of another, equally entitled to speak with authority who takes an optimistic view. I am afraid that the matter must be left at that: for time alone can tell whether the optimist or the pessimist is right.

We may well ask, however, whether the nationalisation of the British Committee would mean the elimination from it of the British element? I, for one, do not hesitate to answer that question in the negative. So long as the British members of the Committee are willing to make themselves instruments for furthering Indian nationalism; and for that purpose to work in harmony with Indians, it would be base ingratitude, and a grave political blunder, to get rid of British friends who have done much to help us in our fight for freedom.

Whatever may be said of earlier years, it would be wrong to say that the British Committee cannot be Indianized because there is a paucity of competent Indians in Britain. During recent years, the Indian colony in London and other British towns has been steadily increasing as Indians have settled there to follow various professions, to engage in business, to spend the evening of their life or to educate their children.

For a decade, to my knowledge, the Pandit Bhagwandin Dube, Bar-at-Law, has been practising at the Privy Council. Everyone who has the privilege of knowing him will agree with me that he is an

exceptionally able man, and devoted to the cause of his Motherland. Mr. Abdullah bin Yusuf Ali (retired I. C. S.), who, some time ago, took chambers in one of the Inns of Court, is another able and patriotic Indian. Only the other day, I met a young Parsi, who told me that he had settled down here to practise law. There are, I believe, other Indian barristers in Britain.

Dozens of Indian doctors alone live in and within a measurable distance of London. Dr. Nundy, twin-brother of Mr. Alfred Nundy, late editor of the *Tribune* (Lahore), resides in Brixton, a London suburb, and has especially intimate knowledge of the Indian immigration problem, which he has studied on the spot in South and East Africa, and in the West Indies. Dr. Fram Gotla has acquired a considerable practice round about Victoria Station and I always find him keenly interested in everything that affects India vitally. There is my friend Dr. Chowry Muthu of Madras, who, by dint of sheer ability and perseverance, has been able to build up, at Wells, in Somersetshire, one of the largest and most modern sanitariums for *British* tuberculosis patients in the United Kingdom, and who is consumed with the desire to help India. I see him in London quite frequently. Then there is Dr. T. Ram of Mexborough, Yorkshire, who has acquired a great reputation as a physician and public-spirited citizen, and is at present the health-officer of a British municipality. There are in and near London many young doctors, burning with enthusiasm to advance India.

Several Indians are engaged in business in London and elsewhere. Among them I may mention Mirza Hashim Ispahani, Mr. Anik, Mr. J. B. Seth, Mr. Nerukar and Mr. Mavlanakar.

The Indian colony in Britain includes many able and patriotic women—Mrs. P. L. Roy, Mrs. B. Bhola Nauth, Mrs. Bonarjee, Miss Dorothy Bonarjee, Mrs. Mrinalini Sen, Mrs. Dube and Mrs. Mrinalini Blair.

Not very long ago two young Indians returned to India from Britain, who have already succeeded in establishing themselves in Indian journalism. One of them conducts a periodical in Western India, while the other but recently started a paper in Upper

India. At least one of them would have been only too glad to stay in Britain, if the persons responsible for conducting the "Congress Organ" *India* had approached him, and, I am sure, he would have devoted himself heart and soul to the editing of that paper.

If we are concerned at all about our future and are anxious to safeguard our interests we must immediately face the questions pertaining to the reconstruction of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. Matters have been allowed to drift so long, and so many of us have become so addicted to a policy of *laissez faire*, that it will require great effort on our part to work ourselves up to the point of facing the situation. Personal sentiments and national traits alike may prompt us to defer our decision as long as possible. But the time is critical, and if we permit matters to continue to drift we shall irreparably damage our cause. Let us therefore cast all false modesty aside, and determine upon a course of action that will ensure the success of our cause in Britain. I do not counsel haste nor tactlessness, but I do plead with my people to put an end to this policy of indecision.

Indians must possess an efficient and active organ to carry on persistent and intelligent public propaganda in Britain, among all sections of the British people. Such an organisation, in my estimation, should consist largely of Indians, but British friends should not be debarred from it, though care should be taken not to permit the Indian element to become subservient to the British element. Its paid agents should be, as far as possible, Indians with knowledge of Britain. It should maintain a weekly paper edited by a competent Indian journalist, who is willing to undertake the work as his contribution to Indian progress, and not as a "job". In addition to conducting such a paper, the organisation should issue copious literature and arrange for the delivery of lectures in London and the provinces. A press bureau should be attached to that organisation, which should utilise the existing organs of British opinion to combat attacks made by the political enemies of the Indians and to disseminate accurate information about every phase of India. Part

of the duties of that bureau should be to keep the people in India fully informed of every current of British life—political, commercial, industrial, social, moral and religious—that in any manner affects Indians.

If we are only wise we can arrange matters so that in carrying on such work in the British capital and provinces we can furnish many young Indians with the opportunity of studying conditions in Britain and to gain experience of British public-life,

which, upon their return to India, they can utilize for the good of their Motherland.

In my estimation, the Indian work in Britain depends not so much upon money as upon organisation and patriotism. Much can be done even with the amount that India has been spending from year to year upon the British Congress Committee, if capable Indians are willing to come forward, and are given the opportunity to do their best for their Motherland.

WILLIAM ARCHER'S "INDIA AND THE FUTURE"

BY LAJPAT RAI.

II.

WE will now take up Mr. Archer's book, chapter by chapter.

In Chapter I, Mr. Archer admits that the Government of the British Viceroy of India "is absolutely autocratic in relation to the people of India," (b) that in the Native States, ostensibly ruled by Indian princes, the word of the British Resident "is law in all essential matters," (c) that the great Presidency and Provincial towns are "European cities planted on Indian soil" where the European community lives in practical segregation from the natives of the country, and "as a whole care no more for the swarming brown multitudes around it, than the dwellers on an island care for the fishes in the circumambient sea." At this stage Mr. Archer disavows any intention "of either praising or dispraising the Government thus conducted." For the moment the point to be noted, he adds, is "*its undisguised and systematic foreignness.*" (The italics are mine). He has had no difficulty in finding that "the average British official, though honest, hard-working and efficient according to his lights, does little to mitigate the crude fact of racial domination," and that "we have in India three hundred million people whose political life consists in obeying orders given in a foreign accent."

Portraying "the two sides of the racial medal" in Chapter II, Mr. Archer is forced to admit that "the Indian races, take them all round, are not low, but very high races..... There is no part of India which does not produce a considerable percentage of notably fine men—fine in stature, in features, in facial angle, in physical development..... As for the women of India, is not their grace proverbial?..... Physically then—whenever their circumstances are such as to give them a fair chance of development, the peoples of India stand high among the races of

the world. They stand high in stature, proportion, power, dignity, delicacy: and—judged by the highest standards known to us—they often excel in beauty. Some of the noblest types of manhood I have ever seen were—or rather are—Indians."

This is good, so far as it goes, but lest it may lead to wrong presumptions in favour of the general fineness of the Indian races, Mr. Archer takes pains to point out in the next paragraph, that by "a fine race" he means "in the first instance physically fine", in which respect "the Indian is at no disadvantage as compared with the ruling races of the world. His physique denotes (shall we say?) the highest potentialities of development."

He then institutes a comparison between the black races of Africa and those of India. As against "the fundamental, inherent, ineradicable inferiority" of the former he testifies to the "fundamental equality" with his own race, of the latter. "In moving among Indians," he says, "what is constantly borne in upon one is a sense of their fundamental equality, and a vague wonder as to how they happen to have sunk to a position of *apparent*, and to some extent *real*, inferiority." We have italicised the words "sunk", "apparent", and "real", as the idea conveyed in this sentence is much nearer the truth than the one developed later on, when he practically denies the development of any civilization in India at any time of its history. This is made even clearer in the next paragraph, where he says that "the sense of high potentiality is constantly overborne in India by a sense of actual, practical, palpable low development more painful than that of the Negro, inasmuch as it is the low development, *not of one who has failed to rise, but of one who has fallen.*" Compare this with the concluding remarks of the chapter, where he justifies his constant harping on the words "barbarian, barbarism, barbarous." "The potentially noble peoples of India have," he

says, "by an age-old concatenation of inauspicious circumstances, been balked of adequate opportunity of development, and *arrested in a condition of barbarism.*" The italics are mine. Mr. Archer would have avoided many mistakes if he had stuck to the former position and not changed his mind, to arrive at the latter. The case of the Indian people in this respect is by no means unique. Their fall may profitably be compared with that of the peoples of Greece, Italy, Egypt, Babylon and China. A thousand years hence, there may be other falls nearer home, as tragic and pathetic, if not more, as that of India. I do not even agree with Mr. Archer's sweeping condemnation of the Negro race. That is only another instance of racial swagger.

In Chapter III, Mr. Archer deals with the question of the Unity of India and makes some very sensible observations, very different from the *ordinary* run of Anglo-Indian writers. One rejoices to find at least one writer who has the courage to say, that it is not India's disunity, but her "*indisputable unity*" coupled with her huge and unwieldy size that has been her "chief misfortune." In the face of this statement it seems to me a pity that Mr. Archer should have been led to make an extremely controversial statement as to the languages of India. "Why is there one language in Russia, one language (even though its dialects differ widely) in China, and more than two score distinct languages in India?" asks he. In this sentence he makes three assumptions, all three unwarranted and not supported by authority. They are by no means obvious.

Later on, in his anxiety to throw the whole responsibility of the absence of the idea of a common-weal on the system of caste, Mr. Archer unconsciously cites a piece of evidence which is far from being convincing. He relies upon the supposition that "the vernaculars of India possess 'no single simple word' to express the idea of patriotism." It never enters his head that even if true, it may be due to the fact, that the Indians do not cherish for their country the conception of "*fatherland*." It is the love of the *motherland* that their Shastras inculcate and not that of the *fatherland* and in that they are not singular. The worship of the motherland is an obsession with the Indians. The motherland is a divinity with them. It would consequently not be so strange as it appears, if the Indian vernaculars had no simple word for *patriotism*. But is it true? Is patriotism a simple word? Caste has been held responsible for many things. Personally I detest caste, but that is no reason, why it should be held responsible for the so-called absence of national unity. * I am afraid, the foreign critic of Indian civic life often betrays a deplorable ignorance of actual conditions of life in India when he holds caste responsible for lack of

national unity. In the past caste has never stood in the way of national † resistance to foreign foes. The political associations of the present day are made up of all castes and some of the acknowledged leaders therein are of the "lowest" castes. This is besides the fact that the essence of the caste-system is dissolving rapidly. Then, how is one to reconcile this criticism with the following statements on p. 49? "Hinduism is, and will remain, a mighty bond of union. There is nothing local or parochial in its spirit." In Mr. Archer's eyes, caste is Hinduism and Hinduism is caste and he says so in so many words. The very struggle against caste which is now going on in all parts of India is in his judgment "the mark of a real, indefeasible unity."

THE HINDU-MUHAMMADAN QUESTION.

On the Hindu-Muhammadan question, our author has arrived at some very sensible conclusions. Admitting "the unifying influence" of the "living literary tradition" of Hinduism, to the prevalence of which he gives ungrudging testimony, Mr. Archer adds that "it cannot be supposed that even low-class Muhammadans remain quite outside it." This is a fact which most Anglo-Indian writers ignore, when they talk of the impossibility of Hindu and Muhammadan unity. It speaks well of the thoroughness of Mr. Archer's study that he did not fail to observe, even in days when the separatist propaganda of ultra-loyal Muhammadan leaders was at its zenith, that "the educated Mussalman does not withhold his admiration from the religious, philosophic and epic literature of the Hindus. He takes pride in it as the literature of India; just as the educated Hindu reckons the Taj and Fatehpur Sikri among the glories, not of Muslim, but of Indian architecture." The most popular modern Muhammadan poetry, the compositions of men of national reputation—Iqbal, Akbar, Hali, Mohani, to name only a few—is as proud of the great Hindu names of Hindu literature and Hindu culture, as of the most revered names among the Muhammadan celebrities of India and elsewhere. Very few foreigners know this, as most of this poetry has remained untranslated into any European language. We make no apology for the following quotation from Mr. Archer's book bearing on this question. "We see, as a matter of historic fact, that no outside influence is needed to make the two religions pull fairly well together. The horrors of Muslim conquest and the persecutions of Aurungzebe are things of the remote past. Before we established ourselves in India, Muhammadan princes ruled over Hindu subjects, and Hindu princes over Muhammadan subjects, with very tolerable impartiality of rule or misrule. *And the same is true in the native states of to-day*, not merely as a result of British overlordship. *At no time*

* We think caste is partly responsible for our want of national unity.—Ed., M. R.

† Resistance to foreign foes would have been more effective and *national* if there had been no caste.—Ed., M. R.

since the days of Aurungzebe has either religion seriously tried to overpower and cast out the other." The italics in this quotation are mine. To my knowledge, the admission made by Mr. Archer stands unique in Anglo-Indian literature and almost completely demolishes the *principal* plank in the platform of the Anglo-Indian opponents of India's claim to Home Rule. Mr. Archer does not believe that the maxim of "divide and rule" has had any conscious weight in British councils but the Hindus and Muhammadans themselves hold a different opinion.

NATIVE STATES A SOURCE OF DISUNITY.

Mr. Archer, however, admits that in its policy towards the Native States, "England has, in effect, though not in outward form, adopted the principle of 'divide and rule.'" This is the first time I have read this view of the matter, a view with which I am in substantial agreement and which to my knowledge has never been put forth by any educated Indian of note.

"In her policy of maintaining nearly four score native states under her suzerainty, she has, not exactly divided, but deliberately abstained from unifying. The rulers of these principalities, large and small, are, as a whole, genuinely loyal to the Empire, and sincerely opposed to any idea of self-government. They see in British rule (quite justly) a conservative force, and they dread and shrink from the New India, unknown, untried, and to them unimaginable, which is germinating in the brains of political agitators. In a double sense, then, the native states are bulwarks of the Empire. They not only strengthen it in the present, but they make it difficult to conceive the place they are to occupy in any non-autocratic organization of the future..... There are no Indian

Jacobites or Carlists. It is conceivable, no doubt, that a United India might choose to call itself an Empire, and might enthrone as Emperor one of its princes. But if so, it would be by reason of some personal merit or preponderance, not of any revival of historic loyalty.

"If England had incorporated all the native states with her own immediate dominions, she would have enormously facilitated the movement towards national unity. The mingling of moderation and astuteness which prevented her from doing so will probably prolong her rule in India, and that, very likely, to the great ultimate benefit of the country. The chief danger which India has to fear is the premature dissolution of her dependence on Britain. But the obstacle of the native states cannot for ever bar the way to unity. Times change and even maharajas change with them. It was a maharaja, who, speaking to Mr. Price Collier, 'hinted at a federation of states under a central government.'"

Mr. Archer is not quite correct when he says that "the rulers of these principalities" are "sincerely opposed to any idea of self-government." The Maharajas of Gwalior, Bikanir, Baroda, Alwar, Patiala and many others have expressly repudiated the charge and have spoken clearly in favour of self-government.

Mr. Archer's final conclusion, in this matter, is no less significant. "But the obstacles of the native states," says he, "cannot for ever bar the way to unity. Times change and even maharajas change with them."

In the end he says that although "there is indeed much diversity of race and language within her (i.e., India's) bounds, but that has not hindered a very marked unity of cult and custom."

NATIONALISM

WAR has given a powerful impetus to the spirit of nationalism which is fast overspreading the country. It is not quite a decade ago that the Hindoos and the Mussalmans were declaring the eternal incompatibility of their ideals and interests and today they are loud in asserting the fundamental unity of both. No doubt faint murmurs of protest are rising here and there but they fall on deaf ears. The people at large are not disposed to listen to them. There can hardly be any doubt that after an unbroken career of triumph in Europe, nationalism has raised its standard in Asia and is calling upon the

ancient peoples of the East to gather round it and fight to subjection the rival ideals to which they have been hitherto attached. What is going on before our eyes is one of the most romantic struggles in the history of the world; it is a struggle between the spirit of the East and the spirit of the West. The ideals of Greece and Rome after attaining a complete victory in Europe have flung the gauntlet in the face of the ideals of Jerusalem, Mecca and Benares in the very land of their birth.

Cultural conflicts have affinities with biological struggles. There as here the race is to the swift and the battle is to the

strong. Out of the conflict that conception of life will emerge triumphant which gives the freest scope of development to the race, makes best for unity of action and facilitates co-operation. In choosing our ideal of life we choose our destiny. Ideas are motor forces. In embracing an idea which is biologically harmful we only embrace our death and conversely by assimilating a biologically useful idea we secure a fresh lease of life. Leaving aside therefore petty vanities and race conceits we must carefully consider the pragmatic value of the rival ideals and cast our vote in favour of the one that gives us life and firmly reject the one that only promises us death.

The corner-stone of the Greco-Roman ideal of life which is also the ideal of modern Europe is the conception of the State as the supreme object of man's devotion. It is only to this aspect of European culture that I shall confine myself in the present article. The State in democratic countries is synonymous with the nation and devotion to the State has come to mean devotion to the interests of the nation. In future when I speak of the State I shall have in view the nation of which the State is the embodiment in self-governing countries. Let us try to realise the logical implications of the State ideal. Phrases such as "everything must be subordinated to the interests of the nation," "my country right or wrong," "who dies if England lives," are dinned into one's ears every day. Most of those who use such and analogous phrases do not fully realise their logical bearings. That, however, has always been so. The masses have always been imperfectly conscious of the forces that have moulded their lives. But these half-understood sayings give expression to the real creed of modern Europe better than the dogmas of Christianity. They are various enunciations of the living faith of Europe, which is also perhaps now the only living faith in the world. They form the vocabulary of nationalism. Its basic principle is this: the supreme test of the value of every thing high or low lies in its utility (understood in its broadest sense) to the nation. Every belief, every institution, every custom and every way of life that is detrimental

to the health of the body politic must be ruthlessly destroyed, however sacred or long-established it may be, and conversely everything that promises to lead to the development and the strengthening of the nation must be adopted and assimilated, however strange it might seem to the ways of the people and however wicked it may be considered by the orthodox 'gurus' of the race. The old standard was the Bible and the Shastras but the new standard is the well-being of the nation. Everything must prove its utility to the nation before it can be allowed to live. There can be no manner of doubt that judged by this standard many ancient institutions of this country have to be discarded like old garments, many cherished beliefs have to be uprooted and the axe of destruction has to be laid at many a picturesque custom which has endeared the India of the past and of the present to the appreciative foreigner.

In this country the State ideal is a foreign importation. It must establish itself by capturing the reason and enlisting the devotion of the people. To do that it must prove its superiority to the existing ideals as a basis for group action. The conservative East will not forsake its hoary traditions until it is fully convinced that what is offered as a substitute is really better than what it already has. And after all it is only natural that it should be so. Why should men give up ways and habits of thought endeared to them by centuries of association unless it is proved to their satisfaction that they are doing it for something really better? Possession, says the lawyer, is nine points of law. The upholder of existing ways starts with a multiplicity of advantages which the iconoclast lacks. All the forces of conservatism, race inertia, vested interest and instinctive distrust of innovation are his powerful allies. The nationalist has only the truth and justice of his cause to uphold him. But, the unctuous pharisee will ask, wherein lies the truth and justice of your cause?

The creed of nationalism fixes the well-being of the nation as the touchstone by which to judge of actions and institutions. That this conception of life was unknown to India before she came under European influence needs hardly be proved. The

word nation has no equivalent in any Indian language. An Indian used to be a good Hindoo or a good Mussalman and sometimes even a good Humanitarian but never a good Indian. Herein lies the secret of the tragedy we call Indian History. It is the absence of this spirit of nationalism which accounts for the fact that India has always fallen an easy prey to any adventurous foe who has cared to invade the country. It accounts for the fact that Clive with a mere handful of men won the battle of Plassey against a mighty array of Indians. It supplies the key to the riddle that whereas in Europe thousands, nay millions, of very commonplace men voluntarily sacrificed their very lives in the last (or should I say present) war for the cause of their country, in this so-called land of spiritualism men of culture and ability are everyday being weaned from the right path by a judicious use of official appointments and titles. In Europe when the great War came the classes and the masses stood shoulder to shoulder for the defence of their hearths and homes, the Socialist forgot his socialism, the Atheist forgot his enmity to the Church and the Catholic forgot his grievances against the Protestants. This is patriotism, this is nationalism. In this country the orthodox Hindoo and the orthodox Mussalman would not dine together even if they could save their country from eternal damnation by doing so. And here we come upon the principle that has hitherto governed Indian life.

The motive force in Indian life is not loyalty to the flag or the country but to the creed. Those that agree with me in their ideas about God and the hereafter are my kindred and those that entertain different views in these matters are strangers. They have nothing to do with me and I have nothing to do with them. I need concern myself only with those of my countrymen who follow the same religion as I do and as for the rest, they are *mlechchhas* and aliens, their sorrows and troubles need not concern me at all. Nationalism says, everyone who lives within a certain territorial area is your brother. Dogma says, everyone who subscribes to certain articles of faith is your brother. Both ideas have produced their

characteristic fruits. Wherever nationalism has become the predominant faith the tendency has been towards closer union between the individuals living within the group we call the State. On the contrary wherever dogma has become the predominant power the tendency has been to disregard territorial kinship in favour of the kinship of faith. A comparison of the characteristic features of life as they prevail in India and in Europe will show what we mean. Whereas in European countries men under the influence of the spirit of nationalism are everyday trying to bind the component parts of the nation closer and closer together by means of common schools, common clubs, common gymnasia and common habits, in India the spirit of religious sectarianism has been raising narrower and narrower walls to keep the faith pure and to exclude the obnoxious heretic. The inevitable result of this exclusive tendency has been that India is today filled with innumerable sects and creeds whose members consider it pollution to be touched by the shadow of a follower of a different creed, common action based on territorial loyalty has almost become impossible and the rivalry of cult makes life bitter for those who aspire after a happier future for this unfortunate land.

The tree, says the proverbial philosopher, should be judged by its fruit. Judged by that test the bankruptcy of creeds as the guiding force in national life is quite apparent. And really there is nothing to be surprised at in this. A cursory glance at history will show that creeds have exercised their greatest influence only in ages of darkness and ignorance. The power of creeds is at its highest when intellectual life is at its lowest level or has not even dawned in the nation. In its primitive stage society is not critical. An extraordinary person comes to be looked upon as a divine or semi-divine being and the laws promulgated by him are looked upon as divine laws any breach of which would be visited by punishment from above. Owing to the absence of the critical spirit authority carries everything before it and brings about uniformity of religious belief. But as soon as the race feels the strivings of intellectual life the castle of orthodoxy begins

to totter to its foundations. Men compare notes and as human nature is various, opinion also increases in diversity. In the exact sciences the subjective element is kept under control by the fruitful process of verification. Theories that are false are demonstrated to be so and are consequently effectively destroyed. But no effective verification is possible in the case of creeds and philosophical ideas. That being the case the subjective element gets full play and the result is what one would naturally expect. The world is filled with innumerable religions and schools of philosophy each claiming to possess the monopoly of truth and denouncing the upholders of rival views as heathens and infidels. The moral stands out clear and unmistakable. Uniformity is unattainable in the sphere of religious creeds and philosophy. It has never been attained in the past and there is less chance of attaining it now than ever.

A State or Nation is a corporation or prospective corporation of individuals who have joined together for the attainment of certain common ideals. There can be no corporation without some common object or objects. If a body of men act together it must be to realise something which they all consider worth realizing. A State, therefore, cannot exist without some common purpose animating its constituent members. That common purpose, it is obvious from what has been said before, cannot be a religion. It cannot be literature or the fine arts. The number of people who will consider it worth their while to lay down their lives for these elegant pursuits will in any age and country be small. We have to discover an ideal which the average man, the proverbial man in the street, will consider fit to be served with his very life equally with the philosopher and the idealist. That ideal must also have the further merit that every one in a particular country can subscribe to it without doing violence to his conscience or intellect. Religious creed, we have seen, fails to supply this latter requisite. Literature and the fine arts cannot satisfy either of the conditions. We are then left with only two ideals that I know of,—Nationalism and Internationalism. Can internationalism

supply us with the binding principle we have been looking for?

Nationalism has for its supreme goal the well-being of the nation. Internationalism considers the well-being of humanity as its supreme pursuit. Internationalism is nationalism carried to its logical conclusion. A nationalist who is worthy of his salt is also an internationalist. The same considerations that lead a man to nationalism must also lead him to internationalism. There is no essential conflict between these two ideals. The former is really a means to the realization of the latter. The question here is really one of expediency, not of principle. Both ideals spring from the same humane principle "the greatest good of the greatest number". The question then arises how to secure this end. Can we achieve it by advocating internationalism in our country or for the matter of that in any country? From what we see of the world it must be confessed that "the State of humanity" "the Parliament of man", as Tennyson put it, must remain for a long time only a dream of poets and philosophers. Even supposing for a moment that it materialises into something tangible it must perforce act through national States as its constituent parts. To act effectively men must combine in manageable corporations. The world is too vast for a single State. The only practicable way in which we can serve humanity effectively is by serving our country to the best of our ability. We cannot aspire to legislate for mankind, but we can reasonably look forward to a future when we shall be in a position to legislate for our own country. Moreover, we must not lose sight of the fact that the sympathies of the average man are narrow in any country. You can arouse his enthusiasm by appealing to his personal ambition or even to his tribal or national ambition, but the talk of humanity leaves him cold. By pursuing internationalism as an immediate goal we run a great risk of achieving nothing by aiming too high. As things stand at present, therefore, we can serve humanity only through our country. Nationalism must at least form a half-way house to internationalism. The ties of nationhood must be strengthened so that

humanity might be benefited. Another cogent reason for accepting this principle is that throughout history nations have shewn a frequent tendency to exploit foreign nations who have come under their sway. The best way to counteract this evil is to strengthen the ties of nationhood in every country so that irresponsible foreign domination may become an impossibility. So nationalism is after all an inseparable concomitant of internationalism.

Is nationalism capable of arousing the necessary devotion and enthusiasm in the mind of the average man? Is it an attainable ideal? It is not necessary to enter into a lengthy *a priori* discussion of this matter, as the facts of history are overwhelmingly in favour of an affirmative view. The States of ancient Greece, the great Empire of Rome, the Italian Republics of the middle ages, were all based on the bedrock of nationalism. The modern States of Europe and America illustrate the practical possibility of the ideal today.

Now, the question arises, is nationalism morally superior to religion* as a race ideal? If it is not, we cannot expect men to subscribe to it even though it brings about peace and prosperity. Nationalism we have defined as the theory of conduct according to which all actions and institutions are to be judged by their effect on the well-being of the nation. A nation consists of individuals. The well-being of a nation therefore means the well-being of the individuals composing it. The well-being of an individual can either be moral or physical or intellectual. As in the individual moral well-being is the touchstone by which physical and intellectual well-being is tested, so must the value of the material and intellectual progress of a nation be tested by its effect on the moral life and ideal of the race. A man's moral worth is measured by the extent to which he approximates the highest ideal of life conceived by the race. The worth of a nation must also be judged by the same standard. The goal of nationalism should therefore be to raise the nation to the highest pitch of moral development.

* The writer seems to understand by the word "religion" only those systems of faith which have authoritative scriptures and creeds.—Ed., M. R.

Physical and intellectual well-being will have to be achieved but only as a means to moral perfection. This is what I understand by nationalism. What is the goal of religion? Religion claims to have discovered the will of God and asks its followers to act in accordance with it. There is however no unanimity among the different religions as to what that will is. Each claims to possess an authentic enunciation of it in its sacred books or in the inspired sayings of its founder. Here we come upon the feature that is distinctive of religion. There is invariably a sacred book or the inspired words of a divine or semi-divine person which forms the criterion for judging of the acceptability of truths and ideas. It is here that the fundamental difference between religion and nationalism lies. Religion inevitably becomes stereotyped. The instinct of self-preservation leads it to attack every fresh advance of thought. Religion and science become ranged in opposing camps and either religion loses its hold on the people or the light of science is choked out. Nationalism does not have the rigidity of religion. It does not possess any authoritative book to which science and philosophy must bow. Its supreme standard is human well-being. It leaves to the progress of human reason to discover where it lies and how it is to be attained. Both religion and humanitarian nationalism are attempts of the human mind to attain the highest ideal of life and conduct. But whereas in religion that ideal is fixed and rigid, in nationalism it is fluid and progressive. Religion fails to recognise the fact that man is a progressive animal and rigid institutions and ideas can only do him harm. The superiority of nationalism lies in making full allowance for this basic fact. Another consideration which tells against religion and which ought to be conclusive in a country like India is what I adverted to in the earlier part of this article, viz., unanimity is unattainable in this matter. Every one can love his country and die for it but every one cannot subscribe to the same set of dogmas on a question which is not susceptible of strict proof. Religion divides, while nationalism unites. A kingdom divided against itself cannot stand, says the Hebrew Scripture. A nation in which the

supreme principle of union is religion, therefore has small chance of life when it comes into conflict with communities in which the principle of nationality is the controlling motive. What leads to the ruin of a race cannot claim moral superiority to that which leads to their well-being and preservation.

Man, in the words of the Koran, is the noblest creation of God. That principle which leads to the highest development of all his faculties and powers is therefore superior to those which do not bring about such a result. In this matter also nationalism is obviously superior to religion. Religion is always the product of a particular age and frequently also of a particular individual of that age. It is therefore invariably coloured by the idiosyncracies of the age of its birth and of the individual who brought it into being. Its conception of life is the conception of a particular age as seen through the eyes of a gifted individual. Every religion tries to mould its followers according to the pattern conceived by this age or individual or both. This inevitably leads to the stoppage of growth and development according to the needs of each successive age and the demands of the individual bent. Nationalism on the other hand gives the freest scope to the individual and the race to develop in conformity with the demands of the age and individuality.

It is therefore plain that in a modern community religion cannot supply the principle of co-operative action. The case might have been different in primitive times when speculation was less bold and when communities lived in more or less isolated groups, but in this age when no country is free from external influence and when the rush of new ideas is everyday upsetting tradition, the time has gone by when loyalty to religion could be the watchword of a composite community. Nationalism is now the only possible and also the only desirable bond of united action. The ideal of the State must therefore be the foundation of social activity.

It does not however necessarily follow that Religion will have to be entirely discarded. Religion is after all the most valuable contribution that Asia has made

to world culture. Religion springs from a perennial longing of the human soul. So long as human nature remains what it is, religion will have its votaries. Nationalism can have no quarrel with it so long as it does not go beyond its proper sphere. Religion's main task is to supply a theory of the Universe which makes optimism possible and gives to morality that cosmic importance to which it is entitled by its intimate relation with human well-being. It is the supreme glory of the Asiatic that he has fulfilled this task more adequately than any one else. He has studied the profoundest problem of the Universe with the deepest insight. Nationalism does not demand of us to throw aside this glorious heritage. Countries in which Nationalism has fully established itself are not by any means devoid of religion. It is when religion confuses the details of life with its underlying principles that it finds itself in conflict with nationalism. Nationalism does not say that Religion as such is false but that religious ideas which are deleterious to the nation are not true. In this Nationalism bases itself on the first principle of all religions. God never wants us to do anything which is really harmful to us. Such a beneficent principle can never be the negation of religion. It will no doubt prove fatal to many superstitions which now pass current as such but that need not cause us any heart-burnings.

Nationalism is therefore deeply religious in so far as religion is rational. Furthermore it provides a tangible criterion by which to judge of the value of religious ideas and conceptions. In so doing it goes beyond particular religions and gives us a vantage-point from which all religions can be rationally evaluated. In this we are only following the logic of human evolution. The primitive man thinks only of himself. He judges everything by its effect on his own personal happiness. Gradually the tribe comes in for a share of his regard. The time has now come when the tribe should make room for a wider brotherhood and the supreme test of the worth of a religion should be its effect on humanity itself. Nationalism owes its justification to the fact that it is the only convenient group unit through which humanity can be

effectively served. The well-being of the nation is the test of the worth of religion because true Nationalism can never go against humanity.

S. WAJID ALI.

A NEW STANDARD PRICE FOR GOLD

“WHILE the world's need for gold was never greater, the production of it is steadily declining and will go down much faster in the coming years, unless something is done and done now,” says Mr. Lancelot Ussher in the *Nineteenth Century and After*.

The total value of the world's gold production in the year 1917 was £ 87,983,000 as compared with £ 95,725,000 in 1916 and £ 96,915,000 in 1915.

While the production of gold is declining, the demand for gold must increase with the rise of prices and wages. If the increase in the supply of gold does not keep pace with the growth of the demand, the result must be the appreciation of gold or a general fall in the world's price level such as was witnessed during the period 1873—1896.

Can anything be done to increase the supply of gold? Mr. Ussher's answer is in the affirmative. The production of gold will be stimulated if the governments of the principal gold-producing countries, acting jointly, raise the standard price for gold and agree not to revise the standard again for a hundred years. The standard price for fine gold is about 85s. per oz. while the market price is 115s. per oz. or even higher. “The new standard,” says Mr. Ussher, “might be an increase of anything between the standard price and the present market price or even up to as high as double to-day's standard price.”

The rise in the standard price for gold would encourage gold mining. Suppose there is a gold mine the annual product of which is worth £ 2,000,000. If the new standard is raised 50 per cent. above the old the value of the annual product of the mines would increase by £ 1,000,000. Even if the state appropriated a great part of

the increase in the value, the profit to be divided among the shareholders every year after payment of all working expenses, would be substantial.

The British Empire produced nearly 64 per cent. of the total world's production of gold in 1917. The British Empire has therefore much to gain by a rise in the standard price for gold.

“We should create new wealth by the automatic rise in the value of our gold production and obviously the creation of new wealth means increased revenue from taxation.”

Further :—

“The enhanced value of the gold reserves of Great Britain, the United States and our Allies would offset and wipe out hundreds of millions of our war loans, and the wealth added to our national income by the increased annual production of our gold fields would be equal to the interest on a very large part of the remaining National Debt.”

The rise in the value of gold would increase the wealth of India. India, it is believed, has £100,000,000 in hoards. Mr. Ussher says :—

“Well, even if we did add another £50,000,000 or £100,000,000 to the wealth of our peoples there, surely that is all to the Empire and of peace and contentment in India.” And then this £50,000,000 or £100,000,000 would be largely spent in buying English goods. So much the better for the men of Manchester. “And what would the Chancellor of the Exchequer not give to get an unexpected haul of £100,000,000 in gold?”

It thus appears that the British Government by simply raising the standard price for gold can easily pay off a large portion of the War Debt, add to the wealth of the Empire and make the people of India happy.

In a country where the coinage of gold is free the value of gold as currency and as bullion must tend to be the same ; in other

words gold tends to be so distributed between its two uses that the marginal utility of it in both is the same. When this is not the case, gold will be converted from one use to the other until its marginal utility when used as currency is equal to the marginal utility of gold bullion. In England, for example, the mint price of an ounce of gold, eleven-twelfths fine is £3.17s. 10½d. or 84s. 11½d. for an ounce of fine gold. Under normal conditions the market price of an ounce of gold bullion cannot vary far from the purchasing power of that ounce when turned into sovereigns; i.e., the mint price and the market price of gold tend to be equal.

The new standard price for gold, says Mr. Ussher, might be "as high as double to-day's standard price," or about 170s. for an ounce of fine gold. Now the mint price of gold can be raised by an Act of Parliament, but no Act of Parliament can raise the market price of gold to 170s. per oz. when according to the laws of supply and demand the price is say 115s. per oz. If the market price does not rise the difference between the mint price and the market price of gold may be considerable say 55d. per oz. Every holder of gold bullion would rush to the mint with every ounce of gold that he possessed; gold plate and gold ornaments would be melted down and turned into coin. Would the mints be able to buy all the gold that was offered to them? And, secondly, would the general tax-payer be willing to be taxed so that the holders of gold may sell it to the mint at a price higher than the market price?

Next suppose that the standard price is raised 50 per cent. so that the mint price and the market price are equal. But as every one knows the rise in the price of gold during the war was due to exceptional causes connected with the war. The present high price of gold may not last long, now that the war is over. The price of gold may also fall on account of increase in supply furnished under the new conditions. Whether there is over-production or not, the supply of gold is bound to increase when the standard price is raised 50 per cent. If the demand for gold does not increase—and it is probable that if it

increases at all it will increase less rapidly than the supply because the rise in its value would check consumption in the arts to some extent—the market price of gold may fall heavily. The fall in the value of gold will turn gold coins into token coins. It may, of course, be said that the fall in the value of gold would eventually bring about an increase in the number of gold coins, which would tend to depress their currency value; the market price of gold would at the same time tend to rise on account of increased demand. But as long as gold is overvalued at the mint, the operations of the mint would cause loss to the Government and the country.

Would not the rise in the value of gold raise the prices of all commodities? Mr. Ussher's answer is 'No':

"In pre-war days such a rise would perhaps have been reflected in the enhanced price of all commodities, but to-day since gold has ceased to be currency and become merely a basis for credit since its volume and value are so small compared with the volume and value of trade, and since prices have risen everywhere for reasons other than the abundance of gold (risen in fact in spite of its scarcity), the old argument is no longer sound. Probably it never really was sound, though economists pinned their faiths to it, for want of a better theory."

The "old argument", however, never meant that prices depend upon the amount of gold in circulation. It is precisely because gold has ceased to be currency and become merely a basis for credit that an appreciable increase or decrease in the supply of gold influences prices more than when no credit instruments are used and the connexion between the gold supply and the price level is direct. £1,000,000 of gold in the reserves serves as the basis for credit worth several millions. And if the standard price for gold is doubled so that the value of the existing gold reserves is doubled, credit circulation is bound to increase. Prices would inevitably rise. Larger gold reserves mean lower discount rates, greater amount of credit money and higher prices.

The rise in the value of gold will add nothing to the wealth of any country, except in so far as it leads to increase in the production of gold or other commodities. National wealth consists in goods

and services; when the supply of goods and services increases or decreases, national wealth may be said to increase or decrease. A country cannot become rich or prosperous by giving a higher value to gold or any other commodity which it produces, except in so far as the rise in value enables it to obtain a greater quantity of the goods of foreign countries in exchange. The British Empire and the Allies produce 89 per cent. of the world's gold output but they also represent the major portion of the human race. Who will buy all their gold at the higher price? Germany and her allies, it is certain, could not buy all.

A country can no more augment its wealth by giving a fictitious value to its gold than by giving a fictitious value to its land. Suppose the value of all land per acre is doubled or quadrupled by an act of State. Would that double or quadruple the wealth of the country? The wealth of some individual members of the community, i. e., the landowners, would increase. In exchange for their land they would be able to secure a greater quantity of the products of various industries. But the rise in the value of land would add nothing to the wealth of the whole community in the form of goods and services.

Our hoards of gold are said to amount to £100,000,000, and Mr. Ussher proposes to add another £50,000,000 or £100,000,000 to our hoarded wealth. But if nation-

al wealth can be augmented at will by giving a fictitious value to gold why not augment it ten, twenty or hundred times?

It should also be stated that gold is not equally distributed among various classes in India. The rise in the value of gold would enrich those who possess gold. Those who buy it at the higher price would, obviously, not benefit by the rise in its value. Again the rise in the value of gold would increase the purchasing power of the richer classes, which by increasing demand, would tend to raise all prices. A very large section of the community, i. e., the poorer classes, would thus be injured by the rise in the value of gold, firstly because, not possessing gold, they would have to pay more for it and secondly because they would have to pay more for all goods when prices rise.

Lastly the rise in the standard price of gold would injure the creditor class. It would mean that everyone who borrowed £100 before the change was made would return, say, £50 under the new conditions. As Mr. Ussher says, by raising the standard price for gold debtor governments would wipe out hundreds of millions of their war loans. But that would be a partial repudiation of national debts—whether one nation alters the standard or all the civilized nations of the world do it at the same time.

BRJ NARAIN.

"SHIVAJI" *

THE author of the *Prithviraj*, encouraged by its success, for it has already attained the dignity of a second edition, has come out again with a second epic, this time on the life and times of Shivaji. Babu Jogindranath Basu knows well how to choose periods of history which are

land-marks in national life, epochs crowded with glorious events and pregnant with fateful happenings—true themes for a noble epic. And if in the *Prithviraj* he sang of the downfall of the Aryans of Bharatavarsha scarcely yet beginning to be known as Hindus, in the *Shivaji* he sings of their triumphant rejuvenescence under the leadership of a born military genius, who was, moreover, according to the author, a marvellous administrator and statesman, sincere patriot, religious devotee, a high-souled champion of the weak and oppressed, a popular hero of romance,

* Shivaji (Historical Epic, in 18 cantos): by Jogindranath Basu. Extra crown 8vo, pp. 265. Illustrated. Printed in bold type on thick paper and beautifully bound. Calcutta, 1325 B. E. Price 2-8-0.

and a bulwark of Hinduism against the advancing inroads of Islam. Difficult as the task was which the poet had set to himself, we are glad to find that he has fully risen to the height of the occasion, and met with an ample measure of success. His plan is entirely novel, and full of risk—his object being to teach history in the garb of poetry, and at the same time to make his composition both genuine history and genuine poetry. The accuracy of the historical portion of the work is tested and certified at every step by numerous footnotes culled from the most approved and up-to-date authorities; and the fame of the author as a writer of chaste verse, dignified, eloquent, full of noble thoughts and sentiments and elevated imageries, has been fully sustained by the present work. Epics there are in the Bengali language of a high order, but except the *Battle of Plassey* by Nabinchandra Sen, none have a political *motif*. Nabinchandra, no doubt, excels the author of the *Shivaji* in genuine poetical gift, but his history is more sentimental than real; though both are equally patriotic, the patriotism of Nabinchandra is more fiery and impetuous, that of Jogindranath is more sober and discriminating, while in appreciation of the true spirit of our ancient culture—its great drawbacks in the past and its rich potentialities in the future, of the entire make-up of Hindu civilisation at its best and its worst, of the atmosphere of its temples, shrines and religious meeting-places, the unifying principle that lies hidden in the diversity of its worship, cults and ceremonies, the associations that lie enshrined in its sacred literature, legends and traditions giving life and harmony to the whole—the author of the *Prithviraj* and the *Shivaji* is superior to his predecessor, and by virtue of all these qualities he is destined to occupy a glorious niche in the temple of fame and his epics will be treasured among the richest legacies to our mother-tongue. Jogindra Babu has studied his history well, and succeeded in assimilating the profound lessons it has to teach. "History," says Sismondi in his *Italian Republics*, "has no true importance but as it contains a moral lesson. It should be explored, not for scenes of carnage, but for instructions in the government of mankind. The knowledge of times past is good only as it instructs us to avoid mistakes, to imitate virtues, to improve by experience." It is in this spirit that the poet has dived into the depths of Indian history, and the lessons he has learnt from it are eminently sound. In Jogindra Babu historic erudition, the gift of poesy, and deep love of country which is not afraid to speak unpleasant truths are combined with true political insight and the desire to utilise his rare talents to the best advantage in the service of the country. His two epics contain the quintessence of the social and political history of the country from the first invasion of the Mahomedans down to the downfall of the Moghul empire in the reign of Aurangzeb. We learn more from them than from volumes of dry-as-dust

history, occupied with unconnected facts and details as they usually are, and the lessons inculcated by our author, being presented to us in a rich poetical garb, the charm of which lingers and is not easily forgotten, are likely to be deeply imprinted on the mind and produce a lasting effect.

Great as are the merits of Jogindra Babu's epics as poetical compositions, it is their historical value which is likely to prove most abiding. Justice Sir Ashutosh Choudhuri, of all his reviewers, seems to have hit upon the true political bearing of his teachings, that by which his books will live in his country's literature and constitute his greatest contribution to the cause of his country. The lesson which he preaches is one which, in the first flush of our patriotic enthusiasm in the closing decades of the last century, we had no time to learn. Our patriotic and national poets of an elder generation had no inclination, and perhaps not sufficient material, to study the country's history in all its aspects. Political experience was also wanting. Patriotic songs full of the most touching pathos, and soul-stirring speeches breathing the noblest appeals to the spirit of liberty, were the heritage they bequeathed to us. Meanwhile European scholars like Max Muller and historians like Tod had been exploring the glories of our ancient literature and placing the stirring episodes of our national history before the educated public. In course of time a band of Indian scholars grew up, who nobly assisted in the work of popularising the result of the labours of these foreign writers, and also made original contributions of their own. The time was thus ripe for the Swadeshi movement to develop in all directions, and we began to take a genuine interest in our country's noble past. Vivekananda opened to us the gates of our rich spiritual inheritance, and with him, and his gifted disciple Sister Nivedita, we felt that without pride in its past and confidence in its future no nation can ever be great. The movement was now carried to the other extreme being helped on by the Theosophist propaganda, and from hesitating appeals to be considered as deserving of a back-seat among the civilised nations of the earth, by frequent repetition and self-suggestion we gradually convinced ourselves that the past civilisation of the Hindus was perfect in every respect, that we had nothing to learn from the modern nations of the West, and that all we had to do was to go back to the past and revive it in its entirety in order to rehabilitate our ancient high status among the world-civilisations.

The barest reflection, as well as the most cursory acquaintance with the history of the world, would have taught us that such a dream is absolutely incapable of realisation. Our circumstances, environments, ethnical and national characteristics, our relationships with the rest of the world, the progress of science and of social and political ideas, the annihilation of distance due to steam and electricity, the political and

religious developments in India itself unknown to our forefathers, and a thousand other factors make such a revival unthinkable. Nevertheless, it is a fact that thousands among us, not confined solely to the half-educated or uneducated section of the public, think it to be not only practicable, but eminently desirable. To those of this way of thinking, the lessons which the poet preaches in his two noble epics are invaluable. Just as in the first he shows how the tragic debacle of the Hindu race culminated in the first battle of Panipat, so in the present poem he expounds the causes of the downfall of the Moghul empire, and also those which led to the rise of the Hindus once more under the orange-coloured banner of Chhatrapati Shivaji.

In Canto XI, the political lessons which the poet wants to preach have been expounded through the mouth of the sage Ramdas, the *Guru* of Shivaji. Briefly put, the causes which led to the foundation of the Marhatta kingdom are, according to our poet, as follow: (1) Their power of enduring hardships, while the Moghul soldiers were enervated by luxury; (2) the Moghul army was composed of mercenaries, whereas the Marhattas were inspired by patriotism cemented by the bigotry of Aurangzeb; (3) the unity of the Marhatta people; (4) the obliteration of caste distinctions in the civil and military administration of Shivaji, merit being the sole test of fitness; (5) the self-sacrifice and active participation of Marhatta women in the common cause; (6) the religious upheaval among the people, led by Namadeva, Tukaram and others, which according to Ranade, 'modified the old spirit of caste-exclusiveness', and tended 'to raise the nation to a higher level of capacity, both of thought and action', and to 'the spiritual emancipation of the national mind'. The failure of Pratapaditya of Bengal to liberate the country from the Moghul yoke was, according to the poet, due to the fact that the country was not ripe for freedom, and failed to support him. The Hindus succumbed before the Mahomedans when they first invaded India not because Hindus were inferior to Moslems in valour and individual courage, but because they were inferior in the art of warfare and in war-materials, in organisation and discipline, and were prone to rely too much on Fate. The Hindus were also inferior in alertness, grit and horsemanship; they were incapable of resisting cavalry charges. The country was parcelled out into a number of petty principalities constantly engaged in mutual dissensions, incapable of presenting a united front to the common enemy. When one was in danger, the others did not even turn back to see how it fared. The consequence was that many kingdoms were annihilated in a single battle. Moreover, the Brahmins and Kshattriyas alone occupied high positions, and all the castes except Kshattriyas were indifferent, and considered the defence of the country as none of their business. The lower classes were hopeless and dispirited, and thought that a change

of masters would not affect them in any way. The whole country was torn by bitter religious animosities between Hindus and Buddhists, and by unjust hatred of the depressed and untouchable communities. In the last canto, on the eve of Shivaji's demise, his *Guru* further explains to him that the Mussalman conquest of India was part of the beneficent divine dispensation to teach the Hindus, sunk in unrighteousness, evil customs, caste dissensions and civil strife, the grand democratic Adwaitism of the ancient Rishis which recognised no distinction between Brahmins and Chandalas, and held such pride of birth to be utterly unrighteous. The Mahomedans, in turn, were to learn the sweetness, love, and toleration of the Hindu character. By and by, the followers of Islam, unable to profit by the wisdom of the Shastras of the Hindus, considered destruction and ruin to be the only path to success, and sunk in dissipation, began to oppress the people and propounded a most sinister doctrine of social distinction between the rulers and the ruled, born of the pride of conquest, which is a hundred times more painful than caste-distinctions. All this brought about their ruin at the hands of Shivaji. The political creed of the author is summed up in three lines which have been quoted as the motto of the book—as the key to the denouement of the whole career of the hero. It is the law of Providence that sin will lead to ruin as inevitably as virtue to preservation; if the Hindu sins, he will not escape punishment; if the Moslem sins, he will equally have to suffer the consequences. The author has repeatedly shown how Shivaji, though a strict Hindu, was careful to guard the honour of Mahomedan women and the faith of the followers of the Prophet in his territories, in this manifesting the strictest impartiality and a wise religious toleration so rare in his time. And the poet, citing the instance of Madhava-charya, the brother of the great Vedic commentator Sayana and author of the well-known *Panchadasi* and the *Sarva-darshana-Samgraha*, truly called Vidyaranya or the forest of learning, who was the abbot of the Sringeri monastery but did not hesitate to emerge from his retirement and take charge of the administration of the kingdom of Vijayanagar in order to save it from ruin, concludes with the advice that the time for renunciation has not come in India either for the householder or the Sannyasin, and that without leading an active life for the good of the country no one can be fit to attain salvation.

Even such a sympathetic writer as Mr. Havell, whose deep insight into Hindu culture and civilisation is evident throughout his recently published *History of Aryan Rule in India*, has had to admit that the Moslem eruption was the nemesis of Hindu incompetence. "A pious Hindu might easily be led to regard the long period of bloodshed and destruction which followed the Muhammadan invasions as an unmitigated disaster to his motherland and to the great civilisation of which Aryavarta was the centre.

But the true Hindu philosopher would not have failed to discern the will of Providence even in the blind rage of the Musalman fanatic :... behind the apparent ruin of his cause lay a new impulse for the progress of the human race. Brahman culture in the field it had created for itself had reached its apex : its creative energy was on the wane. Endless reiteration and hair-splitting dialectics would not carry it to greater heights or widen the circle of its activity.....the elaborate ritual.....was overgrown with superstition and chicanery, demoralising for both the teacher and the pupil. The sword of Islam was the Creator's pruning knife which removed the decaying branches....." (Pp. 324-25).

It was not within the scope of the poet to trace the causes of the downfall of the Marhatta power. So great had it at one time become, that Sir William Hunter in his *Indian Empire* says that 'the advance of the English power alone saved the Moghul empire from passing to the Hindus'. But by and by the high ideals of the founder were forgotten, and the Marhatta confederacy degenerated into a mere 'organisation of plunder', to quote the historian Seeley. Some of the causes of its downfall may be gathered from the article on 'The Survival of Hindu Civilisation' in the last December number of this Review.

We have heard the argument advanced by educated men of position that a government which is execrated and denounced by the people at large is sure to come to grief, as if there is any special virtue in the act of denunciation as such. The argument itself, it will be seen, is only a variation of the well-known maxim, *Vox populi, vox Dei*. There is undoubtedly some truth in the proposition, but not because denunciation is in some mysterious way bound to prove effective only if it happens to come from a large number of people. There may be just as well as unjust denunciation, and the political instinct of the uneducated masses is not always right, and not unoften they are apt to lay the blame on the wrong shoulders. The justification of the political maxim quoted above lies in the fact that where an administration is execrated by a numerous body of the people affected by it, it may be legitimately presumed that there are serious shortcomings in it which are bound to lead it to harm. At the same time, those who have recourse to this argument usually fail to see that a large part of their sufferings, and even the undesirable character of the administration itself, is in a great measure due to their own national defects. To hold otherwise would be to conclude that the Providence which presides over the destinies of nations is a partial authority, causing suffering among peoples who do not deserve it. So long as these national drawbacks are not removed, any improvement that may be brought about in the lot of the country can only be fragmentary and shortlived, and will not go to the root of the evils it suffers from.

Those evils will only be surely and permanently cured if the nation can get rid of its vices. And if it makes an honest start and sets about in right earnest to purge the body-politic of the numerous evils that hamper its progress, it will probably be found in the process that the machinery of government against which it complains is being automatically liberalised and adjusted to the new situation created by the country's progress. By this we do not of course intend to suggest that the evils of the administration must not be protested against; in a country where the government is not drawn from the people and is in no sense the true representative of their wants and wishes, the need of such agitation, with all the constitutional weapons in our armoury, is manifest; and it is also part of our education in our political rights. But what we do mean to say is that at the same time, and in a greater degree, our attention should be devoted to setting our own house in order, and this we consider to be the more serious and effective part of our national duty. It is natural, in the case of nations as of individuals, to be somewhat partial to one's own failings and to minimise their capacity for working mischief. But even making due allowance for this natural human weakness, we see in our country such an amount of calculated shortsightedness touching the great and serious drawbacks of our society as to make us sometimes despair of the future. Instead of trying to remove the impediments to the path of progress, we prefer rather to be blind to them and sedulously cultivate our national self-conceit, fondly believing that it is the patriot's part to do so against all odds. But merely to think and wish well of the country is hardly sufficient qualification for the rôle of the patriot. It may be taken for granted that every man, generally speaking, thinks and wishes well of his country unless of course he has strong selfish interests to serve by following the opposite course, and no man, if we think of it, deserves special recognition as a patriot for following such a natural bent of the human mind. What is really wanted is that our patriotism, in order to deserve the name, should be informed by enlightened principles and issue into strenuous, self-sacrificing and humanitarian endeavour. Confining ourselves for the present to principles, we find that few among us in the region of politics, care to formulate a definite policy for our individual guidance based upon a study of principles. It is for this reason that we find the anomalous and self-contradictory attitude, so common among us, of preaching liberty and free thought and self-determination in the field of politics while maintaining intact all the shackles which bind our social and religious life. We do not even see the connection between political and social emancipation, and foolishly imagine that the one can be achieved without progressing simultaneously in the other direction. If we make a

careful study of our ancient history from all sources, we shall find that compared with other contemporary nations, India, in the palmy days of her greatness, was remarkably free in thought and action. True, our long foreign subjection has in its turn deprived society of the elasticity of movement and the mind of the courage to think for itself which they once possessed, just as the lack of this freedom of thought and action has helped to rivet our chains. But the history of the Marhatta revival shows that there is a strong connection between social and political progress, and that the one cannot be accomplished without the aid of the other. According to the late Justice Ranade, the success achieved by the Marhatta power "was due to a general upheaval, social, religious, and political, of all classes of the population."

"It was not a mere Political Revolution that stirred Maharashtra towards the close of the sixteenth and the commencement of the seventeenth century. The Political Revolution was preceded, and in fact to some extent caused, by a Religious and Social upheaval which moved the entire population... The fact was that, like the Protestant Reformation in Europe in the sixteenth century, there was a Religious, Social, and Literary Revival and Reformation in India, but notably in the Deccan, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This Religious Revival was not Brahmanical in its orthodoxy; it was heterodox in its spirit of protest against forms and ceremonies and class distinctions based on birth, and ethical in its preference of a pure heart, and of the law of love, to all other acquired merits and good works. This Religious Revival was the work also of the people, of the masses, and not of the classes... The political leaders acted in concert with these religious leaders of the people... The impulse was felt in art, in religion, in the growth of vernacular literature, in communal freedom of life, in increase of self-reliance and toleration..." (*Rise of the Marhatta Power*, chapter I). Those who are so prone to criticise others as we are, ought sometimes to see ourselves as others see us, and also to try and find out why is it that for centuries we are trodden under the heels of foreigners, and what are the reasons

for our national decadence. Only by discovering the causes of our decay, and trying earnestly to remedy them, can we hope once more to rise from our abject position. This is a task which few among us are inclined to undertake, for it is not popular. It is more pleasant to lay the blame on others than to scan our own vices. But however desirous we may be to shut our eyes to the latter, others, who are placed in authority over us, will not forget them, and unless and until we largely succeed in overcoming them, the God of nations, who is absolutely just and impartial, will not give us the reward we seek. It is good to cultivate self-confidence, nay, it is even highly necessary; but to do so it is not essential to be blind to our own faults, and exaggerate our virtues beyond recognition. The man who is most popular among us is the man who says the pleasantest things of us, and also perhaps is loudest in his denunciation of others. This however only betrays our national weakness, and this way surely salvation does not lie. The attitude of the boy who chafes at the discipline imposed on him at school and revenges himself by backbiting his teacher at home, is not the attitude proper for self-respecting men. It is manlier to recognise one's faults, to admit them and make an honest effort to get rid of them. That is the attitude which we would sincerely desire our countrymen to cultivate if they want to win the respect of other nations. It is the great distinction of the author of the *Prithwiraj* and the *Shivaji* that he had the patriotism to see this and take in hand the political education of the nation, fed too long on cheap rhetorical outbursts in praise of our incomparable 'Aryan' civilisation,—any reader of the several volumes of the learned but pretentious *History of India* (in Bengali) by Babu Durgadas Lahiri will understand the type of vainglorious rhodomontade which goes down with us as genuine history—along the lines indicated above, and if he succeeds in rubbing it into our minds that nations by themselves are made, that they fall by their own sins and rise by their own virtues, he shall have done a great service to the motherland.

May, 11, 1919. •

X.

LICHCHAVIS OF VAISALI

WHEN strenuous and sustained research is being made by great students of antiquities in almost all fields of ancient Indian history, it is a matter

of regret that no systematic account of the Lichchavis, one of the most ancient and influential republican clans of Northern India, has yet appeared. It is due pro-

bably to the fact that though ancient Pali and Sanskrit literatures contain a few references to these people, they do not afford adequate materials for constructing an authentic and connected history. The origin of the Lichchavis is still a matter of speculation. Speculation is rife, where materials are few.

In the *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II., p. 70, Beal says:

"The people of Vaisali were a Northern people allied to the Yue-chi, which illustrates Csma Koro-si that 'Tibetan writers derive their first king about 250 B.C. from the Litsabyis or Lichchavis. The Sakya family of Buddha is also said to belong to this tribe. The symbols used by the Chinese for the Yue-chi and for the Vrijjis are the same. We know that they were regarded as intruders, for Ajatasatru, King of Magadha, was desirous of attacking and rooting out 'the Vajjians' and it was he also who strengthened the City of Pataliputra."

Thus Beal's arguments for regarding the Lichchavis of Vaisali as allied to the Yue-chi tribe come to this.—

First. The first Tibetan King is said to belong to the Litsabyis, the Sakya clan is also said to belong to the Lichchavis. Because the Tibetans and the Sakyas were Northern people like the Yue-chi, therefore the Lichchavis were Yue-chi people. This argument of Beal is obviously fallacious.

Secondly. Because the Chinese historians have spelt the words Vrijji and Yue-chi in an identical way, therefore they are the same people. This also is no sure logic. From a single coincidence it will not be fair to jump at once to the conclusion that both belonged to the same tribe in the total absence of any other evidence to substantiate it.

Thirdly. The Lichchavis were intruders. I do not understand how they could be called so. Texts from Buddhist and Jain works shew that the Lichchavis were an ancient people and about the 6th century B. C., they were firmly established at Vaisali. Besides this, we know that Bimbisara married a daughter of Raja Chetaka of Vaisali, for which his son Ajatasatru has often been called Videhiputta in the Buddhist works. That the Emperor of Magadha took his royal consort from a family of intruders

is most unlikely. Rather does the fact point to the conclusion that the tribe must have been long established at Vaisali, before they could be considered worthy of matrimonial connection with the royal family of Magadha.

In the Introduction, p. xiii, to the *Budd. Rec. of the West World*, Beal continues:

"After a month and five days Fahian and his party reached Khotan. This country has been identified with Li-yul of the Tibetan writers. There is some reason for connecting this 'Land of Li' with the Lichchavis of Vaisali. The chief prince or ruler of the Lichchavis was called the 'Great Lion' or 'noble lion'. This is probably the explanation of Maha-li used by Spence Hardy as 'the name of the King of the Lichchavis.' Khotan would thus be the land of the 'Lion-people' (Simhas)".

In J. R. A. S. (Jan., 1882), Beal has tried to establish that the Lichchavis were of Scythian origin; his main reason for this being that the account given in Asvaghosa's 'Life of Buddha and Mahaparinibbanasutta, of the gorgeous chariots and cognizances, etc., of the Lichchavis corresponds to the customs of the Northern nations. He also notices that 'Li' of Lichchavi means a 'lion'. There is an Accadian root 'lig' or 'lik' also meaning a 'lion'. (Sayce, 'Assyrian Grammar').

Beal further observes, (*Budd. Rec.*, vol. II., p. 67) that the sculpture-work found at Sanchi refers to the Lichchavi stupa over Buddha's relics. He is of opinion that these sculptures, in every way, resemble the account given of the people of Kucchi i.e., the Yue-chi tribe.

To argue that because Li-yul was the Tibetan name for Khotan and the word 'Lichchavis' begins with 'li', therefore Khotan must be the land of the Lichchavis or to fix the ethnology of a people merely from their appearance and their magnificent and variegated dresses, in the absence of corroboration from any historical record, is preposterous. Sanchi was never the land of the Lichchavis and the stupa raised by the Lichchavis over a portion of Buddha's relics must have existed at Vaisali, now definitely identified with Basarh in the district of Muzaffarpur. (V. A. Smith's 'Vaisali', J.R.A.S. 1902, pp. 267-88, and Dr. Bloch's 'Excavations at Basarh' Arch.

Sur. Ann. R.; 1903, pp. 81-122). The fact is that Indian history does not record any reliable evidence of Scythian migration into India before the 1st cent. A.D. and Beal's theory that the Lichchavis were Scythian or Yue-chi and that of Mr. Hewitt that they were Kolarians (J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 53, fn.) were formed at a time when ancient Indian history was mostly a matter of conjecture.

The two modern theories about the origin of the Lichchavis are those of Mr. V. A. Smith (Ind. Antiq. Vol. 1903, p. 233., 'Tibetan affinities of the Lichchavis' and 'The Oxford History of India', p. 64) and of Mahamahopadhyay Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana ('Persian affinities of the Lichchavis,' Ind. Antiq., 1908, p. 78).

Mr. Vincent Smith's theory that the Lichchavis were a Tibetan tribe which settled in the plains during pre-historic times is based on the following three main arguments :—

First. Tradition says that Sakya Lichchavis were the progenitors of the Tibetan Kings.

Second. Similarity between the customs of the Tibetans and those of the Lichchavis in matters sepulchral.

Third. Similarity in judicial procedure.

Now with regard to the first, Mr. Rockhill, distinguished for his Tibetan lore, has pointed out (the Life of Buddha, p. 203) that legends of this kind have little historical value and Mr. Vincent Smith himself has admitted it in connection with this theory.

With regard to his second argument, the author says that "the prevalence of the practice of exposure of the dead in Tibet is well-known and the ancient inhabitants of Vaisali disposed of their dead sometimes by exposure, sometimes by cremation and sometimes by burial." Now let us see whether this custom of disposing of the dead was peculiar to the people of Vaisali or it was commonly prevalent among the ancient people of India. According to Buddhist custom, the dead bodies of ordinary people were not cremated, but deposited at a public place.

"Sivathika or amaka-susana was the place, where, as a rule, the bodies or the remains of the pyre, were not buried but left to be destroyed

by birds or beasts or dissipated by the process of natural decay." (Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, p. 80).

In support of my contention the following passages may be quoted :—

Theragatha, verse 393—

Kullo went to a cemetery and saw the dead body of a woman untended by anybody and all covered over with worms biting it.

Mahasilava Jataka (Vol. I, pp. 264)—

Seize them all; tie their hands tightly behind their backs and away with them to the cemetery. There dig holes and bury them alive to the neck, so that they may not be able to move hand or foot.

Same Jataka (p. 265)—

Now it chanced that a corpse had been exposed in that part of the cemetery which lay between the respective domains of two ogres.

Again in Mahasutasoma Jataka (Vol. 5, p. 458)—

In the evening he went to a cemetery where dead bodies are exposed and taking some flesh from the thigh of a man, etc.

When Fahien came to India, he saw at Rajgir in 400 A. D. "an enclosure for the dead called 'Smasanam' where dead bodies were thrown." (Legge's *Fahien's Travels*, p. 84).

It was thus a general custom, traces of which are still to be found among the Hindus. All the three modes of disposing of the dead according to Vaisali custom are still to be found among the Hindus of the present day. According to the *Smritis* some bodies are to be thrown away, some buried and others cremated. Among the Parsis also we notice the custom of the exposure of the dead. Mr. Vincent Smith would like us to believe that Fahien's reference to Smasanam at Rajagriha was an indication of the fact that the Lichchavi custom extended far beyond their country and survived in Magadha about 400 A.D. Even if we were to admit that the custom extended to the people of Magadha, it might be said that in a similar way the custom made its way to Tibet.

With regard to the judicial procedure in Tibet and Vaisali, the author observes that it offers a still more striking parallel. Atthakatha on the Mahaparinibbana Sutta, the commentary ascribed to Buddhaghosha, gives the following account of the

judicial system of Vaisali.—There are eight stages : (1) Arrest and production of prisoner before the rulers. (2) Enquiry by the Winichchiya Mahamatta ; if innocent, released ; if guilty sent to (3) Waharika, (persons learned in law and custom) ; if innocent, released, if guilty, sent to (4) Sattadhara for further enquiry, then the same process ; the next court is (5) Attakulaka (the eight castes or tribes), the same process ; next (6) Senapati or chief minister, who hands him over to (7) Uparaja or vicegerent, who makes him over to the (8) Raja, who is bound to follow fixed written rules in awarding the penalty according to 'Paweniputtakam' (the book of precedents or usages).

The criminal procedure in Tibet is given by the late Sarat Chandra Das, C. I. E., as follows (J. A. S. B., 1895, p. 5). The stages are.—

(1) The accused person is arrested and sent to the lock-up ; (2) he is watched, treated kindly and mildly interrogated ; (3) he is subjected to a mild but minute interrogation, called Janti and his answers are noted down ; (4) he is examined more strictly and whipped at intervals ; this is called Tshan-di ; (5) if he makes any kind of confession, true or false, he is subjected to further prolonged examination, repeated whippings and cruel tortures of various kinds ; (6) if the case is serious and the government becomes a party, he is taken to the Kalous or Minister's court ; (7) this court suggests to the 'gyal-tshab' (regent), which is the highest court in the country, that one of the three punishments mentioned in the decision may be approved of ; (8) the sentence may be mitigated, commuted or revised by the Dalai Lama only. The Regent has no power to do more than select one of the 3 punishments suggested by the court of ministers.

Mr. Vincent Smith perceives a very close resemblance between this procedure and the ancient judicial system of Vaisali ; but to me, the similarity appears to be more imaginary than real. We find that the two main essentials of the Lichchavi system of judicial procedure and which are purely republican in character are first, that there should not be the least punishment before the guilt is proved, and second, the prisoner is to be set free if held innocent by any of the eight tribunals. None of these is present in the Tibetan procedure, where the criminal is 'whipped at intervals' and is subjected to 'repeated

whippings and cruel tortures.' Nor does it appear that there is a regular gradation of courts in Tibet, where the subordinate officers merely examine the accused but never constitute a tribunal.

It is probable that both the Lichchavis and the Tibetans had a common origin. But there is no reason to call the Lichchavis a Tibetan tribe. On the contrary it may be supposed that the Lichchavis, who had a strong republican system of government at Vaisali in the 6th and 5th cen. B. C., might have proceeded north to Nepal, where they established a monarchical government in the 1st cen. A.D. and founded an era in 11 A.D. (Sylvain Levi 'Le Nepal' i, 14, ii, 153). Jayadeva I, the first historical king of Nepal, belonged to the Lichchavi tribe and reigned from A.D. 330-55 A.D. (Fleet's Corpus Ins. Ind., Vol. III, p. 135). Hieuntsang, who visited India about the middle of the 7th cen. A.D., found a Lichchavi Kshatriya reigning in Nepal. According to the Tibetan records the earliest kings of Tibet belonged to the Li-tsa-bya race and their first king came from a foreign country. These point to the conclusion that there was probably some connection of these Lichchavis with the Lichchavis of Vaisali but the exact connection has not yet been definitely determined.

Dr. Vidyabhusana in his article on "The Persian affinities of the Lichchavis" (Ind. Antiq., 1908, p. 78) has tried to establish that the Lichchavis were a Persian tribe, whose original home was Nisibis, a port of Persia, off Herat. He says that during Darius's invasion in 515 B. C. some of the Persian subjects of Nisibis emigrated to India, and the Panjab being the home of orthodox Brahmins, settled in Magadha, largely inhabited by Vratyas (outcast people). He presumes that his view is corroborated by Sloka 22, Chap. X, of Manusamhita, which runs thus :—

भक्षो मल्लश्च राजन्याद् ब्राह्म निष्क्रिदिरेव च ।

नटश्च करणश्चैव खसो द्रविड एव च ॥

(Seven classes of Vratya Kshatriyas, viz. क्षत्र, मल्ल, निष्क्रिदि, नट, करण, खस, and द्रविड. Dr. Vidyabhusana is of opinion that the

"term 'Nichchivi' is the Indian form of the Persian word 'Nisibis', and the Pali word 'Lichchavis' or 'Lichchivis' is a softened form of 'Nichchivis' or 'Nisibis.'" According to him they were not firmly established at Vaisali in the 5th cen. B. C. as Mahaparinibbana Sutta, chap. I, says that their expulsion was attempted by Ajatasatru.

Now the colonisation of Magadha by the people of Nisibis is neither supported by tradition nor by history and it is most improbable that a people could have settled at Vaisali, so far off from Persia, without leaving any trace behind them in the vast region intervening. Nisibis was founded sometime during the reign of Cyrus, who ruled from 559-530 B. C. and there is no sufficient reason to believe that a people should have left their original home in Nisibis, only a few years after its foundation and at a time when it was fast getting into importance. Manu's Nichchivi is not derived from 'Nisibis' but it is merely a corrupted form of the word 'Lichchavi'. The existence of various forms of the word 'Lichchavi' was first detected by Lassen and admitted by other European scholars, such as, Buhler and Sylvain Levi, the latter drawing our attention to the terms 'Lichchavi' 'Lichchivi' 'Lichchakhi' (acc. to Jain books) and 'Nichchivi' (acc. to Manu). In Dr. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions we meet with numerous titles, such as, 'Lichchavi-dauhitra' 'Lichchavikula-ketubha,' 'Lichchavi-kulanandakara ; 'Lichchavi-kula-ketuh' and 'Lichchavayah', but all these begin with 'Li' and never with 'Ni'. The general form is 'Lichehavi.' 'Lichchivi', which is found in the Bhitari Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta and in the spurious Gaya grant of Samudragupta, the form 'Lichchakhi' of the Jains, and 'Nichchivi' of Manu-Samhita, are all variants of the same name.

I do not understand how Ajatasatru's attempt to exterminate the Lichchavis of Vaisali can indicate that they were a newly settled people. We know 'Virudhaka' or 'Virudhava' of Kosala exterminated the Sakyas of Kapilavastu and that Ajatasatru conquered Kosala. Are we to suppose, therefore, that both Kosala and the Sakya territories were new settle-

ments? It has already been observed that the marriage of a Lichchavi girl with Raja Bimbisara could not possibly have taken place if the people had not been old settlers of Vaisali. It may also be of interest here to note that Rhys Davids, in his Buddhist India, p. 259, refers to the power of the Lichchavis as far back as the 7th cen. B.C., when they successfully withstood the attempt of mighty Mahakosala to extend his suzerainty over them.

There being no conclusive evidence of the foreign origin of the Lichchavis, it is natural for us to assume that they were an indigenous people. The facts that Manu calls them Vratyas or degraded Kshatriyas, for non-observance of the ten principal Hindu Samskaras, and that Vaisali was the stronghold of the two non-brahmanical religions, Buddhism and Jainism, lead us to believe that these people joined the reactionary movement against Brahmanism which set about in the 6th cen. B.C. and whose great exponents were Gautama Buddha and Mahavira.

According to Rhys Davids (Budd. India, p, 25), the Vajjians consisted of eight confederate clans, of whom the Lichchavis of Vaisali and the Videhans of Mithila were the most important. Vaisali was the headquarters of this powerful confederacy and its name might have been derived from the word 'Bisal', meaning 'extensive', or from the name of the King Bisal, whose fort has been identified and the place excavated by Dr. Bloch. His excavations have revealed three distinct strata of brick structures; the uppermost belonging to the Muhammadan period, the second to the epoch of the Imperial Guptas and the third to some more remote date, probably the time of Buddha. At the very dawn of Indian history we catch a glimpse of Vaisali as a splendid city, the capital of the proud and and lordly Lichchavis, which they probably occupied after subduing the original inhabitants of the place, as, Prof. Bhandarkar has pointed out, the name विजितदेश (conquered place) indicates. Ancient Vaisali enjoyed a striking prosperity and was encompassed by a triple wall, each wall

being a league off from the next. There were three gates with watch-towers. (Ekapanna Jataka, vol. I, p. 504,—‘Tasmin hi kale vesalinagaram gavutagavutantare (lit. trans—at a distance of a cow’s call)tihi pakarehi parikkhittam tisuthanesa gopuratta,—lakayuttam parama sobhag-gappattam’. Again in the Lomahamsa Jataka vol. I, 389, we find the following passage—‘Vesaliyam tinnam pakaranam antare vicaranto’, etc.) According to Jain traditions Vaisali was made up of three distinct parts—Vaisali proper, Kundagama, Vaniagama (the birth place of Vardhamana Mahavira, probably identified with the modern village of Baniya), besides the Kollaga suburb, now Kollua. V. A. Smith’s article on ‘Vaisali,’ J. R. A. S. 1902, p. 267). “It was the only great city in all the territories of the free clans who formed so important a factor in the social and political life of the 6th cent. A.D. (Rhys Davids’s Budd. Ind., p. 40).

The Lichchavis were Kshatriyas. They sent a messenger to the Mallas of Kusinagar to claim Buddha’s relic on the ground that they like the Blessed One belonged to the Kshatriya caste. Though they belonged to the soldier caste, they did not neglect agriculture and commerce. In the Atthakatha on Mahaparinibbanasutta we find the minister Vassakara in the council of Ajatasatru saying: “Let the Vajjians go on with their agricultural and commercial concerns”. During the reign of the Gupta kings Vaisali became a famous trade and business centre. Clay seals of Ghatotkacha Gupta bearing the words ‘Sri Ghatotkacha guptasya’ and of Dhruvadevi bearing the words ‘Maharajadhiraja Sri Chandragupta-patni Maharaja Sri Gobindagupta-mata Mahadevi Sri Dhruva svamini’, have been excavated at Basarh along with about 700 other clay seals, mostly of merchants and bankers. (Dr. Bloch’s Excavations at Basarh, Arch. S. Ann. R. 1903—4, p. 107, pl. xli.) The Lichchavis have been called by Manu a degraded caste, but on the contrary, their contemporary people regarded them as high-born and most respectable. In the Suttapitaka Jataka, Vol. II, it is said that a barber’s son wishing to marry a Lichchavi girl, his

father reproached him, as she was a high-born lady, and so the match was improbable.

The city of Vaisali was a centre of education. Cullakalinga Jataka, Vol. 3, p. 1 says: “The Jain Sacchaka lived on in the same place at Vaisali, studying the lore of the Lichchavis,” and in the same Jataka we also find that they were all learned and given to arguments and disputations. It also tells us that a male and a female Jain disputant of Vaisali were married and their daughters became great logicians, whom Sariputra defeated in arguments with great difficulty and converted into Buddhism. Angutta Nikaya (BK. III) also records a learned discussion of a very high order between two Lichchavi princes and we find its corroboration in Dhammapada also, which says that Buddha had a very high spiritual conversation with the Lichchavis. For holding religious and philosophical discussions, the Lichchavis erected the Kutagara hall (gabled pavillion) where Buddha gave many discourses to the people.

In matters of law and justice, people were guided by a book called Paweni-puttakam, a book of precedents or usages. It seems that other kingdoms also at that time followed their own code of legal precedents. In Tundila Jataka, Vol 3, p. 292, we find the following passage—

After the death of Brahmadata, king of Benares, Bodhisattva caused a book of precedents to be written and said: “By observing this book you should settle suits.”

About the morals of the Lichchavis very little is definitely known. In the Mahaparinibbana-sutta we find Ambapali, the wealthiest courtesan of Vaisali, paying respects to Buddha and inviting him to a meal before the Lichchavis could approach him. The Lichchavis offered her a large sum of money for cancelling her invitation in their favour, but she would not agree to it even for all Vaisali. Ambapali must have been an accomplished person and it seems from the wealth and mental accomplishment of these courtesans that they acquired a great influence in this period. Turnour remarks (I. A. S. B., Vol. vii., p. 992) that “there appears also to have been an office conferred by the rulers of the Vajji on a female

designated the 'Nagarasobhini-thanantavan,' which literally signifies the chief-ship of the beauties of the town."

Considerable light has been thrown on the constitution and practices of the Lichchavis by the memorable words of Gautama Buddha with regard to them when Ajatasatru sent a minister to him for his advice. In Mahaparinibbana-sutta, chapters 4 and 5, we find Buddha saying :

So long as the Vajjians hold full and frequent assemblies, so long as they live in unity and concord, so long as they act according to their ancient institutions, without enacting anything new or abrogating anything already established, so long as they honour their elders, so long as no women or girls belonging to their class are detained among them by force or abduction, so long as they honour the Vajjian shrines and observe their ancient religious rites, so long as they support and protect the Arhats—so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper.)

The words 'abhinham sannipata sannipata bahula (full and frequent assemblies) bear out the fact that these people had a republican system of government. Tradition in the Jatakas says that there were 7707 Lichchavi kings of Vaisali, each having his own Viceroy, General and Treasurer. In Kautilya's Arthashastra, Bk. XI, chap. 1, p. 455, the Lichchavis have been called राजशब्दोपजीविनः (having the profession of kings)—लिच्छविक-वज्जिक-मल्लक मद्रक-कुल्लर-कुलपाङ्गलादयो राजशब्दोपजीविनः" a number of other clans being वात्सीयशब्दोपजीविनः (having the profession of arms and industries). The Lichchavi kings were called 'ganarajans' (republican heads), being the chiefs of different 'kulas' or small clans each having a definite jurisdiction, and their 'abhiseka' or coronation took place after consecration with the water of a sacred tank at Vaisali. The wife of Bandhula, the commander-in-chief of Kosala, when pregnant, said to her husband : "My Lord, I desire to go to the tank in the city of Vaisali, bathe in it and drink its sacred water, which is used by kings for ceremonial sprinkling at their coronation. (Buddhasala Jataka, vol. 4, p. 148). The full assembly of these 'ganarajas' was the highest authority in the state and decided all matters of common concern.

The Lichchavis were noted for their

devoted attachment to Gautama Buddha and his religion. Buddha, in his turn, had also a special liking for these people. Hearing of Buddha's stay at Ambapali's grove, the Lichchavis of Vaisali, dressed in magnificent attire, started in carriages to invite Buddha. Buddha seeing them approaching from a distance said to his brethren : "O brethren, let those of the brethren who have never seen the Tavatimsa gods, gaze upon this company of the Lichchavis, behold the company of the Lichchavis even as a company of the Tavatimsa gods". (M. P. S. Chap. 2, para 17.) The Lichchavis built a large number of Buddhist temples at Vaisali, which was a favourite place of Buddha. Buddha said (S. B. E. vol XI. p. 24.): "How delightful a spot, Ananda, is Vaisali, the Udena chetiya, the Gotamaka chetiya, the Sattambaka chetiya, the Bahu-patta chetiya, the Sarandada chetiya, and the Chapala chetiya." Buddha said to Ananda that when he was at Sarandada temple, he himself taught the Lichchavis those conditions of welfare, which if they observed, they would prosper. The Lichchavis were much aggrieved at the death of Buddha, which event, it is said, brought about their full conversion and they destroyed for ever all their books of heresy to show their firm adherence to the true law. (Asvaghosha's Life of Buddha, Eng. Trans., p. 276). They demanded and obtained from the Mallas of Kusinagara, 1/8th portion of Buddha's body as a relic over which they erected a 'dagaba' (mound) at Vaisali. Buddhist accounts say that when Ananda was going to Vaisali to leave his body there, King Ajatasatru followed him to the bank of the Ganges and requested him not to depart, and the Lichchavis, on the other bank, came to welcome him. In order to displease neither party, he, in the very middle of the river, consumed his body in the course of his 'samadhi' and the relics of his body were scattered on both banks of the river and the Lichchavis erected a mound over their share. But about a hundred years after the Parinirvana of Buddha some bhikshus became lax in their observance of the Buddhist disciplinary rules, and references are found in the Cullavagga of Vinayapitaka

and in Mahavamsa which indicate that they did not strictly follow the regulations of the Buddhist Church. It was they who were responsible for the first schism in the Buddhist Church known as the Mahasamgiti heresy when they declared ten indulgences as permissible and began to practise them. The result was that a large number of Lichchavi priests were degraded by way of punishment.

Vaisali was also a stronghold of the Jains. Vardhamana Mahavira, the founder of the Jaina sect, was a noble of Vaisali, a member of the Nata clan of Kshatriyas, who dwelt in the suburb of Kollaga. He, also, was highly respected as a religious teacher. The Kalpasutra tells us that on his death, there was a grand illumination at Vaisali and its neighbourhood representing the Illumination of Soul due to his teachings. But the relation between the two religions, Buddhism and Jainism, was far from cordial. The following account is given in Mahavagga, Chap. VI, Sec. 31.

"Siha, the General-in-Chief of the Lichchavis, a disciple of Nigantha Sect, was sitting in an assembly of the Town Hall of the Lichchavis. He spoke of his intention to Nigantha Nataputta (identified with Mahavira by Prof. Bühler and Jacobi) who told him, 'why, should you, Siha, who believe in Kiriya-vada (result of actions) go to visit the Samana Gautama, who denies the result of actions?' But after attending another assembly, the man went to Buddha and became converted. Then the Niganthas spread a rumour that the General had killed a great ox and that Buddha, knowing it, took the meat."

Raja Bimbisara of Magadha strengthened his position by marrying in the two powerful families of Northern India, the royal family of Kosala and the Lichchavis of Vaisali. The name of the Lichchavi maiden, the second queen of Bimbisara, was, according to the Jains, Chellana, the daughter of Chetaka, a king of Vaisali but according to the Tibetan 'Dulva,' her name was Vasabi, the niece of Gopala (Rockhill's 'Life of Buddha', p. 63). Her son Ajatasatru, on his accession to the throne, planned the conquest of the territory of his maternal grand-father. In the Nirayavali Sutra it is related that king Chetaka, when threatened by Kunika, *alias* Ajatasatru, with war, called together the eighteen confederate kings of Kasi and Kosala, the

Lichchavis and Mallakas, to decide whether they should satisfy Kunika's demands or go to war with him. Ajatasatru built a fort at Pataliputra and completed the conquest of Vaisali in 3 years. We find in the Mahaparinibbana-sutta, Chap. 4, that he, bent on conquering the Vajjians, sent his minister Vassakara to Buddha, who was residing in Gridhrakuta hill at Rajagriha, to know his predilections in this matter. Understanding that they could not be conquered till they violated the conditions of welfare, the minister came back and informed his master that the people could not be overcome in battle, if he did not resort to diplomacy and break up their union. The Atthakatha gives the following interesting details about the conquest of Vaisali:—

In order to dissolve the alliance of the Vajjians, the king and his minister hit upon a plan. 'The minister, in the Council of Ajatasatru, shall say: "Let the Vajjians go on with their agricultural and commercial work", and quit the council. Thereupon the king shall say: "What does the Brahmin mean by interdicting our discussions regarding the Vajjians?" The minister will send some tribute to the Vajjians and the king will bring a charge against the minister and cut off all his hair. Then as he is the person by whom the ramparts and ditches of the King's Capital were constructed and as he knows the strong and the weak, the high and the low parts of the King's fortifications, he will tell the Vajjians that he will be able to remove any obstacles, the king can lay. When this will be accepted by the Vajjians, the king will say, "let them come."

'The minister departed for Vaisali. Some did not want to receive him, others received him on the ground that he was so treated because he had advocated their cause and he, having been the Judicial Minister there, became so, also, at Vaisali. Then he disunited them in the following manner. He once asked a Lichchavi prince mysteriously, "Do people plough land?"; another prince who was there asked him what he said and did not believe the answer given and so they quarrelled with each other. Another time the minister asked a Lichchavi prince privately, in the presence of another, "With what curry did you eat your rice?" This also, in a similar manner brought about a dissension between the two. On another occasion he said to a Lichchavi, "Are you a coward?", to another "Are you a beggar?", for, he said, that others had been calling them so. Thus in course of years the Lichchavis were entirely disunited. Then he requested the king to attack Vaisali and he accordingly advanced with a large army. The tocsin of Vaisali was sounded, but the people

disregarded the call, saying, "Let the rich and the valiant assemble, we are beggars and cowards." The Vajjians again and again beat the tocsin but every time without effect. Thus they were easily conquered by Ajatasatru.

There is mention of a Lichchavi king and statesman, Sisunaga or Susunaga, by name, in the Mahabansa, the Atthakatha and the Malankaravatthu. The last mentioned work says that he abandoned Rajagriha and made Vaisali the capital of his empire. It is difficult to say how far the accounts about him are historically true.

After Ajatasatru's conquest of Vaisali, nothing is known definitely about the Lichchavis of Vaisali till the reign of Chandragupta I, when they suddenly came into prominence. Chandragupta married a Lichchavi princess, Kumara Debi, about 308 A.D., and it appears that they were very influential at this time and their power probably extended over the imperial city of Pataliputra. From the fact that Chandragupta subsequently assumed the lofty title of Maharajadhiraja, that he struck gold coins in his own name and those of his queen and the Lichchavis and that the title 'Lichchavi-dauhitrasya' became a permanent epithet for Samadragupta throughout his inscriptions, and also from the pride which he took in the alliance with the Lichchavis, it can be safely concluded that this union greatly contributed to the growth of the political influence of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. Six gold coins of Chandragupta I, all bearing the image of the king and his

Lichchavi queen, have been found and preserved, one, in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the five others in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. On the obverse side of one of these coins, we find the king wearing a tight coat, facing the queen. His right hand is raised offering her a flower or jewel, his left arm rests on a spear. On the margin of the coin on the queen's side is the legend 'Kumara Debi' and under the king's left arm is written vertically 'Chandra Gupta' in Brahmi characters. On the reverse side is a goddess seated with legs down on a couchant lion which lies on a lotus. She holds a noose (pasa) in her right hand and the cornucopia in her left. On the right hand side there is the legend 'Lichchavaya.' From this it appears that these were struck by the joint authority of Chandragupta and the Lichchavis. (V. A. Smith's "Catalogue of coins in Ind. Museum, Calcutta," p. 95).

What subsequently happened to these people, is wrapped in obscurity.

Thus, though it is possible for us to build up a history, however fragmentary, of the Lichchavis of Vaisali, from the very scanty materials available, they hardly cover their entire political career. As late as about the middle of the 7th cent. A.D. we find the Chinese traveller Hieunt Sang recording Vaisali in ruins, with a sparse population, without any of its ancient glory and grandeur.

HEM CHANDRA RAI CHAUDHURI.

WAR-WORK OF INDIANS IN BRITAIN

BY MRS. ST. NIHAL SINGH.

AFTER more than four years of devoted service in behalf of India's fighting men, the Eastern League, composed of Indian ladies residing in Britain and their British friends, demobilized the other day. The interest that they took in Indians on active service in France and Flanders and other theatres of war, and in Indian

prisoners in the hands of the Germans and Turks, and the work that they did to insure their comfort and to alleviate their sufferings, deserve gratefully to be remembered.

The Eastern League was formed in October, 1914, shortly after the news came that Indians were on their way to fight on

the Continent. Its object was to mitigate, as far as possible, the sufferings of our heroic men. Mrs. P. L. Roy, Mrs. B. Bhola Nauth, and other Indian and British ladies who organised the movement, knew that men born and bred in the tropics were coming to fight in a climate to which they were utterly unused. They also knew that winter would be on them soon—a winter for which they might not be properly prepared.



Mrs. P. L. Roy.

As a matter of fact, the sufferings of our men in France during the winter of 1914-15 were greatly increased by a combination of adverse circumstances. The winter proved to be particularly severe. The trenches into which Indian fighters, both infantry and cavalry, were flung were primitive affairs. The Allied engineers had not been able to drain them or to provide them with wooden floors. Often water stood in them waist-deep. In the attempt to keep warm, many of the men put on several pairs of woolen socks, one over the other. That stopped the circulation of the blood and resulted in frost-bite. Many became so rigid with cold that they had to be pulled out of the trenches by ropes slung under their arms. In spite of their terrible suffering, the Indian soldiers never lost their stoicism. The shivering Sikh who told his Commander that though

he was frozen stiff he could yet fire, voiced the sentiments of all the Indian fighters.

How fortunate it was for those brave men that their Indian sisters in the United Kingdom and their British friends had anticipated their needs and had sent out urgent appeals asking for woolen gloves, mittens, socks, bed-socks, mufflers, shirts, jerseys, sweaters, pyjama suits, pneumonia jackets, and thick flannel covers for hot-water bottles. They had also realised the necessity of sending special articles of food, and had appealed for spices and sweets.

As soon as the British public learned what was needed for the comfort of the Indian soldiers who had come to the aid of the Empire when the sky was black with menacing clouds, gifts poured in in large quantities. Many British women undertook to knit garments for Indians and to make bags in which to pack spices and sweets for them.



Mrs. Bhagwati Bhola Nauth.

Messrs. William Whiteley, Ltd., who own one of the largest shops in an aristocratic part of London, allowed the workers of the Eastern League to use the "India Room" at their headquarters, rent free, and there they met, every Tuesday and Thursday afternoon, for nearly five years. The room was a pretty sight on those days. Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, and Parsi ladies clad in bright saris, and British ladies with

Indian sympathies, more sombrely dressed, sat together at the large tables that filled the room and knit socks and gloves, or cut out or stitched garments, or wrapped up parcels to be sent out to the men at the front or in the hands of the enemy.

Besides the subscriptions given by members and donations received by means of personal appeal, this band of women-workers obtained funds by organizing entertainments at the Shaftesbury Theatre, the Playhouse, and the Royal Automobile Club, and at the home of Dame Alice Godman, which netted about £250 in all. The last entertainment was got up by Mr. and Mrs. Cathcrat Wayson, and several grand-children of Charles Dickens took part in it. Miss Sushila Ram, daughter of Dr. Ram, Municipal Health Officer at Mexboro, Yorkshire, organized a concert in aid of the League which netted over £22.

Indian soldiers at the front and Indian prisoners in enemy hands felt such confidence in the League that they wrote and asked for all sorts of articles that they needed. Sikhs desired combs and cocoanut oil for their hair, and hundreds of the former and gallons of the latter were sent for their use. Musalmans wrote for henna to colour their beards. Antimony for use in the eyes was asked for, but was not sent to prisoners in the hands of the enemy, for fear that it would be misappropriated and used for munitions. Altogether nearly 60,000 garments, hundreds of thousands of parcels of Indian delicacies, and a large number of games were sent out.

In the last year of its existence, the Eastern League lost its President, Lady Hayes Sadler, and shortly afterwards Lady King, who succeeded her. Both had worked indefatigably from the time the League was organized to make it a success. Lady Hayes Sadler was the wife of Lt.-Col. Sir James Hayes Sadler, who served with the Bengal Infantry and in the Political Department, while her father was Col. Wemyss Smith, of the Indian Army. These facts explain why she was so keenly interested in the welfare of Indian soldiers. Lady King was a Canadian by birth, and was the wife of Sir Henry Seymour King, the head of the great banking firm of Henry

S. King and Company, of London; King, King and Company of Bombay, Delhi, and Simla; and King, Hamilton and Company of Calcutta. She threw herself heart and soul into the the work of providing comforts for the Indian soldiers, contributing generously to its funds, and giving practically all her spare time to knitting and sewing garments with her own hands to send to the Indian fighters and prisoners of war.

The Eastern League is now raising money to found a scholarship for the sons of Sepoys, as a memorial to Lady Hayes Sadler and Lady King. Something like Rs. 1,400 were left in the Treasury of the League when it demobilised, after selling or auctioning all the wool, remnant of flannel and cotton goods, sewing machines, spices, and other articles that it had left on its hands. The idea at present is for the League to raise Rs. 3,000 as a tribute to the two ladies who died, literally in harness, while working for the welfare of Indian soldiers.

Members of the Eastern League assisted in selling Indian flags and souvenirs on various occasions to obtain funds for buying comforts for Indian soldiers. The Princess Sophia A. Duleep Singh, who worked as a nurse for over a year at a military hospital, and did not hesitate to make beds, clean rooms, scrub kitchen floors, or prepare fish for frying for the patients, organized an Indian Section of "Our Day" in 1916 and 1917, and "India Day" last year. Although "Our Day" came close after "India Day" in 1918, Mrs. Bhola Nauth undertook to organise a special Indian section.

As the Princess Sophia A. Duleep Singh wrote in the "Lady's Pictorial," one of the leading women's weeklies of London, the flag-selling activities of these ladies, besides obtaining funds for Red Cross and allied purposes, served the purpose of reminding the British that

"...no soldiers of the King have shown greater devotion to duty than have my countrymen. Born in the tropics, they steel themselves to bear the snow and sleet of Europe when Imperial exigencies demanded their presence in France. They have cheerfully gone to any corner of Africa or Asia, wherever they were needed. First to rush to Britain's aid when she was sore-pressed

by the foe in France and Flanders, India continues to be at the head of the over-seas units of the Empire in respect of military effort."

So long as there were any Indian soldiers in hospital in Britain, Indian ladies, the wives of Indians who themselves were not Indian, and their British friends, paid them frequent visits, taking with them warm clothing and delicacies made with their own



Mrs. Mrinalini Sen.

hands. Mrs. M. Gupta, who only recently returned to India, was particularly active in this work of mercy. She was in Bournemouth at the time the first contingent of wounded Indian soldiers was taken to the military hospitals at Netley and Brockenhurst, both near Bournemouth and began at once to make regular visits to them, taking along with her delicacies made with her own hands, and other articles that the suffering heroes specially asked her to supply them. As soon as it became known that she was unofficially "mothering" the wounded Indians, money and articles required were showered upon her by her friends and acquaintances to give to the men from India as an expression of British gratitude for what they had done for the Empire. For many weeks Mrs. Gupta continued to perform this gentle service, and came to be looked upon as the mother of all the wounded soldiers at these two hospitals.

Another Indian lady who did a great deal personally to make life bearable to In-

dia's fighters was Mrs. Mrinalini Sen, daughter-in-law of Keshub Chunder Sen. She made sweets and cooked Indian food, not only for the wounded soldiers but also for the soldiers and officers who were allowed to visit London on leave, and entertained many of them at her own home.

Mrs. Prakash Singh, wife of Sardar •Bashashar Singh of Patiala, was in England at that time, and she and her husband, and other Sikhs who resided at the Bhupendra Dharmasala at 79, Sinclair Road, West Kensington, visited Netley and Brockenhurst and took along with them delicacies for the Indian patients there; and welcomed those who visited the Dharmasala. I remember that on the occasion of the birthday of Guru Gobind Singh, shortly after the war began, a large party of Sikh soldiers were brought to London, given an Indian feast at the Bhupendra Dharmasala by Mr. Charles and the Lady Cecelia Roberts, and then taken to Caxton Hall to take part in the meeting that had been organized in



Lt.-Col. Kanta Prasad, I.M.S. (Retired).

honour of the day—and also of them. The food served at that banquet was prepared by Mrs. Prakash Singh, her husband and her brothers, Satyavani and Vikram Singh, Sardars Sant Singh Chhachhi, Sampuran Singh, Teja Singh, Saroop Singh, and Gurmukh Singh, and Thakur Jessraj Singh Seesodia, who remained up the greater part

of the night so that the food might be ready in time the next morning.

The hospitals and nursing homes in which the broken heroes were cared for were staffed by young Indians who had thrown up their studies, at the outbreak of war, to serve their countrymen. As no adequate account of the devoted work done by these young men has, to my knowledge, appeared in India, it may be of interest for me to present it in outline here.

When the war broke out, young Indians at the British Universities and Inns of Court forgot any differences that they had with the authorities, and showed great keenness to fight for Britain. They found the way to the Commissioned ranks of the Army barred to them, and some of them encountered difficulty in entering British regiments even as privates. Practically the only manner in which most of them could show their patriotism was by rendering medical relief to Indian soldiers.

Towards the end of August, 1914, arrangements were completed to train Indians in Red Cross work. The classes were at first held at the Polytechnic, in the West End of London, and instruction was given by the well-known Harley Street specialist, Dr. James Cantlie, who, it will be remembered, protected and befriended the Chinese patriot, Dr. Sun Yat Sen.

Towards the end of September of the same year a circular was issued stating that with the sanction of the Government of India it had been decided to "organize a Field Ambulance Training Corps in connection with the Red Cross Society, and to give members of this Corps, when adequately trained, an opportunity of serving with the Indian Army in Europe." The Corps was intended mainly for residents in London, but Indian students from other centres were to be admitted if they desired to join. Those who intended to apply were assured that trained instructors would drill them almost every day in London at an hour that would not unduly interfere with their ordinary studies or occupations. But they were expected to go into camp at each week-end from Friday night to Monday morning, for further training. The London drill ground was at Portland

Crescent, and the camp was situated at the Cavendish Athletic Ground at Eastcote.

After training "that would involve hard and steady work," they were informed, they would, when efficient, be entitled to volunteer for six months as a Detachment under the Red Cross Society in connection with the Indian troops abroad. The rates of pay on active service would probably be £1 per day for Medical Officers, and 4s. a day with free rations for the rest.

Indians desirous of joining the Corps were asked to apply to the Indian Volunteers Committee, at 60, Talbot Road, London. This Committee had for its executive board Mr. M. K. Gandhi (Chairman), Mr. M. M. Gandevia (Hon. Secretary), Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, Lt.-Col. Kanta Prasad, I.M.S. (Retired), Major N. P. Sinha, I.M.S. (Retired), Mr. J. M. Parekh, Mr. K. S. Jassawalla, Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta, Mr. Sorabji S. Adabania, Mr. J. N. Sahai, Mr. Afzal Hassan, Mr. G. A. K. Lunahi, Mr. I. S. Haji, Mr. B. B. Varma, and Mr. Venkatraman. Mr. Gandhi had, during the Zulu Rebellion and the Boer War, organised Indians in South Africa for medical relief work, and had served with them. He was, therefore, acquainted with the methods of organizing such a unit, and, though seriously ill at the time, showed great zeal and not a little energy in helping to organize the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps.

Lt.-Col. Baker, of the Indian Medical Service (Retired), who was appointed by the authorities to act as Commander of the Corps, was an estimable man, though, like most retired Anglo-Indians, he was somewhat old-fashioned in his ideas regarding India and military discipline. But not a few Indians felt that when properly qualified Indians were available in Britain, one of them should have been appointed as Commander of the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps. There were, for instance, Lt.-Col. Kanta Prasad, I.M.S. (Retired), who had served the Government with distinction from 1883 to 1913, and had seen active service in five campaigns; and Major N. P. Sinha, I.M.S. (Retired), elder brother of Lord Sinha. I believe that Lt.-Col. Warlekar, who had retired from the Indian Medical

Service, had not yet been sent to India to relieve a younger man for active service, though Lt.-Col. Bawa Jivan Singh, Lt.-Col. (now Col.) Bhola Nauth, and Major (now Lt.-Col.) C. K. Bhakle, on leave in Britain, had gone, almost immediately after the outbreak of war, to report for duty in India.



Mr. Shiva Darshal Lal Agarwala, Bar-at-Law.

Lt.-Col. Baker, like officers of the old army, had had no experience of working with young volunteers who, in their enthusiasm for freedom's cause, had, for the time being, put aside their private work to render aid to the Empire menaced by an aggressive Power. As can be easily imagined, every now and again there was a clash between his ideas of military discipline and the Committee's conception of its powers and privileges. At one time matters drifted to such a pass that a high official of the India Office had to call, late in the evening, upon Mr. Gandhi, who was lying ill at No. 60, Talbot Road. As both possessed great gifts of tact and commonsense, they arrived at an amicable understanding.

Hardly had the organization of the Corps been completed and training begun when its services were urgently required to render medical relief to Indians who had been wounded on the Continent. The first Indian contingent, it may be remembered, reached France on September 26, 1914, and

the German superiority in artillery, and other causes, combined to make the Indian casualty list extremely heavy.

Much of the work of caring for the Indian wounded fell upon the Indian young men who had volunteered "unconditionally." Some of them served on the hospital ships that conveyed the wounded from France to hospitals in Britain. Others acted as doctors and orderlies in the Netley hospital, a wing of which was set apart for their care, and later at the hospitals and nursing homes established at Brockenhurst, Brighton, and Milford-on-sea.

How nobly the Indian community in the United Kingdom rose to the occasion! Lt.-Col. Kanta Prasad, with his long and honourable record, and Mr. M. A. Turkhad, ex-Vice-Principal of the Raj Kumar College (Kathiawar), flung their dignity to the four winds and went to Netley to serve as orderlies. They soon found themselves, however, in an awkward position, and had to retire.



Lady King.

So great was the need for nurses and orderlies in those early days of the war that on November 4, 1914, the Indian Volunteer Corps issued an urgent appeal for more orderlies. Several young Indians responded.

The conscientious care and devotion to duty with which Indians engaged in relieving the distress of sick and wounded Indian

soldiers won the approbation of their superior officers. Lt.-Col. Sir Walter Lawrence spoke most highly of their work, which he had watched, both on the Continent and in Britain, as Special Commissioner to the War Office in charge of hospitals for Indian soldiers. I believe that in his official report he commended their service to the late Lord Kitchener, then Secretary for War.



The Princess Sophia A. Duleep Singh.

To say that the soldiers among whom the Indian Volunteer Corps worked appreciated them is to make a very mild statement. The relief workers, like the soldiers whom they nursed, hailed from different parts of India. Thus the various groups of fighters found among the Indian medical workers men who could talk to them in their own language, knew their psychology, temperament, and habits of life and thought, and understood their prejudices.

While visiting an Indian hospital I witnessed a touching scene, showing the magic effect that the sound of one's own familiar

patois exercises upon a person far from home. The Indian friend who accompanied me, a member of the Indian Volunteer Corps, happened to be from Sindh, and could converse in Sindhi. In a ward that we visited lay a wounded soldier from Sindh. When the fighter learned that my escort could speak his vernacular, his face brightened. He leaned as far out of bed as he could, caught both my friend's hands in his own, and held them lovingly, and the two chatted away for many minutes. On parting the Sindhi soldier thanked him most profusely for giving him the opportunity of talking in his mother-tongue.

This affecting scene led the head of the institution (an Englishman) to remark that, while halting talk in a foreign language often proves most useful, it does not satisfy the craving of a stranger in a strange land to hear his dialect spoken with its native intonation, with correct accent and proper inflection, and with colloquial terms to which he is accustomed.

After the Indian infantry was sent from France to fight in Mesopotamia and Palestine, and the necessity for maintaining hospitals in Britain disappeared, the Indian Volunteer Corps was disbanded. Some of the young men asked to be sent to Egypt to continue to render medical relief. Only the other day my husband heard from Mr. D. K. Dutt, who is still there.

Two or three young men belonging to the Corps undertook to work as special constables in London, among them Mr. Utam Singh, now practising as a Barrister in Karachi. Another young man, Mr. Shiva Darshan Lal Agarwala, was placed in charge of the magnificent house in South Kensington, London, where, until recently, parties of Indian officers on leave from France were entertained as guests of the British nation. Mr. N. C. Sen, son of Keshub Chunder Sen, and Mr. A. Ezra, took no end of trouble in looking after these parties, and last year were awarded the O. B. E.

CATHLEYNE SINGH.

AN HOUR WITH A WORLD-FAMOUS EXPLORER

DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., PH.D.,

LECTURER, STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, U.S.A.

"AREN'T these Arctic expeditions most dangerous?" was the question put to the leading scientific Arctic explorer of the world.

"No—not at all. Our work is conducted cautiously, and there is only such danger as you face in your every-day work. Should we be lost, it would be an accident comparable with your railway accidents and theatre fires." Thus spoke the daring Arctic explorer, Dr. Vilhjalmur (pronounced, Vil-hi-al-moor) Stefansson, the famous discoverer of the "blonde Eskimo."

During the last expedition, from which

he returned the past fall, he had most thrilling experiences. The intrepid adventurer lived fifteen months of cold and silence in the frozen North, when all the world had given him up for dead. Even veteran



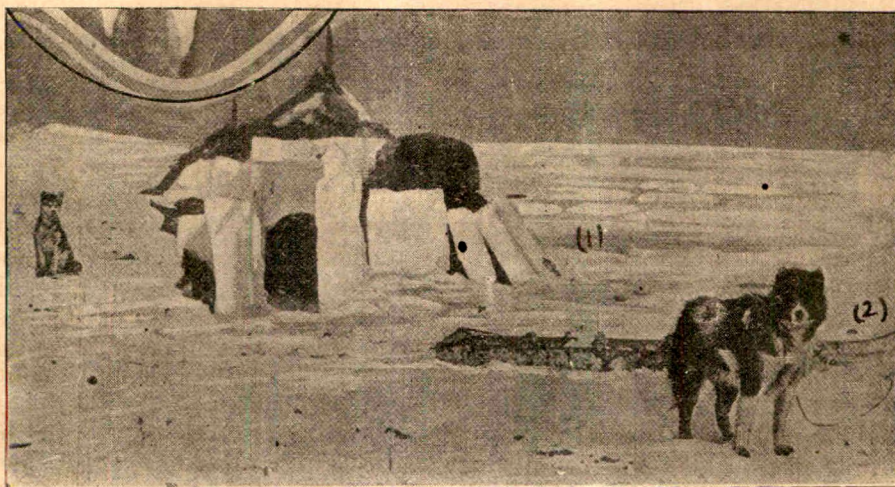
Dr. Stefansson with a copy of the Modern Review in which he is very much interested.



Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson in Arctic Dress.

Arctic explorers and scientific men of experience declared with utmost positiveness that there was no chance of his returning. They sadly underestimated his strength, endurance, and resources.

Stefansson has revolutionized the entire method of polar expeditions. He has literally robbed the polar regions of their terrors, and made them safe for explorations. Hundreds of explorers died in the ice-bound North when their provisions or their equipment gave out. It was left for Stefansson to demonstrate that, to live in the Arctic, it is not necessary for an explorer



Snow-house and Dog-sled.

to carry supplies of food and clothing with him. He can live off the land and the sea, and at the same time carry on his explora-



Dr. Stefansson and Dr. Sudhindra Bose.

tions, his surveying, and his other scientific observations.

Stefansson is tall, young, with well-knit frame. His keen, but sympathetic, eyes and open expression invite confidence. Though a striking world-figure, he is extremely simple, modest, and democratic in his ways. By parentage he is an Icelandic, by birth a Canadian, and by choice and residence an American.

Stefansson was cradled in hardships. When he entered the University of North Dakota he had only about one hundred and fifty rupees in his pocket; but like other enterprising American students he earned money as he secured an education. Strange to say, the future Arctic explorer was expelled from the University because he was considered a very independent, strong-headed fellow. When I heard that story in North Dakota a short time ago I was not a bit surprised. Great men, in all climes and in all ages, have been considered rebels, and it is they who will live in history the longest. It is gratifying, however, to note that Stefansson found a more congenial atmosphere in the State University of Iowa, where he graduated some sixteen years ago.

This Canadian-American made his first venture into the Arctic in 1906; but he became known to the Western Hemisphere by his discovery of the "white Eskimos"

of Victoria Island in 1910. These blonde Eskimos are supposed to be the descendants of Scandinavian colonists of Greenland. During his last expedition (1913-1918), which was fitted out by the Canadian government, Stefansson broke all ties with civilization and buried himself in frozen wastes. Seasoned explorers of the Arctic shook their heads with misgiving when no word was heard from Stefansson after a year had passed. I heard him tell the other day how he and his party of two were able to exist for so long a period.

His story is indeed startling. Great explorers, such as Peary, Nansen, and Amundsen, believed it impossible to live in the extreme northern latitudes unless ample provisions were carried to sustain life. Contrary to this belief, Stefansson started out with two companions, only two sleds, a team of six dogs, and little or no supplies of fuel and food. The result of this amazing expedition has been to revolutionise the theory of polar exploration. At no time during the long months of isolation from the base of supplies did these three men run short of food. "Ordinarily," said Stefansson, "our party ate two square meals a day, but when we were storm-bound, we ate as many as half a dozen." In the Arctic there are plentiful seals and polar bears and musk oxen. The meat of the Arctic animals furnished food, the skin of the fur animals clothing, while the blubber was used for cooking, heating, and lighting purposes. Once when the party could kill no game or catch no fish, it had to live for several days on "seal oil soaked up in tea leaves, in ptarmigan feathers, or in caribou hair to give it substance."

The life of Stefansson, a Viking descendant, reads like the Norse saga tales; but it is not my present purpose to recount his various hazardous exploits on the ice, to tell how he traveled on dog-sleds, lived in snow-houses, dressed in skins, ate largely raw meat, encountered frequent blinding snow-storms with the temperature sixty degrees below zero, or discovered many new lands in the polar region. His achievements in the Arctic circle have been amply

recognized by the scientific bodies of the world. These achievements have entitled him to rank with Captain Roald Amundsen, Sir Ernest Shackleton, Admiral Robert E. Peary, and Captain Scott, as one of the greatest explorers of our generation. What interests me most just now is his view on the effects which the Western civilization has on the Eskimos, the native inhabitants of Arctic coasts.

The Arctic tribes, according to Dr. Stefansson, have always dwindled with swiftness when they have come into contact with Western civilization and adopted its customs. "With civilization," said he, "the Eskimos change their nomadic mode of life, and in emulation of the white man settle down in houses and live in one place. This is fatal to them. As nomads there is some limit on the unsanitary conditions of their dwellings; but, whenever they settle down permanently, conditions become unspeakable and tuberculosis is one of the inevitable results." And those who escape consumption die of measles and small-pox.

"These people should be protected," said the explorer, "from our Western food, clothes, houses, and diseases. Our civilization cannot offer benefits in excess of evils to this race. In fact, our civilization, with all its blessings, means decay." This is indeed very interesting as it comes from a man who is not only a famous explorer and an ethnologist, but a former theological student in the Harvard Divinity School.

Commenting upon the opposition of Dr. Stefansson to the spread of the Christian faith, the *Detroit Free Press* particularized:

"In the past, missionaries in many places have too much insisted upon changes in harmless customs. In preaching Christianity they have often preached with it the necessity for adopting their national or family ideas of comfort and housing. Civilization is not one of the essential Christian virtues, and the road to salvation can be traveled in a snow hut as well as in a wooden house... In spite of our boasted altruism and high morality and humanitarianism, there is a great deal of heartlessness in our attitude toward weaker peoples, and we have no reason to assume that the white Eskimo will meet a happier

fate than the rubber gatherers of Central Africa and South America."

"Have the Eskimos any morals?" I asked Dr. Stefansson.

"Certainly they have. Eskimos are cheerful, self-reliant, and admirable companions. They are people among whom you may possibly have enemies and among whom you are sure to make friends; people very much like you and me, but with the social virtues developed rather more highly than they have been among our own white people. In a difficult struggle for existence under hard natural conditions, they have acquired the ability to live together in peace and good-will. Of course, their points of view are sometimes apt to be different from our own. Take this matter of dress. It is the Eskimo custom for men and women, whenever they enter their superheated dwellings, to take off their coats and sit naked to the waist. The fact that the human form is essentially vile and must be kept from sight is not known to the primitive Eskimo."

Many of the Eskimos are now converted to Christianity; but their tendency is to develop a 'Christianity' all their own. And curiously enough, these Eskimos do not believe that the White Christianity is in any way superior to their own Eskimo Christianity. "Fundamentally the Eskimos consider themselves better men than we are. In the matter of Christianity they concede that we introduced it, but they do not concede that we know more about it than they do; just as many Christians concede that Christianity spread from Rome, but do not concede that Rome is nowadays the highest authority in religious matters."

"A striking way in which this shows itself," continued Stefansson, "is in 'the belief in special' revelations which come directly to the Eskimos, and the belief in the re-birth of the Saviour among them. Both in Alaska and in Greenland there have been, since the coming of Christianity, many cases of Immaculate Conception, and the birth of heralded saviours of the race. In some cases the thing has been nipped in the bud through the fact that the child born

happened to be a female which was not according to the predictions."

In his discussion Stefansson relied less upon theory than upon facts. The weight of some of the evidence which he cited in support of his views was almost crushing, as for example, this story from his own experience:

On one occasion a community of Christianized Eskimos, who had been taught to refrain from work on Sunday, went to the missionary and requested him to ask God to see to it that the whales came on week days only, and not on Sundays. To the Eskimos this was not at all a strange request to make, because they remembered that some of the shamans, medicine men, had been powerful enough to bring on whales when they wanted to. Thereupon when the missionary explained that it was beyond his power to control the movements of whales, the Eskimos became dissatisfied with his teachings, compared him to a weak inefficient shaman, and wrote to the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, in New York, to have him dismissed. "We don't want this sort of missionary, who cannot control the winds and tides, and help us in whaling," was the gist of their complaint. The native opposition to the missionary was so strong that he was promptly recalled by the Board of Home Missions!

"Aren't the Eskimos superstitious?"

Stefansson looked at me for a second and then said after a deliberate thought:

"Let us first of all define a superstitious person. A man is usually superstitious when he does not believe just exactly as we do. Is n't that so? Granted that from our own point of view, which may not always be infallible, the Eskimos are superstitious, yet the remedies we provide through the missionaries, for the cure of Eskimo superstitions are far worse than the disease itself."

The world-renowned traveler and scientist is firm in his belief that the native religion of a country is better than a foreign. Mohammedanism of Arabia, Confucianism of China, Shintoism of Japan, Hinduism of India, Christianity of Europe and America, Shamanism of Greenland and

Alaska, are each adapted to local needs, each suited to the peculiar environment and understanding of the different peoples of these countries. Indeed, the followers of various religions have little to gain by proselytising one another.

According to Dr. Stefansson the Western civilization has not improved the Eskimos in any material way, and the Christianized

Eskimos are no better men than their un-Christian forefathers. Now, if that be the deliberate judgment of highly trained scientific mind on the influence of Christianity among semi-savage tribes of the Arctic zone, what will be its verdict on the propagation of Christian creed in Hindustan, the home of a very ancient and in many respects a glorious civilization?

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Scope for Social Service in India.

In contributing in the May number of *East and West* (Simla) rather a long article under the above heading Mr. Anjaninandan Gaur commences with observing that

There is probably no other country in the world where social service on a large-scale is a matter of such a vital concern as in India. The miseries of the Indian masses due to their extreme poverty; the successive outbreaks of epidemic diseases; a wholesale illiteracy and superstition; bad sanitation and unhealthy surroundings of Indian villages; a general state of indebtedness in which the village folk live; an absence of industries and want of employment and other distresses call for social service and work of uplifting; and an organised attempt for the amelioration of conditions of Indian life.

Continuing Mr. Gaur writes:—

Statistics are not required to prove the poverty of the agricultural population. An occasional visit to rural area will suffice to reveal the extremely wretched conditions in which the villagers 'live' and move and have their being. The towns and cities enjoy a growing trade, but the villages and a fair percentage of the population are always on the verge of starvation. The Rev. J. T. Sunderland says, "The cause of Indian famines is the extreme poverty of the Indian people—a poverty so severe that it keeps a majority of all on the very verge of suffering, even in years of plenty, and prevents them from laying up anything to tide them over years of scarcity..... This is the history of hundreds of thousands and millions of the Indian people....." (1900).

The writer then rightly and thoughtfully observes:—

Whatever department of useful human activity be taken into consideration the fact of India's pressing necessity for rendering in that line social services on a vast scale remains predominant and indisputable. The field for catholic work and generous co-operation is limitless. Patient and strenuous will be the work

and extensive and magnificent the organisation to cope with it. The existing Seva Samitis and other benevolent societies, though few in number are doing excellent work and merit encouragement and praise. We have to inculcate in many the spirit of Love of humanity and persuade them to contribute in one shape or another to the success of a propaganda absolutely free from denominational colour benefitting all, irrespective of caste and creed.

Indian Culture.

The Hon. Mr. Justice T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar concludes a well-written article, in criticism of Sir John Woodroffe's recently published book—*Is India Civilised?* in the April number of the *Indian Review* of Madras under the above caption with the following well-balanced words:

Although I admire the spirit of absolute fairness with which Sir John Woodroffe has approached the task, I think India would be more grateful to him if, in addition to championing our ancient civilisation, he had advocated a spirit of greater robustness and self-reliance among us in fighting the battle of life. As regards cultural superiority no man whose vision is not jaundiced can honestly say that from an intellectual and moral standpoint we are not among the highest. But from the point of view of the necessity of coping with the problem of everyday life and of meeting on equal terms persons of different faiths and of different cultures, it must be confessed that unless there is a great infusion of a spirit of adventure and of aggression which have characterised other nations we are sure to be left very much behind in the race. Indian civilisation is defective in this respect, and think the remark made by an Indian leader to which Sir John Woodroffe takes exception is not altogether beside the point. That gentleman said: "English institutions are the standards by which our aspiration were set." If that leader had qualified his remark by saying "provided we do not lose sight of the high

ideal of life which is embodied in the teachings of our sages," his remarks would have been perfectly in point. The Essays of this learned Judge should serve as an eye-opener to persons who, without any knowledge of Indian life and conditions, have presumed to criticise our character and morality. It should serve also as an eye-opener to many an Indian who has no conception of the great lessons which are capable of enabling India to influence world-thought, although in material prosperity it has lagged behind many of them. This volume of Essays should be studied carefully by every Indian who aspires to lead the people and to mould the aspirations of his countrymen.

A Lesson from China.

The Hon. Justice Sir John Woodroffe, in the course of an article in the April number of the *Indian Review*, quotes the following passages from Mr. A. E. Graham's recently published volume called "Pencil Speakings from Peking":—

"And because they [the Chinese] built on the only foundation that never gives way, spiritual rectitude, their race persisted as a living entity through all the disintegrating influence of political disasters, foreign conquests and periodic lassitude for more than twenty centuries. It is only to-day that the Chinese mind is troubled, wavering, beginning to wonder whether the old tree whose roots plunge into so immeasurable a past, whose branches have given shelter and nourishment to such countless generations, should not be cut down to make room for the plants and the weeds imported from abroad. And some of the weeds are of a particularly rank species, like the conceit of the Americanized students who seriously mistake their little wicks of foreign-taught knowledge for a great light by which the destinies of a whole empire should be regulated. When one hears a specimen of Republican Young China in creaky yellow boots, illfitting tweeds, and an intolerable cap, impudently whistling and cracking a dirty riding crop in the Temple of K'ung-fu-tsze, the very hall where Emperors used to worship wisdom in the purity of early dawn, one begins to fear that the death-knell has rung even to Chinese vitality."

"She succeeded. She had trained her patriotism into a force that transmuted internal jealousies into joyful rivalries, sluggishness into energy, fear of personal loss or danger into a passion for self-sacrifice. Such a spirit is invincible. No Power or combination of Powers can in the long run subjugate a people determined not to be conquered, resolved to forego all happiness except the supreme one of independence, to suffer all losses except that of loyalty to its own ideals."

Then follows a fine passage:

"But patriotism is a subtle quality. Its tap-root is pride, which needs to be fed by the self-reliance flowing from consciousness of actual, or from faith in, potential greatness. It is neither from the present, nor from the immediate future that the Chinese can derive this indispensable assurance. Therefore they must turn to the past. And the glories of their past are so great they should prove an undying incentive

for patriotic effort, a certain promise of the glories of a future it depends on the men of to-day not to render impossible of fulfilment. Of foreign enlightenment they must take only that *which really is enlightenment*, not a *craving for novelty*, an illusory gain in monetary profit, a *mere change from one superstition to another*.

Sir John Woodroffe concludes with the following remarks of his own:—

"...Men who are running here and there after every 'new' thing, clothing themselves unawares with garments which are already out of mode to those who are learning the new (and yet in some respects how ancient!) moral fashions. This is not a counsel to rest to-day just where we were yesterday. This is never possible and sometimes not desirable. It is a counsel not to throw away what is good with that which calls for supersession, and above all not to lose that independent self which alone can assimilate what is of worth in others. Mr. Grantham has felt the necessity of saying this as regards China. Much of what he says will find its application in this country [India] to-day.

What the World Wants To-day.

The *Ceylon Economist* (of Jaffna) for April 1919 opens with an article under the above caption in the course of which the writer very rightly observes:

The World of Today wants the ready man, the man who by study and training has kept himself prepared and efficient. Nothing can stop the man who is equipped for the race of life with knowledge and earnestness, and will-power, and an unswerving resolution all ways to do right. It is not enough that a man should have knowledge; character is even more than intellect. Mistakes arising from defective intelligence will generally admit of being rectified; those which are due to defects of character are more often irremediable. All through life, that is true. A man must keep abreast of the advancing tide of knowledge, and must peer into the future with a sound appreciation of the past, imagination and experience, industry and concentration, patience and judgment, must come together in the successful life. But with them all, and above them all, must come the finer things—the things that make the difference between the men who leave the world no better than they found it, and the men whose spirits haunt for ever the eternal shores of Time.

Then the writer proceeds:

The World no more requires the man who lives and feeds on the glorious past of his race and trades on it. A hundred years ago a little boy was playing in a London square. He was nobody in particular, and had no gates open to him that were not open to other boys such as he. But he grew up fired with a great ambition, and he stood for Parliament against a man who boasted of his family, and his estates, and his ancestors, and said very little of himself. "He stood on his ancestors," it was said of him, and when his rival rose to speak from the hustings the shout was "What do you stand on?" "I stand on my head," he said, and his head made him Prime Minister of Great

Britain. The stars in their courses fight for the man who puts his head and his heart into the thing he does.

Continuing the writer observes:

The World of Today laughs at the man who sits bemoaning his sad fate. The great men of the world were not all born in purple. It was a clerk who invented the shorthand. It was a bicycle maker of Ohio that first made a flying machine. It was a school-master that first made a telephone. It was the brain of a paper boy that supplied the world with electric light. The Railway and the Telegraph are both inventions of common men. The men who have carved their way to immortality, whose names will live for ever on the Roll of Fame, had not the same opportunities as we have. They lived when knowledge was difficult to get, before books had scattered ideas everywhere for everybody to pick up, before trains and ships and telegraphs and newspapers had opened every corner of the world to the man with something to sell. But they heard the call of Duty and answered it.

The writer continues further in a thoughtful and practical mood and says:

The World of Today has fame and fortune for all who are not blind to see. The World of Today brings you all the treasures of the past, all the product of all the opportunities that men have ever had and used. Yours is the accumulated genius of the centuries. The World of Today in giving you an opportunity greater than that of any man in the past makes no impossible claim. The World of Today asks that you shall understand the world in which you live and your work in it. It asks that, if you are driving a railway train, you shall look up at the signals; if you are a clerk, you shall not make mistakes in your letters; if you are a secretary, you shall not forget a dozen things a day; if you are a journalist, your facts shall not be wrong. It asks that, if you are a workman fixing a bell, you shall fix a bell that shall ring; if you are putting on a lock you shall put on a lock that will work; if you are making a window, you shall make a frame that will not rattle in the wind. It asks that, if you are an architect, you shall know the value of sunshine and soft water; if you are a railway porter, you shall know when the next train is due; if you are a builder, you shall know the best streets to live in. It asks that, if you are entrusted with a mission or a message, you shall carry out your trust entirely and well, without bungling it at the beginning or confusing it at the end. It asks that, whatever and whoever and wherever you are, you shall do nothing by halves. You shall be as much ashamed of bad work as of bad temper and bad language.

We wish our readers, especially those young among them, to read, mark and inwardly digest every word in the above extracts, for they are, indeed, of immense value to one and all.

The Future of the Indian Trade.

In the May number of *The Hindustan Review*, of Allahabad, Mr. M. M. Ananta Row writes:—

It is rather an irony of fate that India at present does not commercially and industrially stand on the same level with the most advanced Commercial and Industrial nations of the world. Even such a free country as England with her advocates of Free Trade and Protection finds it very difficult to compete with foreign countries in the International Trade Relation, for those foreign countries with selfish interests are safely guarding themselves by heavy protective tariff walls and to the disadvantage of England, she has to mainly depend upon others for her food-stuffs, her very means of existence. What can we say of India whose commercial policy is shaped more or less by not her own people with fiscal autonomy but by a Parliament meeting for its deliberations six thousand miles away?

After detailing the circumstances which have brought about this state of things in Indian trade the writer proceeds:

Such a position which India at present finds herself in, can be aptly compared to an unruly horse over which a rider unable at present to control the horse is sitting and the reins of which are held by a powerful jockey who is moving at a safe distance from the horse at the same time whipping it and curbing it with tight reins. It is now for India to see whether she could take the reins in her own hands and without the aid of the jockey, she can ride on the horse with the aid of the whip in her hand and spurs if necessary to boot. It is in the determination of this that the future of Indian Trade lies, for only when India can succeed in marshalling her commercial and industrial resources by an employment of indigenous capital and labour and if the supply of the latter is not sufficient, by sending Agents abroad for labour recruitment, by asking the help of Government to give her protection for reviving her old decayed industries and pioneering new ones and turning her commerce to her material and pecuniary advantage, by training Indians as experts in the various branches of industries by giving them training at home and abroad if necessary by the development of her scientific methods to the highest extent and the adoption of the most up-to-date methods in manufactures; and above all by being self-sufficient and self-contained in her nature by the manufacture of machinery which would be sufficient to transform the whole of her raw material into finished products in the country itself and by a judicious display of the commercial relation in exporting the excess of the requirements of the country and importing the wanting in the same at the same time keeping the balance of trade in her favour, and by seeing that not even a pie goes out of the country on account of commerce or industry, that she would be said to have really attained Fiscal Autonomy.

It were time that our people gave serious attention to matters relating to trade, commerce and industry. There is no other way for raising the country to the scale of a civilised nation.

India and Free Trade.

In the same issue of *The Hindustan*

Review, Mr. S. A. Pande, M.A., LL.B., writes an interesting article under the above caption which is well worth the serious consideration of our countrymen. The writer says :—

Free-trade has been the policy of the Government of India for all practical purposes since long, in spite of the intense demand for protection on the part of those who are entitled to a considerable attention.

Mr. Pande concludes his thoughtful article with the following observations :

The Government also should be more actively sympathetic than it has been hitherto ; it should note that in the long run, the interests of the people and the interests of the Government are identical. Free-trade has not been a blessing, as is given out. It is not true that the introduction of Protection would perpetuate the inefficiency of Indian industries. As a matter of fact, they have never been inefficient.

Let the people press the point of protection on the attention of Government, but if it proves disinclined to hear, let the people themselves do all that lies in their power to establish various industries in different parts of India, and then work independently of Government. We want industrial leaders badly. The present writer will write separately on that subject. The present writer has a belief that much can be done by the people themselves if they work in union. The writer thinks the real protection to the Indian industries can be granted by the people themselves, for is it not possible for people to purchase, wherever possible, Indian-made goods in place of foreign commodities. I think Government will never grant protection : then why depend on it ? People must do what is in their power to do. These are the lessons of Self-Government. Will the readers, therefore, make it a point to organize bodies to encourage the Indian industries by purchasing only Indian goods whenever possible ?

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Depths of Ignorance.

The New Statesman (of London) writes :

IGNORANCE is at times an amusing quality. One got a certain pleasure the other day from finding in one of the afternoon papers a paragraph headed, 'Was at the Black Hole of Calcutta,' which announced that a Sergeant Roberts, who died last week at Addles-town 'assisted to fetch out the victims from the Black Hole at Calcutta.' One positively rejoiced the following morning when a leading daily paper added a pinch of corroborative detail to the story, and declared that the gallant soldier was 'in his seventeenth year' at the time of his famous rescue exploit. It is not that the blunder is an unusual one. At least three Englishmen out of four, we fancy, have a hazy notion that the tragedy of the Black Hole was one of the incidents of the Indian Mutiny. When the jubilee (as the *Daily Telegraph* called it) of the Indian Mutiny was celebrated a few years ago, an English peer made a speech in which he took it for granted that the incident of the Black Hole was only fifty years old, instead of happening as it did in 1756. This, we think, gives a fair enough measure of the general ignorance of the facts of history. 'Every schoolboy knows,' said Macaulay in his most famous sentence, 'who imprisoned Montezuma, and who strangled Atahualpa.' Every schoolboy, as any examiner can tell you, knows nothing of the sort. The schoolboy who had even heard of Atahualpa would be regarded with awe by his friends and relations as one predestined to a great career. The ordinary schoolboy thinks himself lucky if he can remember something about Alfred and the buns, and Harold and the arrow, and whether it was Henry VIII who had six wives or Henry VI who had

eight. His taste in historical events is simple. All he asks is to be quite sure of such things as that the Battle of Hastings and Warren Hastings did not occur in the same century.

Where ignorance is bliss it is folly to be wise !

Barbers.

The following extracts are from the *Saturday Review* :—

WHEN we talked of Wigs the other day, we said we might find something to say of barbers. And we have, as you will see.

Barber, from barba, a bread. What a title for the man who chiefly lives by shaving ! Adam, says tradition, wore a beard. The kings of Persia plaited theirs with golden thread, and the Winged Bulls of Assyria are but types of those kings. The Chinese are a shaven people : the Egyptians were the same. But the Mahometans are bearded, and Saladin's son, Turkish historians tell us, wept for fear when he saw the shaven envoys of the Crusaders. The world is, and always has been, divided into shavers and bearded. Flint razors, oyster-shell razors, in prehistoric tombs ; think of them, shudder, and acknowledge the omnipotence of the great goddess Vanity.

The greatest benefactor of barbers in the world's history is Alexander. He, who shaved himself to preserve his youth, shaved his army to prevent the enemy seizing their beards. He set a fashion which was followed by every Greekified beard-wagger in his empire, philosophers by profession alone excepted ;

and this in Greece itself, a country near enough to the East for a full beard to have been considered a sign of manhood.

Does Education Mean Happiness.

We make the following extracts from the *Nation* :—

It is a spacious and a shallow saying of the conservative thinker that to make the many wise is but to multiply misery. To fill a man doomed to navvy's toil or the dullest routine with Platonic dreams and liberal aspirations is to mock his chains. Why bring beauty to the caged clerk and leave him to mourn her violation? Did not those very Greek philosophers, of whom our sentimental Democrats are apt to discourse so fondly and so ineptly, segregate the herd of artisans from the fair and fine? They knew well the truth which Pope rhymed later for our guidance, that short draughts from the Pierian spring are the most fatal intoxicants, that culture to be culture at all must be complete and that the learned illiterate is the most hapless of beings.

Thus the argument runs and those who, in Lord Morley's striking phrase, hold 'a vested interest in darkness,' are only too eager to use this screen against the insurgent rays. Many and various are the answers made to the charge, and yet another is forthcoming in a little book of recent publication. Mr. Harold Begbie in his *Living Waters* (Headly Bros.) has jotted down a series of interviews with workers of many types, a clerk, a doorkeeper, a collier, a Leeds Bolshevik, a Birmingham Ruskinian, all of whom describe for him the invasion of thought and learning into their souls. It is a plea for the energies of the Worker's Educational Association, a journalist's plea if you will; but the interest of the book lies in the revelations of the talkers rather than in the comments of the listener. And so far from supporting the conservative assertion that book-learning brings only misery to those in poverty, the general verdict justifies adult education on grounds that would satisfy the strictest utilitarian. For those men, at any rate, communion with the wisdom of the ages and the beauty of the world has not made their workaday lives intolerable. Rather has it so widened their gaze and increased their responsiveness that only by this communion can life be endured. Their ignorance was never bliss: their wisdom has never been folly. The Pierian spring has quenched a raging thirst and brought happiness without frenzy, joy without reaction.

A Constitution for the British Empire.

We make the following extracts from an article on the above subject contributed to the *Fortnightly Review* [of London] by Sir Clement Kinloch-Cooke :—

'No lesson,' as the Prime Minister very truly says, 'that the war has taught us is more striking than the lesson of the reality of the power of the British Empire.' Equally true is it that as regards the changes in political thought brought

about by the war, none compare in significance, from the standpoint of Empire, with the clearer understanding gained by all sections of British subjects as to the real meaning of the Imperial idea. The war has unified the component parts of the King's Dominions in a manner and with a solidarity nothing else could have accomplished. In the words of Mr. Hughes, 'before the war Empire was a thing vague and almost lifeless, in the hour of trial it assumed a new and inspiring shape, that which was dead became gloriously alive.' From every land and every clime the citizens of the Empire rallied to the flag, fired with a common loyalty and obligation, determined as one nation and one people to secure the triumph of right over might and the maintenance of justice and freedom for all mankind.

The coming of peace will be followed, let us hope at no distant period, by demobilization, when men who have shared the same hardships and faced the same perils will be returning to their homes in different parts of the Empire. Will these men who have fought for the same common ideals remain content to live on under the old political limitations? I think not. With the cessation of hostilities a new era will arise demanding the reconstruction of our Imperial Constitution, using the word Imperial in its true sense, that of Empire. Our fellow subjects, merely because they happen to reside outside the confines of the United Kingdom, will no longer be satisfied to be without a voice in the foreign policy of the Empire or in the waging of wars in which they may again be called upon to take their part. They will want, and rightly want, to share these responsibilities with the Motherland, and gladly will they assume the corresponding liabilities of Empire Government. They will expect, and rightly expect, that issues, affecting the Empire as a whole, shall no longer remain for solution in the hands of statesmen elected solely by the votes of persons in the United Kingdom. They will insist upon these issues being decided by a Tribunal in whose counsels representatives from all parts of the Empire meet on equal terms and possess equal authority.

The writer proceeds :—

It was, I think, John Stuart Mill who expressed the opinion that 'countries separated by half the globe do not present natural conditions for being under one Government or even members of one federation.' But much water has flowed under the bridge since those lines were written, and had John Stuart Mill been alive to-day I have no doubt whatever that his opinion would have advanced with the times. Adam Smith took a wider and more correct view when he told us that 'the assembly which deliberates and decides concerning the affairs of every part of the Empire, in order to be properly informed, ought certainly to have representatives from every part of it.' And that great Imperial

list, Lord Beaconsfield, speaking nearly half a century ago, has left on record these memorable words: 'No Minister in this country will do his duty who neglects any and every opportunity of reconstructing as much as possible our Colonial Empire, and of responding to those distant sympathies which may become the source of incalculable strength and happiness in this land.'

Continuing the writer observes :—

If the Empire is to remain an Empire there must be a system of common defense and joint control of foreign policy. These were the views enunciated by the late Mr. Forster when he founded the Imperial Federation League with Lord Rosebery as his chief lieutenant, as far back as 1884. So convinced was Mr. Forster of the necessity of Empire federation that he went so far as to say that if no such organization were brought into being 'self-government would end in separation.' Happily, that view has not materialized. But the fact remains that if we fail to get closer together we run the risk of drifting farther apart. Federation has been the mutual result of free institutions in Canada, Australia, and South Africa. It rests with the present generation to extend the principle of federal unity throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire.

He continues :—

As regards organization for common defense, considerable advance has been made since Mr. Forster's time. Following on the inquiry by Royal Commission into the defense of British possessions and commerce abroad, came the Colonial Conference of 1887, when representatives from the outer portions of the Empire were invited, for the first time, to discuss matters of imperial defense with the statesmen of the Motherland. At that date the available force of active militia in the Dominion of Canada, together with the permanent corps, amounted to 37,000 men, the total armed strength in the Australasian colonies was 34,000 men, while in the Cape and Natal the trained forces numbered 5,500 and 1,500 respectively. Comparing the position then with the numbers of oversea troops engaged in the present war, we get an insight into the true inwardness of the late Lord Knutsford's observation that 'in each case there was a large reserve that could be drawn upon in case of need.' The great Imperial Army in the field to-day offers a splendid contradiction to the sentiment expressed by the late Mr. Bright at Birmingham in 1885 'that the idea is ludicrous that the British Empire should form one country, one interest, one undivided interest for the purposes of defense.' And at the same time provides a vivid confirmation of Joseph Chamberlain's historic declaration that 'the English democracy will stand shoulder to shoulder throughout the world to maintain the honor and integrity of the British Empire.'

The writer concludes :—

But after all, these are details. The essential fact to bear in mind is, that by continuing the Imperial War Cabinet with its changed significance after the war is over we shall secure an Imperial Executive in which all parts of the Empire have an equal voice and an equal vote, a body actuated by one purpose alone, the recognition, and the fullest recognition, of the vital principle of Empire.

This is all very good. What strikes us most, however, in this connection is that there is not a single line in this long article of nine closely printed pages referring to India and its people, as if the assistance rendered by this country during the war count for nothing—not to speak of our having any voice in the administration of our own affairs even if not those of the Empire of which India forms such an important and conspicuous a part.

"The Good-Fellow."

The following extract is from the *Saturday Review* of London :

There is no good equivalent in English for the French phrase. The Sham Good Fellow suggests somehow a fraudulent member of an Ancient Order: besides the word "fellow" had a bad, and has still a dubious, meaning.

"Worth makes the man and want of it the fellow" shows that in Pope's time "fellow meant a scoundrel." Now Le Faux Bonhomme (the sham good fellow) is by no means a scoundrel; he is merely a man with a loud laugh, a warm manner, and a cold heart. He is very popular; that is to say, has hundreds of acquaintances and no friends. With a sleepless vigilance over his own advancement in life, he interests himself hugely in the affairs of other people, provided they can be of use to him. In his unguarded moments he says: "I have no use for So-and-So, but quickly repents, on reflecting that nearly every man or woman may help or hurt him. So that the faux bonhomme has at least one good quality; he is not a backbiter; on the contrary, he finds indiscriminate praise, which costs him nothing, often brings him a dinner, and may get him an office. For the world of the governing class is quite a small whispering gallery, round which praise and abuse echo quickly—a fact which men with sarcastic tongues never will remember. The business of other people becomes the business of the faux bonhomme in order that he may talk to them about it. If you are a company director, he will read the report and congratulate you on the dividend. If you are a member of Parliament, he will tell you that in these days of claptrap yours is the only sensible speech he has read."

These are the harmless, some would say the pleasant, operations of the faux bonhomme. But he has some horrid tricks. He practises an odious familiarity of address. After a few months' or even weeks' (if you are very important) acquaintance, he calls you by your Christian name, which he has learned from "Who's Who?" or Kelley. He calls everybody George

or Harry, or even by some pet name, like "Bunger."

"Good-fellows" such as these also about in this country, more or less, in all communities.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

1. *INDIA'S WAR-FINANCE AND POST-WAR PROBLEMS*, by V. G. Kale, M.A., *Professor of History and Economics, Fergusson College, Poona.*

Mr. Kale's books are always timely. Here, for instance, is a useful little publication of some 150 pages epitomising the financial operations of the Government of India during the war. The ultimate effects of many of these measures, especially those affecting the country's currency policy, cannot yet be foreseen, and as a rule Mr. Kale contents himself with a statement and exposition of the various financial makeshifts which the Government of India found itself called upon to adopt, in this country and in England, to tide over the difficult years of the war, and the problems of reconstruction arising out of the cessation of hostilities. It is only on rare occasions, as in reviewing Sir William Meyer's financial administration, that he allows himself the liberty to criticise Government's financial policy. The sacrifices made by India in the cause of the Empire during the critical days of the war receive the author's hearty approval, but like other patriotic Indians he is pained to see those sacrifices often made light of by the enemies of Indian freedom. A full description of the great extent and comprehensive character of these sacrifices will be found in Chapters II, III and IV of the book. The pecuniary contributions of India do not naturally bear comparison with the sacrifices made by England in the same direction. It is obvious that a country which can raise by taxation alone a revenue of more than £1000 mil. in a single year without doing any injury to her future resources is in an incomparably better position to make such sacrifices than a country which is put to the greatest straits to raise a revenue of only £100 mil. a year, and that from a population approximately six times the number.

One of the most interesting and at the same time troublesome experiences connected with war-time finance in India has been the unusual rise in the value of silver—a rise quite unique in

the history of the white metal in recent times—which has had the unexpected effect of converting the rupee at a single stroke from a token into a standard coin. This result had not been foreseen by the people responsible for the establishment of gold-exchange standard in India and it has come as a great shock to the Government, leading to the practical breakdown of the system. Whether the ultimate solution of the difficulty will be found in an extensive circulation of gold coins and notes (thus reverting temporarily to a kind of bimetallism), in a permanent raising of the exchange value of the rupee or in a reduction of its standard weight and fineness (as has been suggested by some unpractical people), or simply by letting things alone, cannot be said until the Currency Commission which has been recently appointed to advise the Secretary of State in this matter has submitted its recommendations.

The get-up of the book is attractive and the style easy. A certain amount of repetition is unavoidable in the treatment of such a subject.

2. *THE STATE AND THE CHILD*, by W. Clarke Hall. *The New Commonwealth Books Series, No. 4. Publishers: Messrs. Headley Bros., Ltd., London, Price, 2s. net.*

What is the riddle of the child's mind? Does the working of the mental processes in the child follow the same general lines as in adult men and women whose rational faculties are fully developed? It must be said to the credit of the humanitarian and reforming tendencies of the modern age that it has tried to find a solution to these puzzling questions and base the care and training of the child upon the knowledge thus attained. Since the day, early in the 19th century, when, at the instance of Sir Robert Peel, the First Factory Act was passed by the British Parliament for the amelioration of the condition of child labour in factories, people's interest in the welfare of the child has never flagged, and today he is universally recognised amongst civilised nations as the most valuable asset of the state whose care and proper upbringing should be the state's first consideration.

Even the delinquent child may, under proper guidance, develop into a useful and law-abiding citizen of the state. The book under review investigates the inner workings of the mind of the juvenile delinquent and discusses the effectiveness of the different kinds of measures—punitive, preventive and corrective—that are commonly relied on to turn him from his evil course. The problem bristles with difficulties, as children probably differ even more among themselves in their outlook upon life than do grown up people, and no uniform motives of action can be evolved. But the author's long experience as a magistrate in a juvenile court and the close and continuous attention he has given to the subject fits him to undertake such a study, and the result is an eminently humane and practical hand-book which will be helpful not only to magistrates of juvenile courts and to people engaged or interested in child welfare work, but also to parents wishing to obtain an intimate insight into the life of their children.

THE AIMS OF LABOUR, *by the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M. P.* Publishers : Messrs. Headley Bros. Ltd. Price, 1s. net.

This little book of some 100 pages, from the pen of one of the ablest leaders of the British Labour Party, was published early last year (when the author was still a member of the British Cabinet) to kindle people's interest in the aims and ideals of the Party and to convince its supporters of the need of reorganising it on a broader basis if it was to meet the changed requirements of the time. "If Labour is to take its part in creating the new order of society," says the author, "it must address itself to the task of transforming its political organisation from a federation of societies into a national popular party, rooted in the life of the democracy, and deriving its principles and its policy from the new political consciousness." "Under the old conditions," he continues, "the appeal of the party was limited. It has seemed to be, though it never actually was, a class party like any other. It was regarded as the party of the manual wage-earners" seeking remedies for their own material grievances. This misapprehension, we are told, rested upon a too narrow conception of "Labour." The Labour Party is really "the party of the producers whose labour of hand and brain provide the necessities of life for all and dignify and elevate human existence." Therefore there is nothing to prevent the professional classes and other "brain workers" from joining the party.

The Labour Party's plans for the reconstruction of society under full democratic control at the termination of the war are set forth in considerable detail. These embrace the economic as well as other spheres of life and their general aim is to guarantee freedom, security and equality to all. In the "Draft Report on Reconstruction" (Appendix II) drawn up by a sub-committee of the Labour Executive, the

whole programme is arranged under four broad headings called figuratively "the Four Pillars of the House." These are :—

(a) The Universal Enforcement of the National Minimum (of Subsistence, Leisure, Health, Education, etc.);

(b) The Democratic Control of Industry;

(c) The Revolution in National Finance (the system of taxation being so regulated that it will yield all the necessary revenue to the Government without encroaching on the prescribed National Minimum Standard of Life of any family whatsoever); and

(d) The Surplus Wealth for the Common Good.

The Labour Party's policy towards India and other parts of the British Empire and towards foreign countries has a peculiar interest today and the following excerpts on the subject are taken from the published "Draft Report" of the Party. First, as regards the government of different parts of the Empire, the Labour Party is in favour of the gradual extension of full self-government everywhere. "With regard to that great Commonwealth of all races, all colours, all religions and all degrees of civilisation, that we call the British Empire," says the Report, "the Labour Party stands for its maintenance and its progressive development on the lines of Local Autonomy and 'Home Rule All Round'; the fullest respect for the rights of each people, whatever its colour, to all the Democratic Self-Government of which it is capable, and to the proceeds of its own toil upon the resources of its own territorial home; and the closest possible co-operation among all the various members of what has become essentially not an Empire in the old sense, but a Britannic Alliance." The Labour Party has no sympathy with the existing schemes of Imperial Federation: "We have no sympathy with the projects of 'Imperial Federation,' in so far as these imply the subjection to a common Imperial Legislature wielding coercive power (including dangerous facilities for coercive Imperial taxation and for enforced military service), either of the existing Self-Governing Dominions, whose autonomy would be thereby invaded; or of the United Kingdom, whose freedom of Democratic Self-development would be thereby hampered; or of India and the Colonial Dependencies, which would thereby run the risk of being further exploited for the benefit of a 'White Empire'." But it believes in the participation of the different parts of the Empire in the formulation of a common policy in matters affecting the interests of all. "What we look for," says the Report, "besides a constant progress in Democratic Self-Government of every part of the Britannic Alliance, and especially in India, is a continuous participation of the Ministers of the Dominions, of India, and eventually of other Dependencies in the most confidential deliberations of the Cabinet, so far as Foreign Policy and Imperial Affairs are concerned; and the annual assembly of an Imperial Council,

representing all constituents of the Britannic Alliance and all parties in their Local Legislatures, which should discuss all matters of common interest, but only in order to make recommendations for the simultaneous consideration of what should increasingly take the constitutional form of an Alliance of Free Nations."

The Labour Party's policy towards foreign countries is also actuated by quite disinterested motives. Without desiring in any way to prejudice the power, prestige or freedom of action of other nations, it would like to see all countries of the world join together in a League of Nations whose decisions would be equally binding upon all. This is what the Report says: "As regards our relations to foreign countries, we disavow and disclaim any desire or intention to dispossess or to impoverish any other State or Nation. We seek no increase of territory. We disclaim all idea of 'economic war.' We ourselves object to all Protective Tariffs; but we hold that each nation must be left free to do what it thinks best for its own economic development, without thought of injuring others..... We would put an end to the old entanglements and mystifications of Secret Diplomacy and the formation of Leagues against Leagues. We stand for the immediate establishment, actually as a part of the Treaty of Peace with which the present war will end, of a Universal League or Society of Nations, a Supernational authority, with an International High Court to try all justifiable issues between nations; an International Legislature to enact such common laws as can be mutually agreed upon, and an International Council of Mediation to endeavour to settle without ultimate conflict even those disputes which are not justiciable. We would have all the nations of the world most solemnly undertake and promise to make a common cause against anyone of them that broke away from this fundamental agreement."

Though the vision of these great ideals seems to have been partly lost sight of in the first flush of victory over a powerful and overbearing enemy, it is not perhaps too quixotic to hope that in some not very remote future they will fully assert themselves and the time will come when, to quote the beautiful lines of the poet with which the book begins,

"These things shall be ! a loftier race
Than ere the world hath known shall rise,
With flame of freedom in their souls,
And light of knowledge in their eyes.

"They shall be gentle, brave, and strong
To spill no drop of blood, but dare
All that may plant man's lordship firm
On earth, and fire, and sea, and air.

"Nation with nation, land with land,
In armed shall live as comrades free :
In every heart and brain shall throb
The pulse of one fraternity.

"New arts shall bloom of loftier mould
And mightier music fill the skies,
And every life shall be as long,
When all the earth is Paradise."

P. BANERJEE.

M. K. GANDHI, *an Indian Patriot in South Africa*, by Joseph J. Doke, Baptist Minister, Johannesburg, First Indian Edition Published by G.A. Natesan and Co., Madras, Pp. 104, Price Re. 1.

Mr. Gandhi, whether one sees or not eye to eye with him everything he does or says, is unquestionably an extraordinary man and an unalloyed patriot of a high order, and a book recording his doings and sayings cannot but, therefore, be of high interest to the readers of our public events.

ESSAYS, by T. Lakshman Pillai, B.A., Printed at the Sridhara Printing House, Trivandram, 1913, Pp. 330—lxiv.

This well-printed book contains 17 essays on diverse subjects all of them more or less interesting to the general reader.

SWEET ARE THE USES OF ADVERSITY, by V. S. Naidu, Published by Selden & Co., Madras.

This is a small brochure of 58 pages, but all the same it is written in a fascinating style and manner.

THE SECRET OF LOVE AND LIFE—Published by the Victoria Press, Maulmein, Pp. 64.

This pamphlet contains a discrete and nice collection of sayings and writings of eminent men—sages and saints, writers and authors,—on the subjects indicated by its name.

MEMORANDUM ON A UNIVERSITY FOR BARODA—by P. Seshadri, Professor, Hindu University of Benares. Pp. 67.

There is already a University in Mysore and it is but meet that it should be in contemplation to found one in Baroda, another of our progressive Indian States. It is only reasonable and therefore highly desirable that an Indian State, under such an enlightened administration as that of the Gaekwad, containing an area of some 8,000 square miles and a population of more than 2,000,000 with a revenue exceeding a couple of crores of rupees per annum and a higher percentage of literacy among its people than even that obtaining among the population of British India should possess in all respects a fully equipped University of its own so that, in all matters of essential progress of its people, it may rightly be considered as self-contained. On what lines this proposed University should be established and how should its affairs be conducted are set forth in detail in this brochure. After dwelling on the various points that are essential in conducting the affairs of a truly efficient University Mr. Seshadri, while laying stress on the social side of University life says :

"If University life is to be real and play an active part in the development of the

numerous social and cultural qualities that go to make up the character of the perfect gentleman, there must be energetic and organised attention paid to all the numerous details calculated to foster them in the college. In the average Indian college to-day, the activity that there may be in the direction of students' societies and kindred matters, is often spasmodic, depending for its initiation and existence on a particular set of students—very small in number—and collapsing with their departure, to need later revival under a similar fortuitous concurrence of circumstances. Such a state of things must be put an end to in the proposed University scheme, by providing for a University Union with meeting, recreation and reading rooms and allowing the concern to be managed by the students themselves, incidentally affording them elementary lessons in self-government which will stand them in good stead, when entering on the more serious responsibilities of life. Discussing this aspect of University life, the Right Hon'ble Mr. A. J. Balfour went so far as to say, 'For my own part there is nothing of which I am more clearly convinced than that no University can be described as properly equipped which merely consists of an adequate professoriate, adequate lecture rooms, and adequate scientific apparatus which only satisfy the needs, exacting though they are of modern education. Something more than that is required if that University is to do all that it is capable of doing for the education of the young men of this country; and that something is provided by the Union. I know, speaking from my own experience, it is our contemporaries who make our most useful critics, it is even our contemporaries who make our most instructive teachers and a University life which consists only of the relation between the teachers and the taught, between professors and students, is but half a University life. The other half consists of the intercourse between the students themselves, the day-to-day common life, the day-to-day interchange of ideas, of friendships, of commentary upon men and things, and of the great problems which the opening world naturally suggests to the young.' Some of the words in the latter part of the extract would seem to suggest a slight exaggeration of the advantages of social life in the University, but Indian Colleges are yet a long way behind taking adequate advantage of such societies and we should see more in them with kindred things, of gatherings where students may hold

Debate a band
Of youthful friends, on mind and art;
And labour and the chauging mart,
And all the framework of the land.

There are other details too, like the arrangement of social gatherings, common dinners, Old Boys' days, recitations, theatricals, etc., the encouragement of which, within limits, ought to be specially enjoined on the authorities of the College and the University. Opportunities for the

healthy development of the social impulse should also be furnished to the youths by the organisation of Social Service Leagues and other institutions. The organisation of University Co-operative Store should have similar educational value, apart from its immediate material advantages."

Mr. Seshadri's suggestions are well worth serious study to those of our educated countrymen who are interested in University affairs whether in British India or in the Indian States.

R. MUKERJEA.

BENGALI:

JIBAN (LIFE): By *Birendrakumar Datta, M.A., B.L., cloth-bound, pp. 291. Price Rs. 1-14-0. 1326 B.S. Messrs. Gurudas Chatterjee & Sons, 201, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*

This is our author's second appearance before the public. His first novel *Prahelika* was very favourably reviewed in this magazine and the present volume fully sustains the reputation he has already achieved. We are glad to find that the promise he gave of a bright literary career as a writer and thinker of original and independent views on all questions which are beginning to agitate the bosom of our immobile, decrepit society making its dry bones once more instinct with life, has, in the volume before us, advanced decidedly a step nearer fulfilment. The questions we refer to, are those which we often find discussed, in one form or other, in our leading Bengali monthlies like the *Prabasi*, the *Sabuj Patra*, and the *Bharati*, requiring a new orientation of thought, a fresh outlook on life, and a critical attitude in regard to ancient customs and authorities. There is little of a plot, properly so called, in the story; lovers of the sensational, who are not happy unless they receive strong nervous thrills, will find very little of excitement in this simple tale. But those who are satisfied with a calm and equable flow of the nerve-current, will find it sufficiently interesting, with a variety of characters, both male and female, brought into strong relief, with the light and shade carefully distributed over the whole canvas, and smart repartees, shrewd and piquant observations, and quiet rural scenes full of sympathetic touches natural and human, the effect of all which is heightened by a graceful style, simple yet impressive.

These qualities are happily not so uncommon among the younger generation of Bengali writers as to give the book any special distinction, or to call for the reader's particular attention, which we are anxious to bespeak on its behalf. The real merit of the book lies elsewhere. Not all our novelists are thinkers; some pose to be so, by weaving a third-hand *rechauffe* of our ancient philosophies into their novels by way of emphasising their 'wholesome' moral tone; others claim to lead society back from its present so-called degenerate and chaotic condition to the good old days of the Sanatana Dharma by copious allusions to Manu and Jajnavalkya, and by drawing pictures of ideal husbands and wives and of sweet domestic felicity in which each knows and keeps his place, and the more remote they are from reality the better they are supposed to be. These writers, owing to the unlimited drafts which they make on the glories of our ancient Indian civilisation, pass for patriotic, and their books command a ready sale. In no other civilised country

is this kind of intellectual slavery to ancient forms and traditions considered as a sure passport to literary success. Elsewhere thought is judged, not on a narrow sectarian or religious basis, writings with a strong denominational bias are treated as outside the pale of national literature and do not find mention in literary histories except where they rise to the level, say, of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* or Pascal's *Pensees*—but as it should be, on its own merits, the thinking mind showing itself as free, undimensioned, and competent to treat of men and things with strict fidelity to the laws of nature, psychology, and logic, coloured, of course, by depth of insight and knowledge as well as by charm of style, which give the writer his peculiar distinction. But given the pre-requisites we have named, the writer may be as bold as he likes, and society, instead of judging him amiss, will seek out the fruitful thoughts and suggestions in his writings, and thank him for them. It is from such a standpoint that the author of the book under review should be judged, and if we do so, we shall find that though some of his ideas raise a big splash in the placid waters of Hindu society, it is one which is badly needed in its present stagnant condition, in order to set that healthy current in motion which has long since departed from its midst, carrying all, or nearly all, the healing properties of the life-giving fluid. For India at the present day stands in this respect exactly where Russia stood in 1862, when Turgenev wrote his *Fathers and Children*. The following dialogue in which Bazarov, the hero of the story, who, according to Mr. Edward Garnett, "stands for Humanity awakened from century-old superstitions and the long-dragging oppressive dream of tradition", takes the leading part, is equally applicable to present Indian conditions: 'We do not accept any authorities.' 'At the present time, negation is the most beneficial of all.' 'But one must construct too, you know.' 'That's not our business now. The ground wants clearing first.' Suresh, the hero of the book under notice, is the prototype of Bazarov. In his aggressively protestant attitude towards all shams, he touches in places George Eliot's *Felix Holt*, and Rabindranath's *Gora* with which *Felix Holt* has so much in common, and also Sandip, the Nietzschean hero of Rabindranath's *The Home and the World*. To Nietzsche, the Christian virtues of patience, meekness, humility, long-suffering resignation, and the like, indicate a low degree of vitality characteristic of slave-morality. The West is great, not by following, but by practically repudiating it. The 'elevation of the type man' is the aim of Nietzsche, and he holds that the worst kind of spiritual weakness is the weakness of will, and that this will to power, and not the will to live, is the motive force of life. So he proposes a transvaluation of all existing values, and this is also what our hero Suresh does. There is much in the teaching of Vivekananda which is akin to that of Nietzsche at his best, and with which, we feel, our author cannot but be in hearty sympathy. The late world-war has served to reveal the dangerous elements in Nietzsche's teachings, but if any country his insistence on manly self-reliance, free-spiritedness, intellectual bravery and courage to face unpleasant and disconcerting truths are most urgently required to redress the balance of civilisation, it is pre-eminently India, where even a single thought, remotely suggesting a deviation from the pessimistic, world-weary, peace-regarding yet fissiparous social standards set up

by the hoary sages of antiquity, drops on us like a bombshell and is promptly ejected from the four corners of our smug little mental cage so irretrievably fixed in its ancient socket. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report on constitutional Reforms rightly says that "the placid, pathetic contentment of the masses is not the soil on which Indian nationhood will grow, and that in deliberately disturbing it we are working for her highest good." If this be true in the field of politics, it is still more so in regard to the crying social evils which hamper our union and progress and make a thoroughly successful political reconstruction so difficult to achieve. If at times our author seems to be too dogmatic and iconoclastic, it should be remembered that it is from the efforts of such patriotic writers and thinkers, who have the courage of their convictions and do not hesitate to state their conclusions in clear, unambiguous language, and not from sentimental admirers of the national culture with their too nicely-balanced sense of the hold of past traditions on future evolution, that progress is likely to come. While the admirers of the past muse and poetise and are lost in the mazes of their search after the true genius of the race, its evolutionary tendencies, its cultural affinities and characteristic spiritual excellences, the blood, which is well-nigh frozen in our veins by thousands of years of blind adherence to the *status quo*, loudly calls for some strong, well-directed galvanic shocks which will set up the circulation, revive our animation and recall us to life. This is the aim of the author; and this, we believe, gives the name to his book. A society is what the men and women composing it make it; too much emphasis on the doctrine of heredity, past tradition, the slow process of evolution, and the necessity of gradual assimilation, may be required in the case of a go-ahead, people who are not afraid of making the boldest experiments, but they are entirely out of place among a people like ourselves, who are scandalised by the slightest innovation in thought and practice. To those who are not scared by daylight, whose hearts feel for the under-dog and revolt against brutal inequalities, and yearn for all-round progress, and whose minds are captivated by the vision of a great and glorious future for their sacred mother-land of India, a book of this type is as a balmy breeze, refreshing and health-giving, enriching our thoughts and stimulating us to noble endeavour. It is for this reason that we would distinguish it from the generality of commonplace Bengali novels which flood the market, have their brief season, and are forgotten. The lessons the author has to preach do not, it is true, evolve themselves without conscious effort out of the natural denouement of the story; that, however, is the characteristic of the highest art, and he comes next best, for his reflections are embodied in dialogues which are skilfully interwoven with the story and fit in with the characters in whose mouths they are put. The quotation from Montaigne in the title-page seems to indicate that the author expects, 'a fit audience, though few,' but we believe we are right in thinking that the book will have a more permanent value than that which we are apt to attach to the majority of works of fiction which see the light of day in our country. To appreciate a work of this kind we must be largely free from local prejudice, and we shall be all the better prepared for it by possessing a general working knowledge of the main currents of world-thought. But this equipment,

we feel sure, is not too much to expect of readers of the *Modern Review*.

The author's agnostic creed is not the outcome of cheap cynicism, but is palpably the result of deep sympathy with the misery of suffering, specially in this unhappy land of ours. It reminds us of Tennyson's lines :

"There lives more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds."

A CRITICAL HINDU.

GUJARATI.

MAHATMA GANDHI NI VICHAR SHRASHTI (મહાત્મા ગાંધીની વિચાર શ્રષ્ટિ), by Mathuradas Trikamji, printed at the Bombay Vaibhav Press, Bombay. Cloth bound. With illustrations. Pp. 413. Price Rs. 2-12-0. (1919).

The ideas and ideals of Mahatma Gandhi have been focussed in this book, which is a collection of his speeches and writings in English, Hindi, Marathi and Gujarati. So far as we know this is the first collection of its kind, and the educative and instructive influence that the subject-matter of the collection is likely to exert over those who are unacquainted with any other language except Gujarati is so great, that that in itself is a sufficient reason for according a warm welcome to it. The subjects have been selected with great care, and the translation does credit to the translator. We trust the book would be read by each and every native of Gujarāt.

MHARI VIS VARTAO (મારી વીસ વાર્તાઓ), by Keshavprasad Chhotlal Desai, B.A., LL.B., published by Ramanigaram G. Tripathi, printed at the Bhagyodaya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. With illustrations. Pp. 308. Price Rs. 2-0-0. (1919).

As its name implies, this is a collection of twenty stories, written by the author at various times and published in different magazines. Their model is the short stories appearing in English monthlies like the *Strand* and *London Magazine*. They fulfil the functions of short stories in every way, and throughout the whole book there is not a single dull page. The circumstances on which they are based typify or rather represent the present times, and hence there is no difficulty whatever in appreciating the worth and the intelligence of the writer. Although it lacks the innate knack of the humorist, the situations painted by him are not without distinct interest. The stories certainly furnish delightful reading.

SREE ANAND KAYYA MAHODADHI (શ્રી આનન્દ કાયા મહોદધિ) Part VI, edited by Jivanchand Sakarchand Jhaveri, Bombay. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 480. Price Re. 0-12-0. (1918).

This is the sixth book (pearl) of the series

inaugurated by the Devchand Gulabchand Trust for the publication of old Jain texts. It comprises three large poems, Rupchand Kunvar Ras, Nala Damayanti Ras, and Shfi Shatrunjaya Uddhar Ras. There is a very well written introduction by Mr. Derasari, whose efforts in the direction of resuscitating old texts are well known. There is also a life of the poet Naya Sunder by Mr. M. D. Desai, which furnishes a lot of information about his work and times. The first Ras is devoted to the ingenuity with which women, when so minded, carry their points in the face of great difficulties.

K. M. J.

MARATHI.

SHRIKRISHNA-CHARITA by Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B. published by Chitrashala Press Poona. Pp. VIII+320+4. Price Rupee 1.

There is hardly any writer in the Marathi-speaking world who is more competent to narrate the life-story of Shrikrishna than Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya whose mastery over Sanskrit Literature and specially over the two great epics is unrivalled. The one feature of this book that distinguishes it from others of its kind is that the story is told almost in the immitable language of the Puranas. Different parts of Shrikrishna's life and the absorbing incidents and anecdotes with which it abounds are found scattered in various Puranas, e.g., Mahabharat, Bhagavat, Harivamsh. Mr. Vaidya has gathered these scattered threads and woven them into an exquisitely beautiful story. In Marathi it is difficult to find a more compact and at the sametime comprehensive biography than this. It is well-proportioned and well-written. Generally such books deal with one aspect only of that divine life and they merely swarm with descriptions of miracles. This work of Mr. Vaidya is to a great extent free from these flaws. The book as it comes from one of the greatest authorities on the subject will be warmly received by the Marathi knowing public. A chapter embodying the translation of Bhagawadgita, verse by verse, in which the teachings of Shrikrishna are enshrined, forms part of the book. A short masterly introduction in magnificent language, full of sublime thought adorns the book. An informing appendix describing the times in which Shrikrishna lived is a valuable addition to the work. The diary of Shrikrishna, p. 114, and the comparative ages of Shrikrishna and Arjun on p. 2, Appendix II, will reveal to the reader the object with which the book is presented to the public. Accuracy of statement of facts marks every page of it. Many differ from Mr. Vaidya in fixing the age of Shrikrishna and on other points also, but we venture to say there will be no difference of opinion in according a place of honour to this book among all the biographies of Shrikrishna in Marathi. The book is well printed and

illustrated. It is a fitting prize book for students. It deserves the widest circulation.

W.

KANNADA.

DANADHARMAPADDHATI by Narayan Shrinivas Rajapurohit, published by V. B. Alur, B.A., LL.B. Dharwar. Price 10 annas.

This is an essay which won the prize from the Karnatak Vidyavardhak Sangh of Dharwar. The author describes the charitable institutions which existed in ancient times and gives a brief account of those obtaining in modern times, and chalks out the lines of reform. Within such a short compass no better production can be expected. It would have been better if the author had expanded certain parts of it before bringing it under two covers. The view that charitable institutions must adapt themselves to the time and must never lay behind the progress of society, is steadily gaining ground even among the so-called uneducated classes. This viewpoint is illustrated by the lives of Ahelyabai, Dev Mamlatdar, Svarnamayee, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Dinshaw Petit and H. H. Sayaji Rao Gaekwad. The author has bestowed much labour upon collecting and summarising the useful information regarding the various classes of beggars most of whom are a bane and burden to society. But there is no blind condemnation of all classes; Mr. Rajapadhyay rightly concludes that certain classes are necessary so long as their place is not taken up by better men. However, even these classes, who to a certain extent serve society, stand sorely in need of training in their work. Till we see any signs of improvement in them and till they make an earnest effort to do some useful social service, we should give no alms to them. The channels through which our charity should flow are indicated in a catholic spirit. Many parts of the book are punctuated by apt quotations. It concludes with a short touching poem of five stanzas, an appeal of the cow to man.

The book is fit to be placed in the hands of merchants who are not in touch with modern thought and are not inspired by modern methods of philanthropical and charitable work. The treatment of the whole subject is clear and the language simple enough to be understood by Kannada-speaking ladies. Unknowingly ladies dote on corn and cloth and small sums of money to men and women, the majority of whom only deserve the reward of social boycotting by all right-thinking men who have the good of society at heart. It will to a certain extent check the harmful tendency of priesthood to give a wrong turn to the charitable instinct in women by invoking the sanction of the shastras. The innocent ladies fail to understand that the priests twist the shastras to serve their own selfish ends. Among men, the number of those who used to be victimised by these teachings is rapidly declining. We hope the publication and wide circulation of books like these among ladies who can read, will

lay the axe at the root of this social evil of misdirected and misguided charity.

W.

Acknowledgments.

(1) THE INDRAPRASTHA HINDU COLLEGE MAGAZINE for May, 1919.

(2) THE AGRICULTURAL JOURNAL OF INDIA, Vol. XIV, Part II.

(3) THE ALL-INDIA SERVANT, a quarterly magazine for April, 1919.

(4) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION, Rajahmundry, a highly interesting record of work done for the poor and depressed.

(5) THE FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF GOKHALE EDUCATION SOCIETY, Bombay, 1918-19. The Society is, we are glad, doing a most useful work in spreading education among the poorer classes.

(6) CHRIST & NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION is a Bible study text book of 156 pages published by John S. Hoyland, printed at the Christian Mission Press, Jubbalpur.

(7) THE YOUNG HINDU, a monthly Journal, of the Y. M. H. A. (Central) Jaffna, Ceylon.

(8) INDUSTRIES IN BIHAR AND ORISSA, by S. N. Singh, B.A., M.B.E., of the Provincial Executive Service, Bihar and Orissa.—This is an account of the Industries existing in Bihar and Orissa suggesting how to improve them and start those Industries the materials for which abound in the Province, but which have not been properly tackled. An interesting pamphlet.

(9) REPORT BY THE BOARD OF REVENUE ON THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNITED PROVINCES OF Agra and Oudh for the year 1917-18.

(10) THE REPORT ON THE WORKING OF THE DISTRICT BOARDS IN BIHAR AND ORISSA during the year 1917-18.

(11) A NOTE ON THE ADMINISTRATION REPORT OF THE REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for 1918.

(12) REPORT ON THE JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION (CIVIL) OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES for the year 1918.

(13) BARODA ADMINISTRATION REPORT, 1917-18.—This book records in detail, as its name implies, the administration of His Highness the Gaekwad's Government, and it fully justifies the manner in which the affairs of that government are being carried on. The efficient administration of the Baroda State does not a little credit to Mr. Manubhai Nandshankar, the able Dewan of this progressive State.

(14) REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ALL-INDIA DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION CONFERENCES FOR THE ABOLITION OF UNTOUCHABILITY.—This Conference which was held in Bombay on 23rd and 24th March last had a noble aim to achieve and it affords us not a little pleasure to find that His Highness Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwad the Maharaja of Baroda, who has sympathy with every scheme having for its object the ameliora-

tion and raising of the poor, depressed and oppressed, presided on the occasion. The Report is, indeed, highly interesting and our readers will do well to procure for themselves a copy each to be had for the price of 8 annas at the following offices of this Mission :—

D. C. Mission Office, Charni Rd., Girgaum, Bombay.
 " " 670 Taboot St., Camp, Poona.
 " " Near Post Office, Old Hubli.
 " " Panchpaoli, Nagpur City.
 " " 142 Narayen Pillai Street, Bangalore Cantonment.

(15) IS IT SELF-GOVERNMENT? by Prasanvadan M. Desai, printed at the Commercial Press, Bombay. This pamphlet discusses in detail the management of municipal affairs in India which

the author holds, and he rightly does so, are far from self-governing.

(16) REPORT ON PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN BENGAL FOR 1917-18.

(17) SUPPLEMENT to the above.

(18) RESOLUTION REVIEWING THE REPORTS ON THE WORKING OF THE DISTRICT BOARDS IN BENGAL FOR 1917-18.

(19) THE BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA CO-OPERATIVE JOURNAL for May 1919.

(20) THE BOMBAY CO-OPERATIVE QUARTERLY for June, 1919.

(21) BUREAU OF EDUCATION OCCASIONAL REPORTS No. 8.—THE TRAINING OF TEACHER—issued by Superintendent, Government Printing India, 8, Hastings Street, Calcutta. Price 8 As. or 9 d.

A LETTER FROM ROMAIN ROLLAND TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The following letter has been sent by the great French author, Romain Rolland, to the poet, Rabindranath Tagore.

"CERTAIN free spirits, who feel the need of standing out against the almost universal oppression and servitude of the intellect, have conceived the project of this Declaration of Independence of the Spirit,—a copy of which I enclose.

Would you give us the honour of uniting your own name with ours? It appears to me that our ideas are not out of harmony with yours. We have already received the consent of Henri Barbusse, of Paul Signac, the painter, of Dr. Frederik van Eeden, of Prof. Georg Fri Nicolai, of Henry Van der Velde, of Stefan Zweig; and we expect the consent of Bertrand Russell, Selma Lagerlof, Upton Sinclair, Benedetto Croce, and others. We think of collecting at first three or four signatories for each country,—if possible, one writer, one savant, one artist,—and then publish the Declaration, making the appeal chiefly to the intellectual elite of all nations. If you can recruit for us some names in India, Japan and China, I should be very much obliged. I could wish that henceforth the intellect of Asia might take a more and more definite part in the manifestation of the thought of Europe. My dream will be that one day

we may see the union of these two hemispheres of the Spirit, and I admire you for having contributed towards this more than anyone else. Allow me to tell you in conclusion, how dear to us are your wisdom and your art, and accept, I pray, the expression of my profound sympathy.

ROMAIN ROLLAND.

P.S.—I have allowed myself to lay stress on certain passages of your lecture of 1916, at Tokyo, in one of my articles published during the War. I am sending it to you under separate cover with the request that you will pardon the imperfection of the French translation. I enclose with it a little pamphlet, dedicated to one of our old philosophers of Europe, who has exercised a great attraction over my thought and whom perhaps you will love also—Empedocles of Agrigentum.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE SPIRIT

Fellow-workers of the Spirit, comrades, scattered throughout the world and separated from one another for five years by the armies, the censorship, and the nations engaged in war, we address our appeal to you at this hour,—when the barriers are falling down and the frontiers are opening again,—to re-establish our brotherhood

-of union, but a new union, more firm and secure than that which was established before.

The war has thrown our ranks into disorder. The greater number of the intellectuals have placed their knowledge, their art, their reason, at the service of the governments. We do not wish to accuse any one, or to make any personal reproach. We know the weakness of individual souls, and the elemental force of the great collective currents. All of a sudden, the latter has swept away the former ; because nothing had been foreseen in time to offer resistance. May this experience at least serve us in good stead for the future.

And, first of all, let us fully realise the disasters which have resulted from the almost complete abdication of the intellect of the world and its voluntary enslavement to the forces let loose. The thinkers and artists had added a scourge which has tormented Europe in body and soul, an incalculable volume of poisonous hatred. They have searched every arsenal of their knowledge, their imagination, their ancient and modern precedents, historical, scientific, logical, poetical, for hate. They have laboured to destroy understanding and love between man and man. In doing this, they have disfigured and debased Thought, whose ambassadors they were. They have made Her the instrument of the passions, and without knowing it, perhaps, the weapon of the selfish interests of a political or social party, a state, a country, or a class. They now emerge from this savage conflict,—in which all nations, both victors and vanquished, have been consumed, bruised, impoverished, and in their heart of hearts, however little they acknowledge it, ashamed and humiliated at their consummate folly ; and Thought, entangled in their struggles, emerges with them ruined and fallen.

Up ! Let us set the Spirit free from these entanglements, from these humiliating alliances, from these hidden slaveries ! The Spirit is the servant of none. It is we who are servants of the Spirit. We have no other master. We are made to carry, to protect its life, to rally round it all men who have gone astray. Our part, our duty is to keep a fixed point to show forth the

pole-star in the midst of the turbulence of the passions in the night. Among these passions of pride and mutual destruction we make no selection ; we reject them all. We serve Truth alone, Truth that is free and frontierless, without confines, without prejudice of race or caste. Certainly we do not exempt ourselves from Humanity. It is for Humanity we labour, but for Humanity whole and entire. We do not know peoples, we know the People, unique, universal, the People which suffers and struggles, which falls to rise again, which advances always over the rough road, drenched with its own sweat and blood, the People of all mankind, and equally our brothers. And it is in order that they with us should gain the consciousness of this brotherhood, that we raise up over their blind conflict the Arch of Alliance, of the Free Spirit, one and manifold, eternal.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S REPLY TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

The following letter was sent, in reply, by the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, to M. Romain Rolland :—

"When my mind was steeped in the gloom of the thought, that the lesson of the late war had been lost, and that people were trying to perpetuate their hatred and anger into the same organised menace for the world which threatened themselves with disaster, your letter came and cheered me with its message of hope. The truths, that save us, have always been uttered by the few and rejected by the many, and have triumphed through their failures. It is enough for me to know, that the higher conscience of Europe has been able to assert itself in one of her choicest spirits through the ugly clamours of passionate politics ; and I gladly hasten to accept your invitation to join the ranks of those free souls, who, in Europe, have conceived the project of a Declaration of Independence of the Spirit. Kindly accept my thanks for the noble words with which you have introduced the French Translation of the passages from my 'Message to Japan' in your pamphlet. I hope to be excused for publishing in one of our Magazines, an English

rendering of the same, as well as your letter to me with the Declaration. I have asked my publisher to send you my book on "Nationalism" which contains my Japanese addresses and some more lectures on the same subject."

NOTES

Wisdom from China.

The worth of the ancient civilisation of China is proved, among other things, by the writings of her sages, which are store-houses of wisdom. Lao-tsze, the reputed author of the *Tao Teh King*, was born about 604 B. C. *The World and the New Dispensation* has been giving some extracts from a translation of this work of his which are priceless for their insight and wisdom. Some of them are given below.

To harmonise great enemies
We must possess that which far surpasses enmity.

We must be able to be at peace
In order to be active in Love.

That is why the self-controlled man holds the left-hand portion of the contract, but does not insist upon the other man producing his portion.

He who is virtuous may rule by a contract,
He whose virtue is within may rule by destroying it.

To govern a kingdom, use righteousness,
To conduct a war, use strategy.
To be a true world-ruler, be occupied with Inner Life.

How do I know that this is so?
By this :—
The more restrictive the laws,
the poorer the people.
The more machinery used,
the more trouble in a kingdom.
The more clever and skilful the people,
the more do they make artificial things.
The more the laws are in evidence,
the more do thieves and robbers abound.

That is why the self-controlled man says :—
If I act from Inner Life
the people will become transformed in themselves.
If I love stillness
the people will become righteous in themselves.
If I am occupied with Inner Life
the people will become enriched in themselves,
If I love the Inner Life
the people will become pure in themselves.

If the government is from the heart
the people will be richer and richer.
If the government is full of restrictions
the people will be poorer and poorer.

Where troops dwell, there grow thorns and briers.
After great wars, there follow bad years.

He who loves, bears fruit unceasingly,
He does not dare to conquer by strength.
He bears fruit, but not with assertiveness,
He bears fruit, but not with boastfulness,
He bears fruit, but not with meanness,
He bears fruit, but not to obtain it for himself,
He bears fruit, but not to shew his strength.

If a great kingdom only desires to unify and
nourish men,
If a small kingdom only desires to enter in and
serve men,
Then the Master, in each case, shall obtain his
desire.

He who is great ought to be lowly.

God "left out."

"A very serious omission in the platform of the League of Nations as cabled from Paris" is pointed out by two American "trade publications," namely, *The American Lumberman*, of Chicago, and *The Bean-Bag*, of St. Louie. *The Bean-Bag* says that "nowhere in the platform, nor, so far as reported, in the proceedings that led up to its promulgation, is to be found any hint of official or public recognition of the fact, generally accepted by civilized humanity, of the existence of a Supreme Being who rules the destinies of nations, nor any petition for divine guidance in the most momentous crisis in the history of the world," and *The Lumberman* questions whether it is a "trifling omission" or "mere bigotry to refer to it?" It affirms that Americans who are familiar with their country's history will not so regard it. *The Lumberman* says that "the founders of the American Republic recorded in the Declaration of Independence their 'firm reliance upon the protection of Divine Providence.' This sentiment was reiterated by Lincoln in his immortal address at

Gettysburg, as well as in other addresses and State papers, and has been reaffirmed by every President from Washington to Wilson."

During the darkest period of the Civil War the motto "In God we Trust" was ordered to be stamped upon American silver coinage, by Act of Congress. When it was proposed, a few years back, to drop this motto from the coinage "the suggestion aroused such a tidal wave of protest that it was immediately abandoned." *The Lumberman* affirms that "there is no reason to believe that American sentiment has changed in this regard since then." It points out that the American anthem likewise declares that "In God is our trust," and that the national hymn "America" expresses the identical thought in the verse beginning "Our fathers' God, to thee, author of liberty. . ." It is certain, it affirms, that these sentiments express the real heart-beat of America and not mere pious platitudes. The following statements made by our "trade" contemporary form good food for reflection :—

"Man proposes, but God disposes," and unless the League of Nations takes into account—not alone in words, but in spirit—the fact of God, it is foredoomed to failure, just as every previous plan and scheme of men to insure permanent peace has broken down under the pressure of national ambition, hatred, or avarice—traits that have not yet been banished from the world. There must be something more potent than bayonets or battleships, needful as both are under present world conditions, as the ultimate authority. Back of the citizen is the state—using the term in its broad sense—and back of the state is, or will be, the League of Nations. Back of the League must be *God*, if it is to endure.

God's guidance ought to be sincerely sought and followed in all human affairs. And when it is sincerely sought and followed, His name should certainly be taken. But when it is clear that men are not going to listen to the still small voice within through which God constantly speaks to man, but prefer to be guided by selfish motives and greed, the best advice to follow is, "Do not take the name of God in vain." To leave out God outwardly is certainly desirable when he is being left out of the reckoning inwardly. Frankly to ignore God is better than hypocrisy and profanation.

God cannot in reality be shut out.

Raising University Examination Fees.

At a meeting of the Calcutta University Senate, attended by a little over one-fourth of the total number of its members, the examination fees of the university were raised as follows, three members dissenting: Matriculation, from Rs. 15 to Rs. 20; I.A. and I.Sc., from Rs. 30 to Rs. 35; B.A. and B.Sc. (Pass) from Rs. 40 to Rs. 45; B.A. and B.Sc. (Honours) from Rs. 40 to Rs. 50; M.A. and M.Sc. from Rs. 50 to Rs. 80; Law Examination, from Rs. 15 to Rs. 30. We cannot approve of this action of the Senate. It was opposed by a few independent members of the Senate mainly on the grounds of the poverty of the people and the hard times through which they are passing. But before examining the arguments based on these considerations and the replies thereto, it is necessary to consider why the fees were originally levied.

The fees are called and in reality are "examination fees." Their object is or at least originally was to meet the expenses of the University examinations. Of course, these expenses vary from year to year, and cannot be estimated to a pie. Hence the fees have been fixed on a scale which leaves a surplus, which may be spent for any legitimate university purpose. No University Act, Regulation, Bye-law, or Rule could have been formerly quoted which said that these fees were either wholly or partly a tax for the promotion of semi-free post-graduate education. This is the third time that the fees have been increased, and, our information is that, it was on one of the former occasions of increase that Sir Asutosh's standing majority enabled him to add words to the Regulations which authorised a fraction of the fees to be assigned for meeting the expenses of the post-graduate classes;—originally there was no such provision in the Regulations.

The fees, as pointed out by Mr. K. L. Dutt, ex-Registrar of the University, already bring in more money than is spent for the examinations. Hence, there was no case for raising them; on the contrary, there is in fairness a case for lowering them.

All over the civilised world education is

being made cheaper, but here in Bengal, it is being made more and more expensive.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the mover of the resolution, said that the work of the University of late had greatly increased and if the work was to be carried on in future with moderate success they must have money. He observed that Bengal could afford to pay the amount proposed if she chose. It was very good of him to say so, for he knew that, whether Bengal chose to pay or not, he could with the help of his followers, practically force some of Bengal's children to pay. Candidates for University examinations and their guardians are neither the whole nor the majority nor the wealthiest portion of the population of Bengal. Hence, it was not a question of Bengal choosing to pay or not. The question is whether the majority of those who seek the kind of education which is controlled and given by the University (and this is practically the only kind of higher education which our children can have) can afford to pay higher fees *without feeling the pinch*. Our conviction is that they cannot; for the majority of those who seek English education are poor. When the minimum income on which income-tax is levied was raised from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 2000, it was hailed as a great relief to the middle-class gentry. Among them the number of those who have even that income is not large. The guardians of our students are for the most part men of even smaller means. Hence the raising of the fees has been an unkind act. And we have shown that it was *morally ultra vires*, though not legally.

Principal G. C. Bose opposed the motion and was supported by Rai Bahadur Dr. Chuni Lal Bose, who observed :

The community from which the majority of their Matriculation students come live from hand to mouth, and it was rather difficult for them to procure a lump sum of Rs. 15. That was a fact and he challenged anybody to contradict it.

Sir Asutosh Mookherjee : I most emphatically contradict it.

We simply contradict Sir Asutosh, without any emphasis ; for truth has its own emphasis.

Sir Praphulla Chandra Ray supported Principal G. C. Bose.

He was fully conscious of the supreme need for

increasing their revenue and he fully agreed with all that had been said by Sir Asutosh. In the opinion of the speaker a large proportion of their students were exceedingly poor and the increase of the fees would tell very harshly on the guardians of the students. Were there not in Bengal any more philanthropists like the late Sir Taraknath and Sir Rash Behari, who could supplement the revenues of the University ?

Sir Asutosh Mookherjee : If lawyers are vilified, as they have been in the past, they will not pay anything more.

Sir Praphulla Chandra Ray said that it was extremely painful to find that this most unkindest cuts of all should be inflicted by Sir Asutosh, whose name was a household word and who was known as the friend of the poor students.

We do not think that rich lawyers are like children who would require to be flattered and coaxed in order that they might be induced to make endowments. They are remunerated for their labours by the people on a much higher scale than any other professional men ; and if they pay back some of this money, it is simply a matter of duty. Should any lawyer think that he was giving alms to his Motherland or patronising her, he had better not give anything ; the Motherland will manage to raise her head without such charity.

We do not know to what occasion or speaker Sir Asutosh referred when he spoke of lawyers being vilified. On a recent occasion Sir P. C. Ray was reported only to have said that if he were made Dictator for a day he would raze the law college to the ground. That was no vilification of lawyers, as we understood it. It was, we take it, the humorous form in which the speaker's desire that our young men should take to industrial and commercial careers in much larger numbers than they do now, found expression. His speech, as reported, did not contain any discussion of the ethics of the legal profession—a difficult subject—nor of the much easier question as to the moral effect on society of a superabundance of lawyers ; nor did he abuse any lawyer or lawyers as a class. Sir P. C. Ray is not a mere chemist. It may be safely presumed that the professor knows that lawyers have their place in "civilised" society and often do useful and sometimes noble work, though some of them are like some members of most other professions sometimes a nuisance, too. We politicians know, and he

may be safely presumed to know, that it is the lawyers who awakened the American colonists from their lethargy and were the mouthpieces to give expression to their discontent and aspirations, and that some lawyers in India, too, have played the same role.

As for the pecuniary condition of the generality of students and their guardians, we do not know of any man in Calcutta who can pronounce an opinion with greater authority, derived from personal experience, than Professor Praphulla Chandra Ray.

Sir Asutosh Mookherjee, in reply to the criticisms made on his resolution, said that really two points had been raised against it, namely: (1) that it was immoral to tax matriculation candidates for the benefit of the maligned post-graduate students, and (2) the poverty and incapacity of the people of Bengal to meet their demand. The first ground was based on a very narrow view of the true functions of the University. It was said that all students who appeared at the matriculation did not appear at higher examinations. Those students who appeared at that examination and who did not intend to continue their studies had no right to appear at the examination. After all the University was one homogeneous whole. Then it was suggested that Bengal was poor. He did not believe that, and he thought that notwithstanding the raising of their fees their candidates would go on increasing. It was suggested again that the postgraduate students should be made to pay, but that would not be any help to them. Then again the students who reached the top come from the poorer classes. The solution of that problem, as was suggested by Dr. Howells, was to make education free at the expense of the State. That was the right solution, but that meant taxation and every man with an income would have to pay towards the cost of education. That was not desirable. Let that portion of Bengal whom the University could reach contribute towards its funds.

In the opinion of Sir Asutosh, those students who appeared at the Matriculation examination and who did not intend to continue their studies further had no right to appear at the examination. That is his *ipse dixit*. But is it laid down in any university Act, regulation or rule? The Matriculation is a qualification for several other things besides admission to arts and science colleges. A boy may wish to acquire this qualification without intending to join the I. A. or I. Sc. class. Moreover, many candidates cannot say when they sit for the Matric whether they would continue their studies. If they pass creditably, and can secure scholarships or free studentships or free board and lodg-

ing or private tutorships, they continue, otherwise they give up their studies. Therefore, the matter actually stands thus: (1) The University does not, as it cannot, demand any guarantee from any Matric candidate that on passing he would continue his studies, before permitting him to appear at the examination, nor is there any unwritten understanding entered into by any candidate that he would continue his studies after passing; (2) Taking Sir Asutosh's contention to be correct, this unwritten contract (*viz.*, that a candidate can acquire a right to appear at the Matric only by having a *bona fide* intention to prosecute his studies further) cannot be one-sided. If the university demands such continuation of studies as a condition for permission to sit for the Matric, the candidate, too, is entitled to demand that the university would after his passing guarantee his admission into some affiliated institution or other on his paying the fees, &c. But does the University, or can the University, give any such guarantee? Do we not find many matriculated students knocking about from college to college without finding admission? If the university could provide room for all matriculates, and if in spite of such provision of accommodation, considerable numbers of them chose not to go in for higher studies, the university could justly say to them: "We charged you high examination fees partly for the furtherance of your higher education and provided facilities for higher education for you all, but you have not availed yourself of these facilities. So, having fulfilled our part of the contract, we are not to blame." If there had been a School Final Examination qualifying candidates for the same employments, &c., for which the Matric now qualifies, Sir Asutosh's contention would have had slightly greater force. It is to be hoped his words do not foreshadow the institution of such an examination.

Sir Asutosh said that he did not believe that Bengal was poor. He is welcome to believe what he likes, but his belief will not alter facts. Bengal is poor. We know 'rich' and 'poor' are relative terms, and therefore we proceed to make our meaning

quite clear. By saying that Bengal is poor, we mean that the majority of Bengalis do not have a sufficient quantity of clean and nourishing food and decent clothing and house accommodation to enable them to lead healthy, efficient, and decent and moral lives, and also that, after obtaining the primary and essential needs of existence, (which, in fact, they cannot obtain), they have not enough left to educate their children.

Sir Asutosh "thought that notwithstanding the raising of their fees their candidates would go on increasing." May be. But that is not because Bengal is not poor, but because there are so few careers for our youth. Almost all the avenues of distinction and of employment for the *bhadralok* class lie through the portals of the university, and parents cannot but stint and starve themselves in order to be able to give their boys a start in life. In spite of the high prices of cloth, cloth-dealers are making more money than before, and people *have* to buy some kind of cloth or wear rags. In spite of the high prices of rice and commodities, people have to buy them, because otherwise life would be impossible. Similarly, so long as other kinds of education leading to various new careers are not available, people must go in for university-controlled education, however expensive it may be made. What people are forced by circumstances to do cannot be adduced as an argument to prove that they do it quite easily without feeling any inconvenience. "It was suggested again that the post-graduate students should be made to pay, but that would not be any help to them." Help to *whom*? To the university? The latter part of the sentence quoted above probably means that as even by raising the tuition fees of the post-graduate students, *who directly benefit by the activities of the university*, Rs. 2,30,000 cannot be realised, therefore, let us tax those most of whom are not directly benefited or not benefited at all! But the tax sanctioned by the Senate is not only not equitable, it has the further disadvantage of being levied on rich and poor alike in equal amounts, which no other tax is. The incidence of every other tax

varies with the means of the tax-payer, but this increase in the fees will be the same for rich and poor alike.

As the university does not at present provide or propose to provide free education, the question of providing free education at the expense of the State and of taxation, for that purpose, of *all* who have an income, need not have been raised. There is no tax, by the by, which is imposed on *all* who have an income, large or small. Sir Asutosh knows that in countries where university education is free, the State *does* pay for it out of the taxes levied on the general population, without anybody saying "that is not desirable"; he knows that in such countries, the expenses of educating post-graduate students are not met in great part by levying high *examination* fees on undergraduates and candidates for matriculation; he knows that it is not the undesirability of taxing the general population for purposes of post-graduate education which deterred him from proposing or advocating that step, but it was because it was beyond *his* power to levy such a tax which made him prefer to tax those who are helpless and whom he, mainly with the help of his followers, can practically force to pay any fee he may choose to fix. The whole population of a country is served and benefited by its educated section. Therefore, if it be proper to tax matriculation candidates for schemes from which only a small fraction of them would ultimately derive any advantage, it is also proper for the State to pay the expenses of the highest education from the general revenues of the country, and even to levy a special education tax, if the country can bear it.

Dr. Howells admitted that

So far as the poor students were concerned there was no doubt that it would press most heavily on them. On the other hand it was a gratifying feature in this country that the poor students always get help from those who could pay. He believed that if the resolution was carried those students would get help as before and it would not close the door of knowledge to them.

Sir Asutosh also observed :

If they wanted to help the students who were poor let them raise a fund for the purpose. Did they really suppose that the people of Bengal were so poor

that they could not afford to comply with this demand? If they went to the cinemas and if they went to the theatres and other places of amusement they would always find the places full. If the people could spend money on amusement they could surely help the students by reducing their expenditure on heads other than education.

We must say, these are very curious arguments. Do not the speakers know that charity has a demoralising effect on those who receive it? It tends to sap their self-respect and manhood. In so far as it is unavoidable, students have to and do beg. But surely it is not the part of their well-wishers to bring about such conditions as would compel larger numbers of them to beg, or compel those who already beg to become more importunate beggars or beggars on a larger scale. We are deeply pained to have to write in this blunt fashion. We have not the least desire to wound the susceptibilities of indigent students. We are compelled to write thus to make the moral evils involved in the suggestions of Dr. Howells and Sir Asutosh Mukherjee quite clear. The latter referred to the fulness of theatres and cinemas as a proof of the prosperity of the people. But is Calcutta the whole of Bengal, or are those who seek amusement the whole or the majority of the people of Calcutta or even of those who appreciate education? Moreover, some people have got such a craving for excitement and pleasure that they would rather deprive themselves or their children of a meal than go without these. That is also why frequently even in times of famine, the excise revenues do not show a falling off but most often an increase. Anglo-Indian officials may treat this fact as a proof of the prosperity of the people, but we do not desire any of our countrymen to think in that way.

Sir Asutosh Mookherjee is an expert in getting big sums for the university. Why, then, instead of taxing candidates, does he not himself raise a fund for financing post-graduate education from the cinema and theatre-goers from whom he desires others to raise a fund for helping poor students? Even he will not find it easy. Better than telling poor students to beg from individuals or to depend on funds for helping them is the American way to make poor

students self-supporting, *viz.*, to provide them with remunerative work. The university should have an employment bureau for this purpose. A committee of energetic well-wishers of students may also establish such a bureau.

“The Vice-Chancellor, in summing up the debate, said that the people of Bengal were not *so* poor as they were painted. They could *easily* afford to spend a *little* money towards the education of their children.” (The italics are ours.)

It is very much to be regretted that Sir Nilratan Sircar said all these things. We have already defined what we mean and understand by the word “poor”. We do not wish to indulge in hair-splitting to ascertain whether Bengal is sufficiently poor to excite the pity and sympathy of well-to-do people. But she *is* poor, and the majority of Bengali parents do not find that the expense of their children’s education amount to only “a little money,” whatever the sum may mean to people with large incomes.

It should be noted that our remarks are based on newspaper reports. We have no other means of knowing what the speakers said.

The raising of the fees has been spoken of as a temporary measure. But we don’t believe that having got an additional yearly revenue of Rs. 2,30,000, the university will again part with it. It will be argued that as the people are able to pay, let them pay, and let us spend the amount “usefully”.

Dependence on fee-receipts involves one great evil. It inclines the university to make its examinations easy, in order that the number of candidates may not diminish, but, on the contrary, may increase. In other words, dependence on fee-receipts has a tendency to make the passes “cheap”—“cheap,” of course, from the points of view of intellectual attainments. This commercialism goes directly against the interests of true education. We do not, of course, believe that the efficiency of education is proportionate to the number of failures in examinations. But we do believe that a university should not feel that its existence and solvency depend on a large number of candidates and passes.

III News Runs Apace.

In spite of the efforts of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lord Chelmsford to prevent any but officially-approved news of the Panjab being published and in spite of their strong desire that only officially approved inferences from the same should be drawn, even far-off Australia seems to have drawn conclusions of a different character, as the following paragraph from the *Australian Worker* of Sydney (May 1, 1919) shows :—

Some time ago Lloyd George said that "India is entitled to ask that her loyal myriads should feel, not as if they were a subject race in the Empire, but a partner-nation." Judging by events that have happened in India during the last week or two, it seems that the Indians are getting full measure of the Lloyd George brand of "Democracy."

Sectarian Suspicion in Europe.

The Catholic Herald of India writes :

The French Catholic press is asking a question which we piece out as follows from heavily censored articles : How is it that the Catholic Austrian Empire has been cut up into small pieces, whereas the Protestant German Empire is maintained practically entire ? How is it that the Council of Five piously refuse to meddle with the internal constitution of Germany, whereas the principle of self-determination is rigorously applied to Austria ? The answer of the French press is : "We have been sold by international Jewry and Freemasonry !"

This is a terrible indictment which we are too optimistic to admit, but we must make a note of it. We still believe in Wilson and Clemenceau, and they have declared themselves satisfied with the Peace Terms. However, let us keep awake.

Meanwhile there seems to be considerable hesitation, feigned or otherwise, among the Allies, as to whether they should countenance the new Rhenish Republic. Why all this fuss, it is difficult to understand, as it was stipulated by a secret arrangement between Russia and France that Russia would not raise any objection, should France set up a Rhenish Republic after the war. This may be a mere coincidence, but even then the opinion of the Allied Congress that "political evolution in Germany is a matter for the Germans themselves" does not seem to be consistent with our Austrian policy and with our fundamental principle of national self-determination. We would like to see the stage directions.

The suspicion of the French Catholic press may be wrong or may be right ; but there it is. We refer to it, only because it is thought that "the mutual distrust of Hindus and Musalmans" disqualifies Indians for self-government. We deplore such distrust where it exists. It is an evil thing. But it does not become Europeans to urge this distrust as an argument against In-

dian self-government. Most European countries have been and are self-governing in spite of the mutual distrust of Protestants and Catholics, and in spite of anti-Jewish pogroms in some of them ; and it is partly because of the exercise by them of the right of self-government that this distrust has been diminishing, the other important cause being the progress of liberal education.

Colour Riots in Great Britain.

London, June 17.

Colour riots continue to assume serious proportions compelling the Government to arrange for the early deportation of men of exotic races now in this country. The agitation is aimed at the Chinese whereof many thousands are here, mainly stranded seamen and Negroes, who also arrived during the war on ships. A large force of police is engaged in some towns in taking special precautions, notably in the China Town of London, Newport and Cardiff. General regret is felt at these disturbances, since the coloured men have done much good work in the war, but the hostility is partly industrial and partly connected with women.—"Englishman."

If Great Britain were under foreign rule, the foreign rulers could have used these facts to argue that the British people were unfit for self-government ; for the occurrence of riots in India has been used for such a purpose.

Other obvious comments the reader will make for himself.

The Policy of Tarquinius Superbus.

"This [Manipur] tragedy was the subject of a debate in the House of Commons at which I happened to be present. Sir William Harcourt moved for papers in a speech of studious moderation. I remember only one point he made. The Government of India, he said, accepted the revolution in Manipur as beneficial, but insisted upon the punishment of the Senapati who had brought it about. This, he declared, "is as though the people of England had accepted the restoration of Charles II, but had ordered the execution of General Monk."—Sir William was replied to by Sir John Gorst, then Tory Under-Secretary of State for India. The cynicism of his remarks and the transparency of their personal application electrified the House. He observed : "The Senapati was the man of the greatest ability and greatest force of character among the ruling family at Manipur. He was a man who was extremely popular among the people for his generosity." He went on to say that the Government of India had never encouraged men of that kind. They had always hated and discouraged independent and original talent, and had always loved and promoted docile and unpretending mediocrity. This was a policy they had inherited from Tarquinius Superbus. "Although in these days they did not cut off the heads of the tall poppies, they took other and more merciful means of removing anv-

person of dangerous political preeminence to a harmless condition."—*Indian and Home Memories*, by Sir Henry Cotton, chap. xxi.

Good Coming out of Evil.

"The Anglo-Indian agitation against Lord Ripon's government, the protests which asserted that 'the only people who have any right to India are the British,' the whole attitude of Englishmen in regard to Indian unity than any action or legislation on the lines contemplated by that Viceroy could have accomplished."—*Indian and Home Memories*, by Sir Henry Cotton, ch. xvi.

Alliteration in History.

Philosophic and poetic students of history have found rhythmic movements in the events recorded therein. The more prosaic may be allowed to point out that there is also alliteration in history. In the recent history of India, for instance, boons and blows have gone together. So it was in the days of Morley-Minto, so it is in the days of Montagu-Chelmsford. But just as in literature alliteration is not synonymous with poetry, so in politics, too, boons and blows do not work together to produce that harmony which is of the essence of real peace and order. Edmund Burke knew this when he wrote:—

"I know not how the angel of conciliation will work in concert with the angel of repression. Standing by itself I could answer for the angel of sweetness and conciliation. In the bad company in which it is found, I cannot."

Those who deal out blows and dole out boons have, no doubt, their reason,—though possibly no rhyme. They may argue that boons unmixed with blows may be considered as proceeding from fear.

The Punjab Method of Government.

It is not the administration of the Punjab under martial law which alone has been different from the administration of the other provinces. Even in ordinary times, that province has been differently administered. Let two Englishmen bear witness.

"The men of my time were the inheritors of the old ways and old traditions. Sir John Lawrence was the Governor-General... He came from the Punjab... These men had been trained in a hard school, and they meted out summary justice with an iron hand. *Sic volo sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas*. That was their motto, and they acted on it to the uttermost. The Punjab influence has never been a good one when extended to other provinces, and frontier methods have always been a source of danger in their facile application to general use."—*Indian and Home Memories*, by Sir Henry Cotton, ch. v.

"It is generally conceded in India that the most incompetent of the Government is that of the Punjab. It takes its stand upon two foundation-rocks, 'Prestige' and 'Sedition', the meaning of the former being that it can do what it likes, and of the latter that if any Indian questions its doings, his house will be raided and he will be deported... It has no notion of statesmanlike handling, no idea of political methods. The man in power simply uses his power, whether it is in the form of a not too honest detective department or a not too discriminating executive and judiciary."—*The Awakening of India*, by J. Ramsay MacDonald, Part II, ch. vi.

Both the above writers, it will be observed, speak of the normal administration of the Punjab, not of Punjab under martial law. It would seem that an administration with the reputation of the Punjab would be the last authority whose advice as to the necessity of further and still further repressive measures would be listened to by a wise and prudent supreme Government, but we live to learn.

Sir M. Sadler on Educational Aims and Ideals.

On the occasion of his welcome back to Leeds University, of which he is Vice-Chancellor, from India, where he has recently worked as president of the Calcutta University Commission, Sir Michael Sadler spoke on the outlook and influence of the old and new British Universities. As regards their influence on educational ideas in India, he said in part:

Without any change in loyalty to the older experience the men throughout India are beginning to feel that here in the new university we have hit upon a form of constitution which works well in the modern State, that we have felt our way to a right relation to the central Government of the country, that we are right in being in great industrial centres, and in holding up high the principle that for all, rich or poor, man or woman, a liberal education is the essential thing for citizenship. The people of India felt that the newer universities were right in giving equal opportunity to men and women, and that education was not a thing that stopped with the taking of a degree, but was something to which men and women of all ages should continue to have appropriate access. They felt that above all the newer universities were right not to allow religious differences to enter into the fabric of the work.

Both Anglo-Indians (old style) and Indians ought to ponder over the words which we have italicised above.

It has become a generally accepted principle in America and many countries of Europe that the University grade of education should be open to all boys and

girls, intellectually capable of receiving it, irrespective of their birth or pecuniary circumstances. Even in England, at the Oxford Union, on February 22, 1919, Mr. Fisher, the British Education Minister, prophesied that "thirty years hence the University grade of education would be recognised by all as a democratic institution open to all." On this the *Times Educational Supplement* (Feb. 27, 1919) observed: "It was a safe prophesy and would have been safe had he said ten years." The same journal reports in its issue for April 10, 1919, that "Mr. Fisher, President of the Board of Education, speaking at a meeting of the Women's Citizen Association at Ealing, said that it was an anomaly, and a great waste of money, that the population of the country should be divided into two sections—one, an aristocratic section, which received a full education through the period of adolescence, and the other, a democratic section, whose education was curtailed at the age of 14." Alas! the situation in India is very much worse than in England. Here, the vast majority of boys and girls (particularly of girls) receive no education at all.

Without universal education there can be no national regeneration. We must spread education by all the means in our power.

Principal Ramendrasundar Tribedi.

By the death of Principal Ramendrasundar Tribedi, Bengal loses one of her foremost educationists, writers and thinkers. He had a brilliant academic career, which was crowned by his obtaining the Premchand Roychand Studentship, the blue ribbon of the Calcutta University. After this he joined Ripon College as a professor of science and ended his career as the principal of that College. Tempting offers came to him from outside, but he chose to remain where he was, to the end of his days. Such steadfastness is rare. He rendered great service to the cause of the Bengali literature and language by working in connection with the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad (Bengal Academy of Literature), of which he was for years

secretary and, during the last week of his life, president. He was one of the makers of this Parishad.



Principal Ramendrasundar Tribedi.

He was a Bengali writer of great distinction, being one of our foremost authors. He popularised science, and though he did not try to build up any philosophical system, his writings on philosophical subjects were marked by clearness, depth and originality of thinking. His fame as a writer and thinker did not travel outside Bengal, because all that he wrote was in Bengali; but some of his writings which were translated into German by Mr. Sisir Kumar Maitra obtained the commendation of competent German thinkers. He was one of nature's gentlemen, and had a very genial disposition. He neither took nor gave offence. But he was not one of those inoffensive men who are all things to all men. He had a distinct individuality of his own. It is greatly to be regretted that such a man has left us at the age of only 55 years.

Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu.

Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu is no more. More than any one else, he should be considered the maker of modern Andhra-desh, the region inhabited by the Telugu-speaking population. He was not a man of any high worldly position or

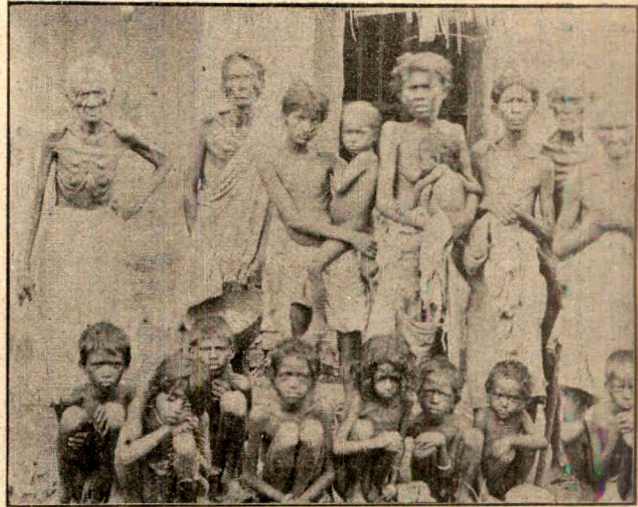
of fearless advocacy of the right and of ceaseless toil ought to be an inspiration to younger workers in the cause of humanity.

Famine in Bankura.

Government has declared famine in the district of Bankura, Bengal. This fact alone is sufficient to show in what dire



Rao Bahadur K. Viresalingam Pantulu.



Some famine-stricken women and children in Chhatra, Bankura.

wealth. So long as he was in harness, he held only the humble post of a Pandit in an educational institution. Yet by practising economy and from the sale-proceeds of his numerous works in prose and verse he gave away more for the promotion of widow-marriages, the advancement of education, the maintenance and up-bringing of orphans, the propagation of the worship of God in spirit and in truth, and for other good causes than many wealthier men reputed to be patriotic and public-spirited. He was known as the Vidya-sagar of the South for the lifelong and strenuous efforts which he made for bringing about the remarriage of widows.

He was the foremost Telugu author of modern times and may without exaggeration be styled the maker of modern Telugu prose. His poetical and prose works fill ten volumes.

He worked fearlessly for the cause of social reform and social purity and in consequence made many enemies. His life

straits the people of that district are. Indians in all provinces of India and even those living in Great Britain, Africa, &c., helped them during the last famine which visited them 3 years ago. It is to be hoped that public charity will be the means of saving life during the present famine, too. The following paragraph from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* will give some idea of the condition of the people :—

We have published in our columns an appeal by the Bankura Sammilani on behalf of the famine-stricken people in that district. Information has reached the Sammilani that two Mahomedans of thana Barjora have died of starvation. "There are instances without number," says the report of the Sammilani, "where women can not leave their thatched huts for want of cloths to hide their nudity. They attend nature's call in the night, the darkness of which supplies these unfortunate women with means to cover their shame." This is the harrowing tale of distress, but for the relief of which only Rs. 1906-4-6 pies and new clothes of 150 pieces have been placed in the hands of the Sammilani by the public. With this extremely meagre help the Sammilani has been keeping the wolf out of the door of



Some famine-stricken men, women, and children in Khatra, Bankura.

1200 persons a day. Such an appalling distress is possible only in India. But we wonder that in Bengal the spirit of charity has so far been extinct that only a couple of thousands of rupees could be collected to meet a situation like this. The volunteers of the Sammilani are silently doing their best to relieve their suffering countrymen. But have not the rest of the people any duty by their famished brethren? A single rupee can keep ten men out of starvation for a day. Both the rich and the poor can pay. We earnestly appeal to our countrymen once again to remember the famished thousands before taking one morsel of food for themselves. All contributions, however small, are to be sent to Rai Hemanta Kumar Raha Bahadur, Assistant Director-General of

Post Office, Calcutta. The contributions will be acknowledged in the columns of the "Modern Review."

The photographs of the famine stricken people of some different parts of Bankura which we reproduce in this issue, have been taken and supplied to us by the Bankura Sammilani. The Sammilani has also sent us the photograph of a Jaina partly ruined temple in village Harmashra, which it can undertake to repair and restore if funds are supplied to it by Jaina gentlemen, who are generally kind-hearted and charitable.



Some famine-stricken men, women, children in Danga-Rampur, Bankura.

The repairs will give employment to many famine-stricken men and women. Particulars may be obtained from Babu Rishindranath Sarkar, M.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, 20 Sankharitola East Lane, Intally, Calcutta.

Manoranjan Guha Thakurta.

Babu Manoranjan Guha Thakurta, who was one of the ten gentlemen who were deported during the administration of Lord Minto when the agitation against the partition of Bengal was at its height, has breathed his last. He was one of the leading and influential figures in the Swadeshi, Boycott, and anti-Partition agitation. He was a very eloquent and persuasive speaker, and wielded a facile pen. He founded and conducted for some time a newspaper called *Nava Shakti* (New Power) in the Nationalist interest, and, a

few years ago, started and conducted for some time a monthly magazine called *Bijaya*. He was the author of a few books. In the beginning of his public career he was a preacher of Brahmoism. He was a disciple of Pandit Bijoy Krishna Goswami, and during the latter part of his life ceased to have any formal connection with the Brahmo Samaj. He was religious throughout life.

A Boy Discoverer.

News have come from Bombay of some remarkable discoveries made in the chemical world by a 17 year old Indian lad, Mr. E. E. Dutt—discoveries which are expected to revolutionise the industrial development of India in the near future.

This precocious youth, who has not had a school or college education at all in the accepted sense of the term, has discovered



Some famine-stricken men and children in Harmashra, Bankura.



A Jaina Temple in Harmashra, Bankura.

that the synthetic production of Methane or marsh gas is possible anywhere. The gas is of great use for industrial purposes as motive power.

The discovery was made in the Central Provinces a couple of years ago when the Germans were developing some of their most fiendish methods of warfare. At the request of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, who became acquainted with the discovery when the lad applied for a patent, it had to be kept a profound secret during the war lest the Germans heard of it and put it into capital use against the Allies.

Young Dutt has, in addition, discovered and patented methods and processes by which pure sulphur can be manufactured from gypsum (sulphate of lime) which is plentiful in Rajputana, viz., within the states of Bikaner and Jodhpur and also in the North-West Frontier Provinces in Kalabagh and in Sind. The significance of this achievement cannot be over-rated. As stated in the records of the Geological Survey of India, a cheap supply of sulphuric acid would be the key to many new industries in India, now either non-existent or in a feeble condition. This defect could now be remedied.

The lad has also found out simple and



Master E. E. Dutt, the Chemical Discoverer.

Photograph by Bourne & Shepherd, special to the Modern Review.

cheap methods of manufacturing soda, and carbonate of soda and alumina, and an equally cheap process of extracting potash from ordinary rocks in this country. As a fertiliser, potash is largely used in Europe and America and the countries, which use them, are till now practically dependent on Germany for the supplies. Young Dutt's discovery would enable India to export potash in large quantities and successfully compete with Germany.

During the past few months Mr. Dutt has been carrying on demonstrations in Bombay. The demonstrations have so far, it is understood, conclusively proved that his discoveries can be worked up on a commercial basis.

A strong syndicate of leading industrialists of Bombay have acquired the patent rights for the manufacture of sulphur, potash, soda, etc., from Mr. Dutt. On the completion of the demonstrations, a company with about two crores of rupees as capital is to be formed shortly to undertake the manufacture of these chemicals.

Young Dutt is the eldest son of his father,

Mr. P. C. Dutt, Barrister-at-Law, who is a well-known industrialist of Jubbulpore. Mr. P. C. Dutt is not a chemist and never read a word of chemistry. Young Dutt is a vegetarian, in spite of his long residence in Europe, chiefly in London. He leaves India in September next for a tour in Japan, America and England to demonstrate his discovery of extracting potash from felspar rocks (which is a very common constituent of granite rocks in India, the United States, &c.). The present food shortage problem in Europe is bound up with the shortage of potash supply from Germany. Young Dutt's discovery ought to make the supply of potash cheap and abundant. He hopes soon to make use of the gas Methane for more humane purposes than its deadly explosive use. His manufacture of soda salts will, he thinks, enable him to produce pure alumina and then aluminium metal at a cost which will at once cheapen it.

He has been specially photographed for the *Modern Review*.

Sir C. Sankaran Nair.

One reads in the papers that Sir C. Sankaran Nair has really resigned and his resignation has been accepted, though the Government of India has not yet (June 25) given the public any information on the subject. Sometime ago when a question was asked in the House of Commons on the matter, the reply officially given was that there was no official information but it was understood that he had resigned and the cause of his resignation was his disagreement with his colleagues on the policy pursued in dealing with the Panjab disturbances. Most probably that was the immediate cause; but his two minutes of dissent from two Government of India despatches show that his disagreement with them was of earlier date and that he was too patriotic, honest and fearless to conceal his real opinions and cry ditto to the bureaucracy or himself become a bureaucrat. All honour to him. That his worth should be recognised by his own countrymen is only to be expected. But what "Ditcher" in *Capital* writes of him, shows that there are some honest men



Sir C. Sankaran Nair.

among non-official Britishers in India who can appreciate intellectual and moral eminence in Indians.

This is what "Ditcher" says :—

I do not think that any fair-minded critic will disagree with Sir Sankaran Nair who contends that the result of the Government of India's proposals is that so far as the reserved subjects are concerned neither the minister nor the council is to have any real voice in the settlement of the budget. I have not the space to extract the whole of Sir Sankaran Nair's argument but every seri-

ous politician should study it carefully. It is brilliant and convincing and proves that both in dialectics and ethics he towers a head and shoulders above his colleagues in the Viceroy's Council. Perhaps that is the reason he has resigned.

At the end of the despatch of the Government of India it is written, "Our colleague, Sir Sankaran Nair, has recorded a note of dissent which we attach. Time is important, and we have not discussed his arguments, although it will be clear that we have fully considered and rejected them." I have never read more pure bunkum. There is not in the whole despatch a scintilla of evidence that Sir Sankaran Nair's arguments were considered or even understood. On the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence that the Cabinet decided that their only safety lay in never minding him.

Sir Sankaran Nair has been under a cloud for some time past. Even those who believed in him before his appointment as Member for Education had come round to the idea

that he was content to proceed on the line of the least resistance because of the hopelessness of his isolation. I was told in a confidential whisper only last year that none came to a meeting of the Executive Council with so little information and knowledge. His minute of dissent creates a change in the spirit of the dream. It confirms Lord Carmichael's opinion that he possesses a highly trained and robust intelligence, and a heart that fears neither man nor beast. By his outspoken indictment of the Bureaucracy he has done an inestimable service to his country and the Empire.

It is said that he will shortly proceed to England. His presence there cannot but be of very great advantage to India.

Dominating the Pacific.

Reuter cabled on May 5 from Wellington that Sir J. Allen, acting Premier of New Zealand, "declared today that he viewed the developments in the Pacific with some alarm. It was, he said, difficult to discover why Japan wanted Marshall Islands unless the Japanese wanted to dominate the Pacific." The alarm may have been unfeigned. But what the humorist will not fail to note is that it is thought quite right for some "white" power or other, particularly the British, to "dominate" all the oceans, but to think that some non-white power wants to dominate some ocean—Is it not very wicked and horrible?

The Calcutta Postmen's Strike.

The Catholic Herald of India thus compares the postmen's strike in Calcutta with the threatened but averted railway strike:—

"Some time ago, the Covenanted Officers of a big Railway Company respectfully represented to the authorities that they and their families were starving on Rs. 350 a month, and that unless they were given Rs. 500 they would go on strike, hold up all railway traffic, starve town and country, cut off troops and supplies necessary to carry on the Afghan war and suppress the revolt in Punjab. A big gentleman went to Simla, and there other big gentlemen sat in conclave, with the result that the Covenanted Officers got the Rs. 500 they claimed, and were warmly congratulated on their patriotic restraint and law-abiding behaviour."

"A week later, the Calcutta postal peons respectfully represented to the authorities that they and their families were starving on Rs. 15 a month, and that unless they were given Rs. 20, they would go on strike. No big gentleman took any notice of it, and on strike they did go, with the result that one man got 20 days' rigorous imprisonment for being the Treasurer of the Strike Funds, five others were condemned to three weeks' rigorous imprisonment for being the leaders, eight others were fined, others were sacked, and the rest pardoned and kept on the old rates."

2nd Clown: But is this law?

1st Clown: Ay, marry, is't crowner's quest law.

2nd Clown: Will you ha'the truth on't? If these had been white gentlemen...etc.

1st Clown: Why, there thou say'st: and the more pity that great folk should have countenance in this world to hang the public more than their even Christian. Come, my spade."

Evidently the postal authorities were neither just nor sympathetic, they only wanted to uphold their prestige and teach

the men a lesson. The strikers may have been technically guilty of unlawful conduct, but surely it is not unlawful to be kind to ill-paid, half-starved and hard-working men. As for the law, we agree with the "Disgusted Briton" who wrote to the *Englishman* to protest against the sentences and said:—

"If the law obtaining in India permits the infliction of sentences of imprisonment for such so-called 'offences' as these, surely it is about time the law was altered. If the sentences were permissible under the 'Defence of India' Act, they would seem a gross misuse of power."

During the present year the London police struck work and also have threatened again to strike. But there was no prosecution. Surely their action was calculated to produce more serious consequences than the Calcutta postmen's strike.

"Soldiers as Strike-breakers."

During the postal strike in Calcutta, the Postmen received little or no help or sympathy from the public of Calcutta. Why? Is it because the postmen were humble people?

On the contrary, some boy scouts and some men of the Calcutta university infantry corps, acted as strike-breakers. They may be entitled to praise as having rendered some service to the public at much labour and inconvenience to themselves, but it struck us at the time that they were making it difficult for the poor men to obtain justice. That was not a citizen-like part to play. That free men do not like to be used as strike-breakers will appear from the following report of a question asked and answer given in the House of Commons on April 30, 1919.

SOLDIERS AS STRIKE-BREAKERS.

Mr. Grundy asked the Secretary of State for India whether he was aware that soldiers in India who were formerly trade unionists in this country had been warned that they might be called upon to take the place of Post Office servants on strike in India, whether he was aware that the warning was creating a serious feeling of discontent among the troops; and whether he would take steps to ensure that the soldiers should not be used for any such purpose.

Mr. Montagu: I have no information on the matter, but will make enquiry.

What trade-unionists consider discreditable to themselves can not be creditable to others.

Are Americans unfit for self-rule

A Reuter's telegram dated London, June 10, states that "the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate [of U. S. A.] is investigating the leakage and unauthorised publication of the complete text of the Peace Treaty. Leading New York bankers are suspected in this connection and have been subpoenaed in order to produce correspondence with their London and Paris houses. Senator Borah, in the Senate, produced a copy which he stated had been brought to the United States by a Chicago journalist. The Senate, by 47 votes to 24, ordered the publication of the text in spite of President Wilson's disapprobation which had been cabled earlier."

Some Anglo-Indian journals held that Indians were unfit for self-government because some Calcutta University question papers had leaked out. As the Peace Treaty is *perhaps* a more important document than university question papers, Americans are undoubtedly unfit for self-rule. But unfortunately for Anglo-Indians (old style), they are neither the rulers nor the exploiters of America.

Serious disturbances Quelled in Shanghai Without Shooting.

London, June 11.

A telegram from Peking, dated June 6th, says that a wave of anti-Japanese feeling, arising out of the decision of the Peace Conference regarding Shantung, is spreading throughout China. Students are everywhere haranguing and inflaming the crowds in the streets. The police in Peking arrested one thousand students. The Chinese shops and banks in Shanghai and Tientsin were closed as a protest against the arrest of students. Burning of Japanese goods continues. The students were released to-day.—*Reuter*.

London, June 11.

Anti-Japanese feeling in China owing to the decision of the Peace Conference with regard to Shantung has led to serious disturbances in Shanghai, where foreign police were assaulted with bricks. The police charged with batons and cleared the streets. There were several casualties. Volunteers have been called out to maintain order.—*Reuter*.

We have printed the above news simply to point out that though the disturbances were very serious, they were quelled simply by the use of batons; rifles, machine-guns, and bombs from aeroplanes were not used.

Anarchism in U. S. A., but no Rowlatt Bill.

A Reuter's telegram dated New York, May 1, runs as follows:—

Thirty-six bombs have been discovered in mails in New York and elsewhere. The post office authorities are convinced that the discovery has unearthed a plot by the terrorists to assassinate high personages at a Mayday demonstration. The majority of the recipients of bombs are prominent Anti-Reds including Senator Harfildwick, author of the Bill to prevent immigration, whose wife was injured by a bomb. Search is being made throughout the country for the perpetrators.

Subsequently a severed head has been found on the roof of a house,—suspected to be the work of anarchists—and other proofs of an anarchist conspiracy obtained. But no "Rowlatt Bill" has been introduced in the U. S. A. legislature, probably because in that country the administrators are not as "strong" and "efficient" as the bureaucrats in India.

Germany Alone Not to Blame.

The Allies' reply to Germany's counter-proposals, which has been described as their "last word" to Germany, contains some interesting passages. Two will be quoted here.

"With regard to the economic and financial proposals, the Allies have no intention of strangling Germany or preventing her from taking her proper place in international trade and commerce. Provided that she abides by the treaty of peace and abandons aggressive and exclusive traditions in business the Allies intend that Germany shall have fair treatment in the purchase of raw materials and the sale of goods, subject to the temporary provisions mentioned in the interests of the nations ravaged by Germany."

Have the German business traditions alone been aggressive and exclusive? Are there no nations among the Allies which have the same traditions in business?

"As regards the former German colonies, the Allies state that they have placed native interests before every other consideration. Germany's subordination of native interests to her own ambitions has been revealed too completely to admit of the Allies consenting to make a second experiment and risking the fate of thirteen or fourteen millions of natives."

The accusation of "subordination of native interests to her own interests" does not come with good grace from the Allies, against most of whom the same charge, may be quite justly brought.

Japan and Korea.

The Kobe Herald of Japan, a British-owned and British-edited daily, accuses the Japanese of "obliquity of vision," because

¶ If they possessed the ability to see themselves as others see them, we should not be confronted with the anomaly of prominent Japanese clamouring in Europe for racial equality as the champions of "races and nationalities . . . which are tempted to think that they are not receiving the same treatment as the big nations of the world," while their own officials out here are compelled to confess that the Koreans have not been properly treated by any means. When a Councillor of the Foreign Office has to admit after making enquiry into the circumstances connected with the recent disturbances in Chosen that the people of the peninsula have been unfairly discriminated against, and that the Japanese look down upon the Koreans, regarding them as inferior and uneducated, although as a matter of fact the average Korean young man absorbs knowledge more readily than his Japanese master, we may be sure that this country's record in so far as the administration of the people is concerned is by no means so satisfactory as Japan would have the world believe. Japan, it would seem, would do well to take the beam out of her own eye before endeavouring to remove the mote from another's eye.

That may be true. But is there any imperialising nation having "coloured" dependencies to whom the biblical advice contained in the last three lines of the extract may not be justly addressed? However, to return to Japan's treatment of Korea. *The North China Herald* publishes a statement made by a Committee of Christian missionaries in Pyengyang, Korea, describing the recent "passive revolution" in that place. It says :—

As you doubtless know, disaffected Koreans in America, Hawaii, Manchuria, China and Japan have kept up a constant agitation against Japanese rule in Korea ever since their occupation of the peninsula. About a month ago, some of these men came secretly to Korea and organized committees to begin a movement for establishing independence. Their work was quiet and effective. Their plan was to begin a "Passive Revolution." No one (even Japanese) was to be harmed. No property was to be destroyed or injured. A persistent passive agitation was to be instituted and continued until success attended their object. If they were beaten or imprisoned or even killed, they were to take their punishment without complaint. Nothing was to be done to bring reproach upon the name of the Koreans or their movement. And I

want to say here, that up to the present time, we have simply had to marvel at the restraint the people have shown under all the oppression and suffering they have had to endure.

After referring to the effects of Japanese rule and the various disabilities under which the Koreans live, the statement proceeds :—

¶ The revolution began on Saturday afternoon, March 1, in many large cities in Korea and spread like wild-fire to the country. It was well planned, the plotters being from all kinds of the people. A Proclamation of Independence was issued, signed by 33 men. Twenty-nine of these men gathered in Seoul on February 23, and after the meeting where the proclamation was read, met at a restaurant for a dinner together. When this was completed they telephoned to the police that they were ready to go to gaol. Automobiles took them away to the prison. One of the signers having arrived too late to participate in the meeting and dinner went direct to the prison and asked to be treated in the same manner as the other men. His request was granted. In Seoul and Pyengyang and other places where foreigners reside the military were kept from firing on the crowds. But in the country districts, violence of the most terrible description has been practised. Soldiers are terrorizing the whole country. Unresisting crowds have been fired upon, wounding hundreds of people, scores being killed. Church buildings have been wrecked by these guardians of the law. Private homes have been entered and young men and school girls in particular dragged off to prison, where beating has been the commonest treatment, while a limited number have been held for trial.

According to the *Kobe Herald* (April 3), 1919) a Korean professor who has just escaped to China was interviewed by the Peking correspondent of the *North-China Daily News*. The correspondent thus reports the interview :—

Though he (the Korean professor) spoke with restraint, his intense patriotism was obvious. He asserted that it was absolutely impossible for Japanese and Koreans to assimilate. The union of the two countries was impossible. Up till a few weeks ago Koreans were prepared to submit to Japanese suzerainty, but that feeling had been changed by the ruthless manner in which the Japanese had dealt with the pacific constitutional agitation of the Koreans in asking for independence. Union was impossible because the language, customs and thought of the two people were different. Koreans could not be incorporated in another race as Japan wished.

"We are not slaves," he continued. "The Japanese treat us as such. They plan for us, they guide us. In their policy towards Koreans,

they permit us to do nothing for ourselves. We are not allowed to initiate anything. We dare not publish a book ourselves. Ten years ago, when they annexed our country they changed our language, deprived us of our lands, foisted their money system upon us, governed us by their laws, and hemmed us in with all kinds of regulations. We had to submit to everything they imposed upon us. Having no redress, we had to submit, but when the opportunity came on March 1st, our pent-up feelings burst forth like an avalanche carrying all our people with it. Japanese had published to the world that the Koreans had submitted, but, of course, they could not see into the Korean heart.

"In this twentieth century the world will not permit a subject race to be treated as Japan is treating us. We should not be treated like slaves. In no circumstances are we willing to submit to that treatment. We would rather die.

"For ten years we have groaned under their tyranny. No agreement that we signed has been voluntary—neither national nor individual. Every agreement and contract has been forced.

"Foreigners come to Seoul, see the well-made roads, electric trams, fine buildings and so on, and they think we have had benefits conferred upon us, but they do not know that the country is garrisoned by Japanese soldiers: that we are under military rule.

"Japan wishes to pose as a civilized progressive nation, and pleads for race equality, but she does not recognize this principle in Korea, where the universities and colleges are not open to us. We are restricted to primary schools. Individuality and originality are crushed. In the schools established by Japan, the teaching must follow the lines laid down by Japan. We must take the text they have prepared.

"It so happens that as the result of missionary effort in Korea the majority of intelligent Koreans are Christians. They have become the leaders of the people. Consequently they are hated by the Japanese, who show their animus in innumerable ways at this time.

"Japanese say they want Koreans to become Japanese citizens. That is only talk. They want to exploit us: to take all they can out of us. They have put us under their feet. They have beaten us and treated us worse than beasts and yet they declare that they wish us to become citizens of Japan. We have no desire now to become citizens of Japan."

These are non-Japanese versions of the Korean "passive revolution." We have not had any Japanese account before us. The nearest approach to it is the following paragraph taken from the *Australian Worker* of Sydney (May 1, 1919):—

Lately it was reported that the Korean populace agitating for the "right" of self-govern-

ment, as promised by Wilson and the Allied statesmen generally, were shot down in wholesale fashion by Japanese soldiers. Now the Japanese Embassy at Washington, U.S.A., denies the report. Only 351, it says, were killed and 735 wounded.

"A mere trifle of course", remarks the Australian paper sarcastically. The thing is, the belligerent world has grown so accustomed to the slaughter of hundreds of thousands that the killing of a few hundreds or thousands does not give it a shock.

The Japanese seem to have learnt the trick of treating a peaceful movement as if it were one of active armed rebellion.

The latest news of Korea is contained in a Paris telegram (June 19) which says that the Korean delegates have sent a letter to M. Clemenceau again urging that the Koreans' request be heard as regards their own fate and asking for the recognition of the right of self-determination for Korea.

The Mandatory System.

The following additional terms in the Peace Treaty require a few words of comment:

MANDATORY SYSTEM

The tutelage of Nations not yet able to stand by themselves will be entrusted to the advanced Nations who are best fitted to undertake it. The Covenant recognises three different stages of development requiring different kinds of mandates.

(a) Communities which can be provisionally recognised as independent subject to advice and assistance from the mandatory in whose selection they should be allowed a voice.

(b) Communities like those of Central Africa to be administered by the mandatory under conditions generally approved by the Members of the League where equal opportunities for trade will be allowed to all members. Certain abuses such as trade in slaves, arms and liquor will be prohibited and the construction of military and naval bases and the introduction of compulsory military training will be disallowed.

(c) Other communities such as South-West Africa and the South Pacific Islands best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory. In every case the mandatory will render an annual report and the degree of its authority will be defined.

It is to be noted that the mandatory system is applicable only to communities which were before the war under the rule

of "enemy countries," it being taken for granted that all the Allies rule their dependencies in an ideal manner.

That the mandatory system is not altruistic is plain from the scramble among most of the Allies for having the mandate for ruling this region or that.

A vital defect in the mandatory system is that it does not provide for the ultimate independence, autonomy, or enjoyment of full citizen's rights by any of the communities, in any stage of development, under the mandatory system. There is no provision even for any community being recognised as having passed from a lower stage to a higher. Are these communities to be in perpetual tutelage or bondage? That would be a strange corroboration, among other equally strange corroborations, of the declaration repeated from many a platform that the war was fought for the world's freedom.

China at the Peace Conference.

China may ultimately sign or may have already signed the Peace Treaty as a matter of expediency, but her real attitude can be gathered from the following telegram :—

Peking, June 10.

The Anfu Club, the powerful pro-Japanese military party which possesses the majority of the Lower House, has announced that it does not favour China's signing the Peace Treaty. The whole Cabinet and President have consequently resigned.

Her case at the Peace conference has been thus summed up by the *Century Magazine*.

1. Cancellation of all treaty provisions with foreign Governments that grant or recognise rights tantamount to "spheres of influence" within China's territories, or any monopolistic privileges that cannot be available to all nations under the most-favoured nation clauses.

2. Nationalisation and international neutralisation of all railways in China's territories.

3. Cancellation of all monopolistic mining rights accorded to foreigners or foreign nations in China, and of all other "concessions" that tend to limit and impair China's sovereignty and the commercial "open-door" principle.

4. Relinquishment of all leases of China's territories to foreign nations, and the temporary substitution therefor of an international control, with a proviso that they will revert

fully to China on the fulfilment by her of certain stipulations.

5. Removal of all foreign troops from China's territories except those provided by the protocol of 1901, these to be also withdrawn on the fulfilment by China of certain stipulations.

6. Removal of all foreign posts and telegraphs from China, and foreign supervision over the Chinese postal service to cease on the fulfilment by China of certain stipulations.

7. Establishment of a uniform currency system in China, to be supported by an international loan under conditions tending to a gradual assumption of Chinese control.

8. Granting of complete tariff autonomy to China under certain specified conditions whereby China's fiscal administration will be gradually reformed.

9. Abolition of extra-territoriality in China within a specified time and on the fulfilment by China of certain stipulations.

10. Consolidation of the national debts of China; all outstanding loans, provincial and national, to be absorbed in a single loan or series of loans under-written by a financial syndicate under international supervision.

11. Restoration of Chinese local administrative autonomy in all parts of Chinese territories where during recent years it has been insidiously subordinated to foreign authority.

There is not a single item in China's demands which is not entirely just.

Mr. Lajpat Rai on Mr. Patel's Bill.

Mr. Lajpat Rai writes from New York to Indian papers :—

It is, with a sense of shame and humiliation, that I have read of the opposition to Mr. Patel's "Hindu Marriage Bill." It will be a great blow to our prestige and good name abroad if this extremely small measure of reform based on actual legal necessity is defeated on foolish sentimental grounds. They are poor champions of Hinduism who urge its rejection in the name and interests of Hindu Dharma, and Hindu society. It is true that in their ranks are some whose sincerity is beyond question; but the majority of those who are opposing it are men who are ready to indulge in every kind of free life for themselves but who grudge it in the case of others, specially to the other sex. They are still harping on the time-honoured authority of the Shastras and customs, forgetting that the authors of the Shastras have made a liberal provision for necessary changes in social life and customs in accordance with the needs of place and time (Desh Kal). The Shastras themselves contain abundant evidences of these changes. The great Rishis were too wise to forget that static society is an impossibility. Any tendency to make it static leads to stagnation, sterility and eventual extinction. Bold must be the man

who can honestly maintain that the social life of the Hindus (of all sections and classes) has been the same even for a century at a time. Compare the customs of one period with those of another and of one province with those of another province, and the process of change that has been going on for centuries becomes clearly visible. The Shastras made ample provision for the legal recognition of these changes. It is the rigidity and absurdity of the judge-made law of the British Courts that has brought about the existing impasse in the marriage laws of the Hindus. A change such as is contemplated is an absolute necessity. Opposition to it is based on short-sighted partisanship, and false notions of Dharma.

The opponents of the bill do not see the mote in their own eyes. They are probably the worst offenders against the so-called Varnashram Dharma. But to be frank, where is the Varnashram Dharma now in India? It is sheer dishonesty to oppose this reform on the ground of its being dangerous to Varnashram-Dharma, while the latter is a mere caricature of its original self. Unless we propose to live for ever and ever in our present degraded condition, it is absolutely necessary that our ideas of Varnashram-Dharma should be radically changed. Political democracy is a myth unless it is based on social and economic justice. The present caste system and the resultant restrictions on the liberties of men and women in the matter of marriage do not tend towards social and economic justice. The sooner we remodel our social and economic life on the broad bases of equal opportunity to all men and women, regardless of caste, colour, creed and sex the better for our political future. Delays in social reconstruction must of necessity retard the realisation of our political hopes.

Special Studies at Santiniketan.

Arrangements have been completed for the opening of special courses of study and research in the following subjects from the beginning of July at the Santiniketan Asram of Rabindranath Tagore :

ART—Drawing and Painting in Indian style taught by S. J. Nandalal Bose and S. J. Suren Kar. Applications, enclosing testimonials, should be made to S. J. Abanindranath Tagore, 6 Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta.

MUSIC—Teacher of Classical Indian Music—S. J. Bhimrao Shastri.

Teacher of Rabindranath Tagore's Bengali Songs—S. J. Dinendranath Tagore.

Only those who have had some preliminary training in music should apply.

SANSKRIT, PALI and PRAKRIT—Professors;

Pandits Bidhushekhara Shastri and Bhimrao Shastri.

BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY and RELIGION—Professor: Shri Dharmadhara Mahasthavir.

Only students with a good knowledge of Sanskrit will be admitted to the last two courses. Special facilities will be given to those who desire to do research work in the Vedic, Pauranic and Buddhist literatures, and also in the Philology of the Bengali Language.

For fees, scholarships and other information please write to:—

Rathindranath Tagore.

Santiniketan, Bengal.

Napoleon and an Enslaved Press.

Napoleon, writes the *Nation* of New York, was his own propagandist and assumed all the duties and responsibilities of a trained journalist.

But what a sad failure! At the beginning of his career he made no attempt to hide his intentions. "A Sovereign," he stated, "must confiscate public opinion and use it to his own advantage." Twenty years later, an exile on St. Helena, he dictated a few sad words of commentary: "My son will be obliged to rule with the help of a free press."

Every great political upheaval, writes the same paper, has been followed by a flood of printer's ink, and the French Revolution was no exception. It was a time when freedom of the press ran riot in revolutionary France. Delivered from the restrictive laws of the old regime, every political party, every political leader, printed a little news-sheet of its own.

Napoleon wrote often to the Directors and asked that steps be taken to protect his reputation. The Paris press, so he argued, was helping the Austrians and the Sardinians, and something must be done to counteract this evil influence. He suggested the foundation of an official newspaper, reflecting the opinions of the French Government. The Directors listened patiently, failed to answer the letters of their commander-in-chief, and did nothing, until General Napoleon, in despair, began to print his own newspapers.

The Nation then proceeds to describe Napoleon's journalistic activities.

In the year 1797 the *Courrier de l'Armée d'Italie* appeared in Milan. A few weeks later it was followed by *La France vue de l'Armée d'Italie*. Both papers were edited by trained

editors who had been requested to leave Paris for Napoleon's headquarters. They were allowed to do the routine work. The actual editorial policy was dictated by Napoleon himself, and not a word was printed until it had been submitted to the generalissimo, who wielded the blue-pencil with great dexterity. The next year Napoleon transferred the scene of his activities to Egypt. As soon as he reached the shores of the Nile, the *Courrier d'Egypte* appeared, printed in Cairo, originally in the French language, but soon followed by editions in Arabic for the benefit of the native, who must be impressed by the glory and fame of the foreign conqueror. From that moment on Napoleon is master of the printed word in his adopted country. After the *coup d'etat* of XVIII Brumaire the freedom of the press was a dead issue in France. On the seventeenth of January of the year 1800 Napoleon restricted the number of newspapers that were to be printed in France to exactly thirteen. The others were suspended for an indefinite period of time. The Minister of Police was appointed guardian of the printed page and no news was to be made public that might in any way be detrimental to the safety of the Government. Immediate suppression was the punishment that followed a breach of this strict rule.

Not contented with his fame on the field of battle the great general fought his quarrels on paper and concentrated his efforts upon a single sheet, the *Moniteur*. This journal was not a new enterprise. It had made its first appearance early in the year 1789 as an independent newspaper. After 1801 it became the defender and expounder of the Napoleonic theories of government and administration. It printed the official decrees and the official announcements and was to be found on the table of every Imperial officeholder. When a serious question was before the public, Napoleon himself wrote or dictated editorials and articles. As a source of inspired information the paper was never surpassed, not even by the kept press of Bismarck. The entire quarrel between France and England is reflected in the articles of the *Moniteur*, which answered every sneering attack of the London *Times* with the acerbity of one of our modern newspaper quarrels.

A little later the ruler of the French found himself in a bitter fight with the French cardinals and finally with the Pope. Then he started a publication strictly for home consumption, the *Bulletin de Paris*, followed shortly afterwards by the *Journal des Cures* which first appeared at the precise moment when all other clerical journals were suppressed.

Wherever the Emperor went he was followed by copies of his inspired newspapers. When the snow of the Russian plains and the tenacity of the Russian armies had turned his glorious Moscow campaign into complete failure, he hastened back to Poland and from Wilna and

Warsaw tried to influence French public opinion by short and crisp notes, telling of his plans for the future and lying gloriously about the actual conditions of the present. Not until he had left French soil did his activity as a newspaper man cease. And when he returned from Elba he resumed his work as unofficial editor-in-chief of the old *Moniteur*. For one hundred days Europe was obliged to read this official organ if it wished to know what the hated Corsican had to say upon all subjects from war to the administration of museums and the final destiny of conquered provinces.

The suppression of news was maintained by Napoleon at all hazard, but even Fouché, the head of his ministry of police, and Fouché's spies, could not prevent the ultimate spread of the truth. No wonder, then, that the Panjab Government with the help of the Government of India have failed to prevent the spread of news of the Panjab disturbances other than those which alone they wanted to circulate; for their police and their spies are not such experts as Fouché and his spies were.

Two days before his death (May 3, 1821) Napoleon confessed that he had been wrong. "I tried to give France liberal ideas, but I failed. In the beginning I felt that I was obliged to suppress news. Afterwards it was too late"—a commentary which ought to have served as a warning to all who have since flattered the French Emperor by an imitation of his most unsuccessful and disastrous methods.

Frederick the Great and Freedom of Speech and Freedom of the Press.

The policy of Frederick the Great of Prussia as regards freedom of expression, by speech and writing, of what men felt and thought, was far different from that of Napoleon. Riding along the Jäger Strasse one day, he saw a crowd of people. "See what it is," he said to the groom who was attending him. "They have something posted up about your Majesty," said the groom, returning. Frederick, riding forward, saw a caricature of himself. "King in very melancholy guise, says Freuss (as translated by Carlyle), seated on a stool, a coffee-mill between his knees, diligently grinding with the one hand, and with the other picking up any bean that might have fallen. 'Hang it lower,' said the king, bec-

konig his groom with a wave of the finger; 'lower, that they may not have to hurt their necks about it.' No sooner were the words spoken, which spread instantly, than there rose from the whole crowd one universal huzzah of joy. They tore the caricature into a thousand pieces, and rolled after the king with loud 'Lebe Hoch, our Frederick for ever,' as he rode slowly away." There are scores of anecdotes about Frederick, writes the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, from which this one has been taken, but not many so well authenticated as this.

Macaulay adds some details which are important and interesting. He writes:

A great liberty of speaking and of writing was allowed. Confident in the irresistible strength derived from a great army, the king looked down on malcontents and libellers with a wise disdain; and gave little encouragement to spies and informers. When he was told of the disaffection of one of his subjects, he merely asked, 'How many thousand men can he bring into the field?' He once saw a crowd staring at something on a wall. He rode up, and found that the object of curiosity was a scurrilous placard against himself. The placard had been posted up so high that it was not easy to read it. Frederic ordered his attendants to take it down. 'My people and I,' he said, 'have come to an agreement which satisfies us both. They are to say what they please, and I am to do what I please.' No person would have dared to publish in London satires on George II approaching to the atrocity of those satires on Frederic which the booksellers at Berlin sold with impunity. One bookseller sent to the palace a copy of the most stinging lampoon that perhaps was ever written in the world, the *Memoirs of Voltaire*, published by Beaumarchais, and asked for his Majesty's orders. 'Do not advertise it in an offensive manner,' said the king, 'but sell it by all means. I hope it will pay you well.' Even among statesmen accustomed to the license of a free press such steadfastness of mind as this is not very common.

Frederick's description of the agreement which he and his people had come to must not lead the reader to infer that he was a cruel despot whose reign did no good to his people. On the contrary, we have the following testimony to his work as a ruler from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*:

"Taking his reign as a whole, it must be said that he looked upon his power rather as a trust than as a source of personal advantage; and the trust was faithfully discharged according to the best lights of his day."

How We Stand.

In India some of Napoleon's methods with regard to the Press and to the suppression of news have been hitherto followed. Of freedom of speech and of the Press, we have none as a matter of right, though we have some when the officials are disposed to be merciful. The conviction of Babu Kalinath Ray shows that even perfectly innocent journalists can be convicted and punished. Public meetings can also be prohibited and broken up by the executive without the people being able in any way to call them to account for such acts. What we say, therefore, in public and what we write and print, we do, not as a matter of right, but because the executive do not always think it politic to exercise their power. On the other hand, there is no constitutional power in the hands of the people to prevent the executive and police from exercising their irresponsible and arbitrary powers in any way they think fit; and, in practice, these officials are unchecked by, and therefore not *actually* responsible to, even the British Parliament. And, therefore, unlike the agreement between himself and his people humorously described by Frederick the Great, the unwritten agreement between the people of India and their rulers seems to be that while the rulers can do what they please, the people cannot say what they please, unless they are permitted by the former to do so. Unlike Frederick the Great, the rulers of India, though they ought to be "confident in the irresistible strength derived from a great army", do not "look down on malcontents with a wise disdain", and they do give "encouragement to spies and informers". When they are told of the disaffection of one of his Majesty's "equal-subjects", they do not merely ask, "How many thousand men can he bring into the field?" Of course, they know that in British India no disaffected person can bring even a hundred or a dozen trained and armed men into the field, and it is doubtful if at present there is even a handful of Indians who have the desire to put an end to British rule by force.

In spite of the more than ample powers of repression which the rulers possess, in

spite of the large army and the latest weapons and engines of destruction which they possess and which bring out the weakness of the unarmed population into bold relief, they are never at ease. They attach the greatest importance to the department of spies.

The following figures give an idea of the unarmed condition of British India.

Year	Number of licences for arms in force
1913	182412
1914	176779
1915	167242
1916	137183
1917	136707

The table shows how year after year the number of licences for keeping arms are being reduced. The area of British India is 1093074 square miles, its population 244267542, and the number of its towns and villages 538809. There is then one licence in every 9 or 10 square miles, one man out of every 1800 possesses a licence, and there is one licence for every 4 towns and villages taken together. This is not a perilous situation, unless the uneasy conscience of any Anglo-Indian official or non-official makes it appear such. However, whatever be the reason, every now and then some paper or other, some press or other, is made to feel the force of the press laws, including most of the best edited and most influential journals conducted in Indian interests, and even so sober and careful a journalist as Babu Kalinath Ray has been sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. There has thus arisen a feeling of insecurity in the minds of Indian journalists, no one knowing what may and what may not be written with safety. On the top of all came the disturbances in the Panjab, the killing of a few Europeans, the destruction of much property, the shooting and bombing of hundreds of Indians, the proclamation of Martial Law, and the passing of most extraordinary sentences on large numbers of persons by Martial Law tribunals. The immediate effect was that people did not know what to do.

Rabindranath Tagore's Letter to the Viceroy.

In this state of things, Rabindranath

Tagore wrote the following letter to His Excellency the Viceroy, giving voice to what Indians felt, and renouncing his knighthood :

Your Excellency,—The enormity of the measures taken by the Government in the Punjab for quelling some local disturbances has, with a rude shock, revealed to our minds the helplessness of our position as British subjects in India. The disproportionate severity of the punishments inflicted upon the unfortunate people and the methods of carrying them out, we are convinced, are without parallel in the history of civilised governments, barring some conspicuous exceptions, recent and remote. Considering that such treatment has been meted out to a population, disarmed and resourceless, by a power which has the most terribly efficient organisation for destruction of human lives, we must strongly assert that it can claim no political expediency, far less moral justification. The accounts of the insults and sufferings undergone by our brothers in the Punjab have trickled through the gagged silence, reaching every corner of India, and the universal agony of indignation roused in the hearts of our people has been ignored by our rulers—possibly congratulating themselves for imparting what they imagine as salutary lessons. This callousness has been praised by most of the Anglo-Indian papers, which have in some cases gone to the brutal length of making fun of our sufferings, without receiving the least check from the same authority, relentlessly careful in smothering every cry of pain and expression of judgment from the organs representing the sufferers. Knowing that our appeals have been in vain and that the passion of vengeance is blinding the noble vision of statesmanship in our Government which could so easily afford to be magnanimous as befitting its physical strength and moral tradition, the very least that I can do for my country is to take all consequences upon myself in giving voice to the protest of the millions of my countrymen, surprised into a dumb anguish of terror. The time has come when badges of honour make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation, and I for my part wish to stand, shorn of all special distinctions, by the side of those of my countrymen who, for their so-called insignificance, are liable to suffer a degradation not fit for human beings. And these are the reasons which have painfully compelled me to ask Your Excellency with due deference and regret, to relieve me of my title of knighthood which I had the honour to accept from His Majesty the King at the hands of your predecessor, for whose nobleness of heart I still entertain great admiration.

Yours, faithfully,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

The poet has done the right thing in the

right manner. He has neither been impulsive nor hasty.

He is a man of international reputation and, therefore, what he has done will become known in the civilised world and some people may want to know the reason why. But this fact should not lead any reader to think that the poet's letter is a cry for the world's pity. He has throughout been a consistent advocate of strongly suffering what we have to suffer, without whining. The letter is, no doubt, a protest addressed to the Viceroy. But its lessons for us, as we have understood them, are, that (1) we should fully realise "the helplessness of our position as British subjects in India" and endeavour in all righteous ways to acquire the power of helping ourselves; (2) we should all be inspired with a feeling of true brotherliness towards all, irrespective of worldly distinction, wealth, or position in life, and practise this brotherliness "in scorn of consequence."

What is ample opportunity ?

When Mr. Montagu's announcement of August 20, 1917, was published we commented on its unsatisfactory character, and on subsequent occasions, too, we have criticised it unfavourably. But even if one were to consider it satisfactory, one would be compelled to say that at least one promise made in it had not been kept. It was promised that "ample opportunity will be afforded for the public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament." The proposals are before the British Parliament in the form of a Bill. Before its introduction Indians were not given the least idea of what it was like. Even when the Bill had been read a second time in the House of Commons, we had not before us even a brief summary of the proposals contained in it. When at length the Government of India issued a press *communique* containing the text of the Bill, about a fortnight after its second reading in the Commons, they said that it "represents what the Government of India believe to be the language of the Bill to make further provision with respect to the Government of India which

has been introduced in Parliament, but its absolute accuracy cannot be guaranteed owing to the difficulty of conveying by telegraph all the textual changes made in earlier versions." The Bill has important schedules, but these have not been published. Can this be called ample opportunity for public discussion? As it is, the Bill by no means represents substantially what Parliament will have to consider finally. For a joint committee of the two houses of Parliament will shortly begin to take evidence, and this committee has the power to propose or recommend any alternative scheme of reforms they choose. It may recommend even the retrograde scheme of the five provincial rulers. The Bill may thus undergo important changes before it comes again before Parliament, and it is probable that these changes will not be made known in India in time for any criticism that would not be too late. Not that any Indian criticism that is timely and not too late would have the effect of improving the Bill. Still it would have been politic to keep up the show of giving Indians a hearing before legislating for them. But it seems that we are considered so insignificant that it is not thought necessary even to keep up a show.

The Government of India Despatches have had some effect in whittling down the reforms. But though these Despatches, which have to some extent injured our cause, were sent to the Secretary of State long ago and influenced him, they were published in India much later,—too late, in fact, for any timely and effective criticism to be offered on them by Indians. They ought to have been published in India sufficiently early to enable Indian criticism on them to reach the Secretary of State before he had made any alterations in the Bill in the light and under the influence of them.

Considering all these circumstances, it seems futile to offer any detailed criticism on the Bill. It may be recommended to be changed by the joint committee beyond recognition.

Indian Constitutional Reforms Bill.

The Indian constitutional reforms Bill which has been read a second time in the

House of Commons, is more unsatisfactory than the proposals contained in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, unsatisfactory as those proposals themselves were. All the most vital and important legislative and executive powers are in the hands of the Government of India. But, as in the M. C. report so in the Bill, the Government of India remains beyond the control of the representatives of the people. Only in the provinces are some subjects to be transferred to the charge of Indian ministers. Though the position and powers of these latter have been made unsatisfactory and unenviable, in the Government of India there are to be no Indian ministers even with such powers and position. The preamble, which runs as follows, make this clear:—

Whereas, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire it is expedient gradually to develop self-governing institutions in that country.

And whereas concurrently with the gradual development of such Institutions in the Provinces of India it is expedient to give to those Provinces in provincial matters the largest measure of independence of the Government of India, which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities :

By the by, as the people of India wanted and still want some sort of autonomy, let us print below for comparison the preamble of the Organic Act for the Philippine Islands, commonly known as the "Jones Law", which has given the Filipinos internal autonomy within 17 years of the American conquest of those Islands.

An act to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous Government for those Islands.

Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement ; and

Whereas it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein ; and

Whereas for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control

of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence :

● A vital element in all constitutional reforms ought to be the guaranteeing of personal liberty to the inhabitants of the country. It was for this reason that the special session of the Congress held in Bombay last year resolved as follows:—

The Government of India shall have undivided administrative authority on matters directly concerning peace, tranquility and defence of the country subject to the following :

That the Statute to be passed by Parliament should include the Declaration of the Rights of the People of India as British citizens :—

(a) That all Indian subjects of His Majesty and all the subjects naturalised or resident in India are equal before the law, and there shall be no penal or administrative law in force in British India whether substantive or procedural of a discriminative nature ;

(b) That no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property or freedom of association, free speech or in respect of writing, except under sentence by an ordinary Court of Justice and as a result of lawful and open trial ;

(c) That every Indian subject shall be entitled to bear arms, subject to the purchase of a license, as in Great Britain, and that right shall not be taken away save by a sentence of an ordinary Court of Justice ;

(d) That the press shall be free and that no license nor security shall be demanded on the registration of a press or newspaper ;

(e) That corporal punishment shall not be inflicted on any Indian subject of His Majesty serving in His Majesty's Army or Navy save under conditions applying equally to all other British subjects.

The Bill does not contain any provisions like the above. It may be noted that the Philippine Organic Act does, as some clauses of its section 3 extracted below will show.

That no law shall be enacted in said islands which shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or deny to any person therein the equal protection of the laws. Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.

That in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to be heard by himself and counsel, to demand the nature and cause of the accusation against him, to have a speedy and public trial, to meet the witnesses face to face,

and to have compulsory process to compel the attendance of witnesses in his behalf.

That no person shall be held to answer for a criminal offence without due process of law ; and no person for the same offence shall be twice put in jeopardy of punishment, nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself.

That all persons shall before conviction be bailable by sufficient sureties, except for capital offences.

That the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when in cases of rebellion, insurrection, or invasion the public safety may require it, in either of which events the same may be suspended by the President, or by the Governor-General, wherever during such period the necessity for such suspension shall exist.

That excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

That the right to be secured against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated.

That no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for redress of grievances.

The small number of men who, under the Bill, will enjoy freedom of speech and the smaller number of places where it will be enjoyed are mentioned in the following sections of the Bill :—

Part I, Section 9 (8): There shall be freedom of speech in the governor's legislative council. No person shall be liable to any proceedings in any courts by reason of his speech or vote in any such council or by reason of anything contained in any official report of the proceedings of any such council.

Part II, Section 20 (7). There shall be freedom of speech in both chambers of the Indian legislature. No person shall be liable to any proceedings in any court by reason of his speech or vote in either chamber, or by reason of anything contained in any official report of the proceedings of either chamber.

These two sections mean that members of the provincial councils and of the Indian legislature will have freedom of speech in the council chambers. The War which was fought "for the world's freedom" has not after all been fought in vain, so far as India is concerned. For it has led to the proposal to set apart a few hundred square yards of Indian soil, enclosed within walls, where a few hundred men will be allowed freedom of speech ;—whether they will exercise it, undeterred by the secret activities of the C.I.D., is another matter. However,

seriously speaking, we do appreciate these portions of the Bill. Let us quote here another section, a part of which we entirely approve of, and the remainder we might have wholly liked if for "may" "shall" had been substituted.

22. The salary of the Secretary of State, the salaries of his under-secretaries, and any other expenses of his department may, notwithstanding anything in the principal Act, instead of being paid out of the revenues of India, be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament, and the salary of the Secretary of State shall be so paid.

In justice all the salaries and all the expenses of the Secretary of State's department should be paid from British revenues, just as all the expenses of the Colonial and other State Secretaries' departments are paid.

The Rules, which are not a part of the Bill, and which have not been published, are vital. Of the little power which appears to be promised to the people in the Bill, much may be (or one may almost say *will be*) taken away by the Rules, just as the rules made to give effect to the Morley-Minto scheme of reform made that scheme more futile than it originally was. That was because those rules were made practically by the Indian Civil Service bureaucrats ; and the Rules to be made to give effect to the Bill would also be made by the Civilian Bureaucracy, whose hostility to Indian political aspirations must now be patent to all educated and thinking Indians and their well-wishers. In the Bill, of course, it is not said in so many words that the Civilians will make the Rules. It is simply said :—

30. Where any matter is required to be prescribed or regulated by rules under the principal Act, different rules may be made for different provinces, and where no special provision is made as to the authority by whom the rules are to be made, the rules shall be made by the Governor-General-in-Council, with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council, and shall not be subject to repeal or alteration by the Indian legislature or by any local legislature.

It is well-known that the majority of the men denoted by the terms 'Governor-General in Council' and 'Secretary of State in Council' are members of the Indian Civil Service.

What vital and important matters are

left to be dealt with by rules will appear from the following sections of Part I of the Bill :—

1.—(1) Provision may be made by rules under the Government of India Act, 1915, as amended by the Government of India (Amendment) Act, 1916, (which Act, as so amended, is in this Act referred to as “the principal Act”) :—

(a) for the classification of subjects, in relation to the functions of government, as central and provincial subjects, for the purpose of distinguishing the functions of local governments and legislatures from the functions of the Governor-General in Council, and the Indian Legislature.

(b) for the devolution of authority in respect of provincial subjects, and for the allocation of sources of revenue, to local governments ;

(c) for use under the authority of the Governor-General in Council of the agency of local governments in relation to central subjects, in so far as such agency may be found convenient ; and

(d) for the transfer from among the provincial subjects of subjects (in this Act referred to as “transferred subjects”) to the administration of the governor acting with the minister in charge of the subject, and for allocation of provincial funds for the purpose of such administration.

—(2) Rules made for the above-mentioned purposes may—

(i) regulate the extent and conditions of such devolution, allocation, and transfer ;

(ii) provide for fixing the contributions payable by local Governments to the Governor-General in Council and making such contributions a first charge on provincial revenues ;

(iii) provide for constituting a finance department in any province and regulating the functions of that department ;

(iv) provide for regulating the exercise of the authority vested in the local government of a province over the members of the public services therein ;

(v) provide for the settlement of doubts arising as to whether any matter does or does not belong to a provincial subject or a transferred subject, and for the treatment of matters which affect both a transferred subject and a subject which is not transferred : and

(vi) make such consequential and supplemental provisions as appear necessary or expedient.

Provided that without prejudice to any general power of revoking or altering rules under the principal Act, the rules shall not authorise the revocation or suspension of the transfer of any subject except with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council.

Besides these there are numerous other matters on which the Bill leaves this authority or that to make rules. The Bill is thus a mere frame-work or skeleton ; it

is the rules which will really make the Indian constitutional reforms what the authorities want to make them. Not knowing what the rules are going to be, it is not possible to thoroughly criticise the Bill. From the Government of India Despatches one may indeed guess what their prevailing character will be, *viz*, illiberal ; but one cannot conjecture the details. Moreover conjectural criticism is of little use. It may be presumed that the rules will not be published for public criticism in India before they are finally sanctioned and passed, though they ought to be. This is the way in which we are going to be given responsible government.

When the Bill says,

Provided that without prejudice to any general power of revoking or altering rules under the principal Act, the rules shall not authorise the revocation or suspension of the transfer of any subject except with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council.—

it is to be understood that the transfer of any subject may be revoked or suspended with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council. In the words of Sir Sankaran Nair, it should not be “in the power of the Governor or the Secretary of State who will only be his mouthpiece to strike thus at the root of the reform scheme. To give such circumstances this power is to go against the principles of constitutional Government and will be taken as indicative of a spirit incompatible with constitutional Government.”

It is well known that all the chief legislative and executive powers by which principally a nation may be kept weak or made strong, cowed down and emasculated or emboldened and helped to become men, kept ignorant or enlightened, kept poor or made wealthy, kept a constant prey to sporadic and epidemic diseases or helped to become healthy and strong, humiliated or helped to become self-respecting, and kept isolated from the world or helped to make progress in culture, wealth and freedom by free intercourse with the nations of the earth,—rest of these powers belong to the Government of India. And these powers will never be generally used with a sole eye to the good

of India unless the people can control the Government of India. At present this government is autocratic, not responsible to the people of India, and practically it is not responsible even to the Parliament and people of Great Britain. The Bill makes the Governor-General perhaps somewhat more of an autocrat than he is now. In the Bill, though the Indian Legislative Assembly will have an elective majority, the Governor-General will be able with the help of the Council of State, in which the elected element will be in a minority, to enact any law he likes, and to veto any law which he dislikes. No doubt, for passing any law he requires to pass in this way, he will have to adopt the following procedure :—

(4) Where the Governor-General in Council certifies that it is essential for the safety, tranquillity, or interests of British India or any part thereof or for the purpose of meeting a case of emergency which has arisen that any law shall be passed, the council of state shall have power to pass laws without the assent of the legislative assembly, which laws shall have effect as laws passed by both chambers.

But is there any law which may not come under any of the categories described above? All laws passed in any country by any legislature can be described as and are laws for the safety, tranquillity or interests of that country or any part thereof or for the purpose of meeting a case of emergency. Speaking generally it is difficult to see what other kind of laws a legislature can be asked to pass.

The position of ministers in local governments may be inferred from the sections quoted below. In our opinion, it will not be a position of power, influence, dignity, or even of worldly advantage in the matter of salary; and it will not be equal to that of a member of the executive council.

(1). The governor of a governor's province may, by notification, appoint ministers, not being members of his executive council or other officials, to administer transferred subjects, and any ministers so appointed shall hold office during his pleasure.

There shall be paid to any minister so appointed such salary as the governor, subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State, may determine.

(2) No minister shall hold office for a longer period than three months, unless he is or becomes an elected member of the local legislature.

(3) In relation to a transferred subject, the governor shall be guided by the advice of the minister in charge, unless having regard to His Majesty's instructions he sees sufficient cause to dissent from the opinion of the minister, in which case he may require action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with that advice.

(4) Provision may be made by rules under the principal Act for the temporary administration of a transferred subject where in cases of emergency owing to a vacancy there is no minister in charge of the subject by such authority and in such manner as may be prescribed by the rules.

In the provincial legislatures, the elective element will be in a majority. There is already a majority in some of these legislatures; the bill provides for a bigger majority. But this gain is counterbalanced by the following clauses relating to grand committees:

(3) Provision shall be made for the appointment from among the members of the council of grand committees on which a majority of the members shall be nominated members, selected by the governor, with power, in cases specially referred to them, to pass or reject laws without the assent of the council, which laws shall, if passed, have the same effect as laws passed by the council.

(4) Where any Bill relating to a reserved subject has been introduced or is proposed to be introduced or an amendment to such a Bill is moved, the governor may certify that the Bill or any clause of it or the amendment is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the reserved subjects: and the Bill, clause or amendment shall thereupon be referred to a grand committee.

(5) Where any Bill has been introduced or is proposed to be introduced, or any amendment to a Bill is moved or proposed to be moved, the governor may certify that the Bill or any clause of it or the amendment affects either—

(a) the safety or tranquillity of his province or any part of it or of another province, or

(b) the interests of a specified reserved subject;

and may direct either that no proceedings or no further proceedings shall be taken by the council in relation to the Bill, clause or amendment, or, if he thinks fit and if the council so desire, that the Bill, clause or amendment shall be referred to a grand committee, and the Bill, clause or amendment shall be dealt with in accordance with such direction.

Thus the grand committees are a weapon in the hands of the Governor to pass or to

reject any laws, as he thinks best. It may be contended that he will have to follow the procedure of certification. As to that, see our remarks above on the Governor-General having also to follow the same method. It is a curb on autocracy only in name.

The Bill makes the Provincial Governors in one respect more powerful than they are at present. Under the existing constitution of some of the Provincial councils, the Governor cannot always get his legislative council to pass the laws he wants, but the bill gives them the means of getting any laws, they want, passed, by means of the grand committees. Let us enter into some detail. The Bengal Legislative Council has already a small elective majority, and some of the other Provincial Councils, for instance, Bombay, have a strong non-official majority. It is just possible for these councils to sometimes throw out Government bills, or to pass bills opposed by the executive. The latter become law if not vetoed. For, as, subject to the limitations laid down from time to time by parliamentary enactments for the governance of India, the legislative councils in India enjoy full freedom of legislation in their respective legislative fields, a bill goes through three readings and becomes law if it is not vetoed. Therefore the provision of grand committees curtails the rights and power of the provincial legislatures.

It is not merely in theory that some of the existing provincial legislative councils cannot always be made to pass laws wanted by the Executive. Actual instances may be mentioned. In the *Bombay Chronicle* (August, 1, 1918) Mr. V. J. Patel mentioned the following :—

ment had to drop the District Board Bill owing to strong non-official opposition.

By means of grand committees, the Governors would be able in future to overcome such difficulties.

In addition to making provincial Governors practically all-powerful as regards legislation, the bill provides many means for the Governor-General or the Secretary of State to interfere in and control provincial legislation.

We consider the following unsatisfactory :—

(4) A governor's legislative council may be dissolved at any time by the governor by notification, but in that case the governor shall appoint a date not more than six months after the date of dissolution for the next session of his legislative council.

17. (1) Every council of state shall continue for five years, and every legislative assembly for three years, from its first meeting :

Provided that—

(a) either chamber of the legislature may be sooner dissolved by the governor-general ;

(b) any such period may be extended by the governor-general if in special circumstances he so thinks fit ; and

(c) after the dissolution of either chamber the governor shall appoint a day not more than six months later for the next session of that chamber.

The sections dealing with the public services practically place their appointment, pay, pensions, discipline and dismissal beyond the province of the legislatures and Indian Ministers. This was to be expected from what the Viceroy said in one of his speeches a few months ago. More definite criticism can be offered only when the rules relating to the services are published. The appointment of an auditor-general is a desirable step. The appointment of a permanent public service commission may also do good, if proper men are appointed. But the legislative councils will not have anything to do with these appointments.

There are many other points in the Bill which are open to criticism, but we do not feel disposed to write more, because we feel that criticism at this stage would not be of any practical use.

The Bill is a very unsatisfactory piece of work. What was wanted was a liberal measure of self-rule embodied in and granted by a self-contained and independent

The Bombay Government had recently introduced a Bill for the amendment of the City of Bombay Municipal Act enabling them to appoint the Municipal Commissioner of Bombay on the Legislative Council. The amendment was strongly opposed by the non-official members with the result that it was lost. Similarly the Hon. Diwan Bahadur Godbole had moved an important amendment to the Irrigation Bill introduced by the Bombay Government in 1915 and it was supported by the non-official members with the result that when it was put to vote there was a tie. Again only last year the Govern-

Act, incorporating the good points of all previous laws relating to the governance of India. What we have got instead is a mere skeleton, with constant references to rules to be made hereafter, to schedules not published in India, and to the Government of India Acts of 1915 and 1916. There is nothing in the Bill to rouse enthusiasm. Distrust of Indian capacity and confidence in the capacity, wisdom and infallibility of the human beings appointed as governors or governors-general, are writ large over the Bill.

Patents secured by young Mr. E. E. Dutt.

The following is an incomplete list of the patents obtained by Mr. E. E. Dutt which have been referred to in a previous note :

No. 3151 of 1917, a process for the manufacture of sodium carbonate, alumina and metallic chlorides.

No. 3152 of 1917, a process for the manufacture of potassium carbonate, alumina and metallic chlorides.

No. 3517 of 1918, a process for the manufacture of alumina, sodium and potassium carbonates, sodium and potassium aluminates and potassium chloride.

No. 3279 of 1917, a process for the manufacture of potassium chloride.

No. 3534 of 1918, a process for the manufacture of alumina, sodium and potassium carbonates, sodium and potassium aluminates, magnesium and calcium chlorides.

No. 3599 of 1918, a process for the manufacture of aluminium, sodium chloride, aluminium chloride and carbonates of soda and potash.

No. 3831 of 1918, a process for the manufacture of potassium sulphate.

No. 3832 of 1918, a process for the manufacture of potassium chloride.

No. 3833 of 1918, a process for the manufacture of potassium salts from silicate minerals.

No. 3835 of 1918, a process for the manufacture of potassium carbonate and alumina.

No. 3735 of 1918, a process for the manufacture of manganese dioxide and manganese.

No. 2989 of 1917, a process for the synthetic production of Methane.

No. 3202 of 1917, a process for the manufacture of magnesia.

No. 3475 of 1918, a process for the manufacture of alumina.

Government and the Calcutta University.

It is generally held that retrenchment is practicable, and ought to be seriously undertaken, in many items of expenditure of the Calcutta University ; and we think there is some truth in the prevailing belief. But, without detailed examination of all items, we cannot say whether, even if all the retrenchment compatible with efficiency were made, the University would be able to do without the increased income which the raising of the fees would bring in. The thing is, it has been a standing accusation of Anglo-Indian officialdom that the Indian Universities were merely examining bodies, not teaching universities. But when the Calcutta University seriously took in hand the teaching function of a university, the same officialdom did not help it with adequate grants. As is well-known to our readers, we have not approved of all the methods and means adopted by the university to convert itself into a teaching university. But in justice to it we must say that when the Government of India has given its formal sanction to all these methods and means, it was its bounden duty to place sufficient resources at its disposal to enable it to carry on its work efficiently. This, Government has not hitherto done. This has obliged the boss of the University to have recourse to the raising of examination fees repeatedly. If he had frankly put the matter thus, instead of using inaccurate facts and unsound arguments, there would not have been so great an outcry against the step. He might have said : "We the people are poor, and we already have to suffer much inconvenience for meeting the expenses of the education of our children. But we must make still greater sacrifices for the sake of education. There is no help for it." But he chose to be defiant, and by denying the fact of our poverty gave a handle to our opponents. And the Vice-Chancellor, too, sinned in his company.

Reduction of School Grants.

We hear from a reliable source that in Bengal, the Government grants of certain schools have been much reduced. We should like to know whether this is being done in all districts. It is suspected that the motive underlying the reduction of school grants is that if secondary and primary education were made 'transferred' subjects, the minister in charge would be given moneys wherewith to carry on his work, calculated in accordance with these reduced grants, so that there might be more money in the hands of the bureaucracy to spend on their 'reserved' subjects. This would have the effect of compelling the minister to propose fresh taxation.

The public in all provinces should exercise great vigilance and find out whether sums hitherto allotted to departments which are likely to be transferred are being reduced.

Bethune College.

This year more girls have matriculated in Bengal than hitherto. Hence there is a rush on Bethune College, which is the only State and unsectarian College for women in Bengal, the other, Diocesan College, being a Christian institution. The Lady Principal of Bethune College has informed several girl applicants for admission that there is no available accommodation in the college hostel, nor room in the college 'bus. And even if girls were able to make their own arrangements for lodging and board and conveyance, the floor space in the First Year Class room cannot seat more than some three dozen students. At the same time, the college staff is quite sufficient for teaching a class of the maximum strength of 150 allowed by the university regulations. In fact, the sum of about Rs. 2,500 spent for the professoriate, can be said to be partly wasted, because, though they can teach more students, the class-rooms are too small for taking in more. The reason is, the college has no building of its own, college classes being held in the old school building. We have been hearing for about a decade that the college would have a building and a hostel of its own. But the grants and

the plans are still on paper. In the meantime, some temporary expedients should be resorted to for the education of all the girl matriculates who want to continue their studies. A committee has been appointed by the Brahmo community in Calcutta to make definite suggestions and proposals to the Director of Public Instruction. It is to be hoped that that officer and the Bengal Government will treat this matter as urgent.

Swadeshi.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi has been trying to revivify the Swadeshi movement. We are in entire sympathy with his efforts. We have been practising the principles of swadeshim, as far as we can obtain our requirements from the local market, for about two decades. The difficulties in our way have been the absence or paucity of supplies and the dishonesty of many dealers who pass off foreign goods as swadeshi. Along with other swadeshists, we should be greatly obliged if we could know in what local shops we could get genuine swadeshi things. As regards articles of clothing, we would certainly prefer articles prepared from country-made yarn woven in the country.

It should be understood and recognised by all Indians, as it already is understood and recognised by many, that though the Swadeshi movement is an economic movement, it is sure to strengthen and vivify all other national movements. And there is this to be said in its favour, which cannot be said of any purely political movement, that up to a certain point it is entirely in our hands to make it what we like, by our earnestness and sacrifice.

Swadeshists should take note of the coming world-struggle between the economic and the political formulas and their inter-relation. Already the national leaders of Ireland recognize very clearly the power of the economic formula. "Through the development of their co-operative societies, and through the remarkable political writings of their co-operative leaders, they have come to understand the weakness of the old parliamentary system." "It is now generally understood that Protestant

and Catholic Ireland have been kept apart largely by manipulation of the political formula; on the basis of an economic formula they would come together automatically." Thus writes the *Nation* of New York. May not Hindus and Moslems come together automatically on the basis of an economic formula?

Sir Dinshaw Wacha on our Cloth Supply.

In a letter contributed to the *Times of India* on the subject, Sir Dinshaw Wacha makes a forecast of the future possibilities in regard to the price of piecegoods which is not cheerful reading. He says that "any hope of restoration of normal conditions is futile, as no relief by way of adequate imports on the pre-War scale can be expected from Manchester for one year more at least." The deficiency, he holds, cannot be made good by local supply; "no relief by way of increased output from Indian mills can be expected owing to the difficulty of strengthening the mills by additional spindles and looms," specially as shortage of shipping is likely to continue.

Sir Dinshaw Wacha has calculated that there were 13.6 yards of cloth for consumption in India per annum per head of the population in 1913-14, as compared with 9.28 yards, the annual average of the five years which ended on 31st March, 1919, or a shortage of 4.32 yards per year per head. The figures explain the cry of shortage and high prices of cloth.

Cannot hand-loom and the indigenous spinning wheels render any further help than they do? We think they can.

Why Filipinos ask for Independence Now.

Readers of newspapers know that the Filipinos have been recently asking for the independence which Americans have promised them; and hopes have been given that they would get it at no distant date.

Recently the Philippine Independence Commission, consisting of forty Filipinos representative of every class and section of that archipelago, were on a visit to America to ask for independence. The

chairman of the commission was Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate. A representative of the *New York World* interviewed Mr. Quezon and asked,

Why should the Filipinos ask for independence now? And what specific advantages would independence give them over the present arrangement? Are they asking for independence because they really need it or merely because they want it?"

"The doubtfulness you express," Mr. Quezon said, "is natural enough, and your questions are perfectly fair. I will try to answer them as fully as you wish."

"You ask what advantages we think independence would have for us as compared with the present arrangement. I will name two which we are quite sure of. The first concerns our purely domestic and internal affairs, over which, at present, we have no effective control, no matter how vitally they concern us. We can make laws, to be sure, but those laws cannot have effect without the approval of Congress and the President. Take the one matter, for instance, of land and other natural resources. We Filipinos realize that, though we have great natural wealth in our country, it is by no means limitless wealth. We want to be sure that it is used wisely and properly for our own benefit and conserved prudently for the benefit of the Filipinos who are not born yet. Wishing that, we may, for instance, feel it necessary to forbid the sale of lands or other fundamental wealth to any foreigners. And we can make such laws. But before those laws become effective they must receive approval in this country [America], where, naturally, they will be considered not merely as they affect us Filipinos but as they might affect the United States in respect to certain possible international complications.

The Filipino patriot then proceeded to explain the second great advantage.

"Another great practical advantage of independence would affect our foreign affairs. At present we have no power to make any laws of any sort affecting them. We cannot make such a thing, for instance, as a trade agreement with any country. All such arrangements have to be made in Washington. And the Philippines are so remote, their products and their whole industrial and commercial organization, all their economic needs are so different, that it is very difficult, firstly, to obtain the interest of Congress in them at all; and, secondly, to induce Congress to consider them as what they really are—purely Filipino matters.

Mr. Quezon added a third reason which is really the most vital, though people who are themselves independent but want to

keep their dependencies dependent for ever, would characterise as sentimental.

"A third great advantage we see in independence would be the fact that we were independent. Independence is like food. You do not miss it unless you do not have it. Its value is not something that can be argued about or settled by formula. If you asked a hungry man what the great advantage of food to him would be, he would simply answer you, Food. And so we see the advantage of being independent. It is a fundamental desire with us, as it would be with you if you did not have it."

Having given the reasons why the Filipinos ask for independence, their leader went on to say why they wanted it now.

"In the first place, there is the Jones law, through which, in 1916, Congress promised us independence as soon as a stable government could be established. We accepted that promise in good faith. We set to work under it in good faith to meet its terms and gain our independence. And now we have met its terms. The man you sent out there for that purpose, Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison, has come back and told you that the foundation of our nation has been well laid."

"A stable government has been established. It is a government entirely of Filipinos. There are only two white men in it. And those Filipinos, as legislators and administrators have done such things as this. They have established at a cost of \$50,000,000 a universal system of primary and secondary education which will reach every child in the islands. They have established law, peace and order. For three years of the war it was the Filipinos who kept the American flag flying in the islands, every white soldier having been withdrawn. They have laid all the old racial-religious bogies, and Mohammedan legislators sit beside Christian ones to make laws for the islands. They have broken down the old peonage system where it existed and passed effective laws for the protection of labour. They have stabilized financial conditions and created a solid and wealthy Philippine National Bank.

"In brief," said Mr. Quezon, "we have complied with the Jones law. We have a stable government. We have done the share which you yourselves prescribed for us. So when you say to us, 'Why should you ask for independence now?' we have a right to answer with another question, 'Why should you ask us to wait any longer?'"

A second reason also was given why this particular time has been chosen for demanding independence.

"Another reason why this seems to us a proper time to ask our independence is the ending

of the war and the Conference in Paris. When we ask you to set us free we merely ask you to be consistent. If any country ever stood definitely and indisputably for any principle the United States stood definitely in this war for the principle of national freedom and self-determination. It was through your enunciation of this principle that Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugoslavia and all the other new nations were set free and formed. How, then, can you consistently deny the same right to us, particularly when we have willingly served a long and carefully watched apprenticeship in democratic self-rule—while these other formerly submerged nationalities must start from the very bottom as learners?"

Mr. Quezon also summed up his reasons in one pregnant sentence.

"Because we need independence as you would need it if you did not already have it, because it would be of direct and practical advantage to us both at home and abroad, because we are fit for it, because you promised it to us as soon as we were fit, and because this war was fought and won to establish the right of every people to live its own national life so long as it respected the life and liberties of other nations, why Filipinos ask you now for independence."

"But," the interviewer asked him, "how about Japan?"

"We do not fear Japan," he said. "One country seeks to seize another either for its own economic or its own strategic benefit. There is no reason to believe that Japan looks on the Philippines as an economic prize. They have no record of success in tropical colonization, nor any great eagerness to attempt it. For example among our many millions of population there are only seven thousand Japanese to-day, though no ban is set up against them by immigration laws and they are as free to come in as any other people. Japan's economic destiny lies on the mainland of Asia and in her world trade. As for the second motive—Japan is better off strategically now, with Formosa, Corea and Manchuria ringed compactly about her, than she could be with the Philippine outposts, and her soldiers are statesmen enough to know it."

"Furthermore," added Manuel Quezon his jaw setting a trifle, "the only way in which Japan could ever take possession of the Philippines would be by killing every Filipino."

Remember that the generation of Filipino who will be the self-governing race we ask you make free now, will be American-made boys from the public schools you yourselves established. Remember we have the same love and faith for democracy that you yourselves have, and the

same ardor for race and country. Remember too that, unlike their other neighbors, we have no natural basis of assimilation with the Japanese. We are far apart in race, we being Malays and they Mongols. We are far apart in tongue. Leaving out all other considerations, Japan could never take the Philippines from the free Filipino nation save at a price in treasure and blood far beyond their worth to her. And Japan knows that."

The Case of Babu Kalinath Ray.

It has not been proved that all the men forming crowds in different places in the Panjab which were fired upon or bombed, had committed any crime or had any criminal intention and were rioters. It may be justly presumed, therefore, that on account of the firing and the bombing many innocent men have been killed and wounded.

Subsequently, the martial law tribunals have sentenced many persons to death, transportation for life and other sentences. Both on account of the personnel of many of the tribunals and their procedure and because lawyers from outside were unjustly and arbitrarily not allowed to go to the Panjab and lawyers in the province were generally in a terrified state of mind, the accused were not properly defended and had not as fair a trial as accused before ordinary tribunals have. Hence it may be presumed that many innocent men have suffered the extreme penalty of the law and lesser punishments. In the ordinary course of criminal trials a certain proportion of convicted persons are acquitted on appeal as innocent. But there was no appeal from the judgments of the courts-martial. This fact also makes it clear that some of the persons punished by the martial law tribunals were innocent.

But though it is probable that many innocent men have lost their lives or been transported or sentenced to long terms of rigorous imprisonment, full details of their cases are not before the public. The case is different with the trial and conviction of Babu Kalinath Ray, editor of the *Tribune*. The sole evidence on which he was convicted consisted of some articles which he wrote in the *Tribune*, and the full text of the judgment pronounced upon him has also been published. Subscribers to the

Tribune were in a position to read these articles, and they have been subsequently reproduced in full in *Young India* (June 11, 1919), edited by Mr. M. K. Gandhi. Anyone who has not read the articles may procure a copy of this issue from Bombay and satisfy his curiosity. We have read all the articles and we have read the judgment. Our opinion is that not only did Babu Kalinath Ray not commit any offence, but that, on the contrary, he rendered a service to the Government and the people by writing on a critical occasion with courage and self-restraint and in measured language. We have known him for long as one who, on account of his principles, disposition and character, was incapable of violent and inflammatory writing. The articles for which he has been wrongly punished, were quite in keeping with what we have known him to be.

The lawyers whom Mr. Kalinath Ray wanted to engage to defend him were not allowed by the martial law administrator to enter the Panjab. When the lawyers appealed to the Viceroy, His Excellency said that as a civil authority he could not interfere. But as what sort of authority, civil or military, did he make the many ordinances for the declaration of martial law in the Punjab, for regulating trials under martial law, and ultimately for the withdrawal of martial law from the Panjab? The humility which made His Excellency imagine that he was simply a civil authority is very wonderful. Is it possible that he never read, or forgot the existence of, Section 33 of the Government of India Act, 1915, which is reproduced below?

"The superintendence, direction and control of the civil and military government of India is vested in the Governor-General in Council, who is required to pay due obedience to all such orders as he may receive from the Secretary of State."

It is necessary to appeal to the Privy Council against Mr. Ray's conviction without delay. Subscriptions are being collected for the purpose. Rs. 15,000 are required for the purpose. The treasurer is Dr. Prankrishna Acharji, M.A., M.B., to whom all contributions are to be sent at 56, Harrison Road, Calcutta.

"The Rose and the Wine Cup."

The artist who has produced this picture symbolises worldly pleasure by the wine-cup and spiritual bliss by the rose. The woman who holds the wine-cup in her hand offers it to the other woman, who has a rose in hers, promising that it will make her really happy. But the latter refuses the wine, saying that true bliss can not be had in worldly pleasures. She at the same time produces her rose, the symbol of spiritual joy : saying that this alone is the source of true blessing. The first woman is startled to hear this, and opens her crapulous eyes, like one awakened from sleep. The picture is meant to symbolise this awakening of the soul. It is the work of Mr. M. Abdur Rahaman Chughtai.

The O'Dwyer Memorial.

One reads in the papers that this Maharaja and that have been subscribing their thousands for an O'Dwyer Memorial. But is it really necessary to immortalise in this way one who has carved his name so indelibly on the tablets of contemporary history? Moreover, his martial law not only enabled him to declare, "Peace reigns at—" this place and that, but it also inclined people to give him farewell addresses and dinners. It is to be hoped, however, that in the cool atmosphere of the United Kingdom he will acquire good sense enough not to tell people that the Memorial movement and the farewell addresses were proofs positive of his great popularity and marvellous success as an administrator. For, though there are no Edmund Burkes in England now, there are many who have read what Burke said when a certain defence was set up for Warren Hastings, and who may make use of this knowledge. Macaulay writes in his Essay on Warren Hastings :—

"It is to be added, that the numerous addresses to the late Governor-General, which his friends in Bengal obtained from the natives and transmitted to England, made a considerable impression. To these addresses we attach little or no importance.....For an English collector or judge would have found it easy to induce any native who could write to sign a pauegryic on the most odious ruler that ever

was in India. It was said that at Benares, the very place at which the acts set forth in the first article of impeachment had been committed, the natives had erected a temple to Hastings ; and this story excited a strong sensation in England. Burke's observations on the apotheosis were admirable. He saw no reason for astonishment, he said, in the incident which had been represented as so striking. He knew something of the mythology of the Brahmins. He knew that as they worshipped some gods from love, so they worshipped others from fear. He knew that they erected shrines, not only to the benignant deities of light and plenty, but also to the fiends who preside over small-pox and murder. Nor did he at all dispute the claim of Mr. Hastings to be admitted into such a pantheon. This reply has always struck us as one of the finest that ever was made in Parliament. It is a grave and forcible argument, decorated by the most brilliant wit and fancy."

We do not suggest the equal possession of bad and good qualities by Warren Hastings and Sir Michael O'Dwyer. nor do we suggest any similarity in their careers ; we only want to remind the admirers of Sir M. O'Dwyer, including himself, of the possibility of an effective retort if memorials and addresses be used as arguments to prove popularity and success. Anglo-Indian extremists, lost to all sense of proportion, have classed him with the empire-builders of their race !

Martial Law in the Panjab.

It is Regulation X of 1804 which empowers the Governor-General to declare martial law in the event of prevalence of circumstances indicated in the regulation itself, and Lord Chelmsford issued his ordinance establishing martial law in the Panjab, taking power from this regulation. But what are the circumstances which, according to this regulation, justify the proclamation of martial law in any territory ? The preamble to the regulation answers that question :

"Whereas, during wars in which the British Government has been engaged against certain of the native powers of India, certain persons owing allegiance to the British Government have borne arms in open hostility to the authority of the same and have abetted and aided the enemy, and have committed acts of violence and outrage against the lives and properties of the said Government ; and whereas it may be expedient that during the existence of any war in which the British Government in India may be

engaged with any power whatever, as well as during the existence of open rebellion against the authority of the Government in any part of the British territory subject to the Government of the Presidency of Fort William, the Governor-General-in-Council should declare and establish martial law within any part of the territories aforesaid for the safety of the British possessions and for the security of the lives and property of the inhabitants thereof by the immediate punishment of persons owing allegiance to the British Government who may be taken in arms in open hostility to the Government, or in the actual commission of any overt act of rebellion against the authority of the same or in the act of openly aiding and abetting the enemies of the British Government within any part of the territories above specified; the following Regulation has been enacted:—” etc.

The second paragraph of the regulation repeats much of and confirms the preamble.

A passage in the circular instructions issued to the magistrates for their guidance when martial law might be proclaimed under the above regulation, by order of the Governor-General Lord Wellesley on April 11, 1805, throws further light on the object of the regulation:—

“If any person or persons charged with any of the overt acts of rebellion specified in the Regulation X of 1804 shall be apprehended by any Military officer, when not in the actual commission of offences of that description they are to be delivered over by the Military to the Civil power.”

Sir Michael O'Dwyer has himself admitted more than once that the bulk of the people of the Panjab have remained loyal. No official or semi-official account of the disturbances says that any armed or trained fighters took part in this so-called rebellion. As supplying the largest number of sepoys to the army, Panjabis know what arms and equipment would be needed for fighting the British Raj; they would not rebel armed with sticks and brick-bats. The Indian public has therefore rightly concluded that there was no rebellion in the Panjab and therefore the establishment of martial law there was illegal. But even if its legality were taken for granted, it must be obvious, according to the terms of Regulation X of 1804 and the circular instructions quoted above, that a large number of persons tried under martial law in the Panjab ought to have been tried by ordinary civil tribunals. Martial law trials have been

continued even after the withdrawal of martial law. This also is against the spirit and intention of the Regulation.

The opinion of a former Advocate General of Bengal, Mr. R. Spankie, expressed in April 1818, on the proceedings of courts-martial in Cuttack under Regulation X of 1804, published by the *Leader* (which, by the by, has done admirable work in connection with the Panjab disturbances), contains passages which make the intention of the regulation very clear. Take the following, for instance:

40. The manifest intention of Government in its legislative capacity was, that none but cases of the simplest and most obviously criminal nature should be the subject of trial by the courts-martial; the fact, whether a person was *taken* in the actual commission of an overt act of rebellion, or *taken* in the act of *openly* aiding and abetting the enemies of the state, or taken in *open* hostility, might safely be tried by such courts; and such a provision for trial was calculated to prevent *military* severity in the field, becoming absolute *massacre*. But all complex cases depending upon circumstantial proof, and requiring either a long examination of facts, or a discriminating inference from facts in themselves equivocal were purposely withdrawn from the cognizance of these tribunals. It never was intended that courts-martial should try, as those have done, acts, even of a criminal nature, in which the prisoner was not *taken*; and unless the acts were *open overt* acts, and of the most material palpable quality.

And the following:

45. The object of Martial Law in the trial of offenders under it, is justly stated in the Regulation X of 1804, to be *immediate punishment*, for the “*safety of the British possessions and for the security of the lives and property of the inhabitants thereof.*”

Mr. Eardley Norton takes a similar view in the *Looker-on*:

Summary Courts Martial, expedient, possibly, where men are caught red-handed at murder and arson (though even then I personally doubt the expediency of haste) are now being deputed to deal with cases where no especial haste is needed, where points of law are involved, and where the presence and assistance of experienced Counsel is essential. Yet men charged with offences involving the death penalty have been forbidden the services of myself and other Barristers,—for no cause assigned, no reason given, promulgated in the crude phraseology that my presence in the Martial Law area was “undesirable.” So is the presence of a pick-pocket. So, in another view, is the presence of the Court Martial and G. O. C. Lahore.

Martial Law in the British Empire in the Nineteenth Century.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica gives the following list :—

"During the 19th century martial law was proclaimed by the British Government in the following places:

1. Barbados, 1805-1816.
2. Demerara, 1823.
3. Jamaica, 1831-1832; 1865.
4. Canada, 1837-1838.
5. Ceylon, 1817 and 1848.
6. Cephalonia, 1848.
7. Cape of Good Hope, 1834; 1849-1851.
8. St. Vincent, 1863.
9. South Africa, 1899-1901.

The proclamation was always based on the grounds of necessity, and where any local body of a representative character existed it would seem that its assent was given, and an act of indemnity obtained after the suppression of the rebellion."

In the 19th century, many great wars were fought in India, and many serious disturbances took place. The people of India were disarmed after three quarters of that century had passed. Yet from the list quoted above it would appear that the establishment of martial law in any part of India in that century was not considered of sufficient importance or duration to deserve a place in it. Or does it mean that it is a matter of indifference to Britishers whether India has martial rule or civil rule?

It is evident that Sir Michael O'Dwyer took an exaggerated and panicky view of the situation. Or did he want to pass away from the Panjab in the odour of the highest efficiency as evidenced by the thorough crushing of a great rebellion? A frightened imagination may magnify a teased domestic cat into a royal Bengal tiger.

Use of Aeroplanes in the Punjab.

On May 28, in the House of Commons, Colonel Wedgewood asked Mr. Montagu if aeroplanes were employed to drop bombs on Indian rioters; if so, where and by whose orders; and whether in view of the difficulty in hitting any target he would issue directions that such weapons are not to be used in future against civilian populations.

Mr. Montagu: Aeroplanes were used at Gujranwala in the Punjab as a measure of military necessity. They were despatched from Lahore by the military authorities, and one plane dropped a few bombs on a mob which had since morning been occupied in destroying houses in the civil station, the railway station and church, while women and children had taken refuge in the Treasury, protected by only a small force of police.

Colonel Wedgewood: Have instructions been given that aeroplanes are not to be used in future against the civilian population?

Mr. Montagu: No, sir, the responsibility for carrying out martial law must rest with those who have to administer it. And if this is a question of dispersing a mob which is threatening the lives of women and children who are insufficiently guarded I refuse to interfere with the discretion of the military authorities.

Colonel Wedgewood: In view of the fact that these aeroplanes cannot drop bombs accurately and that therefore in large towns bombs are about certain to hit the wrong people, would it not be more humane to employ the other efficient means of defence in our power?

Mr. Montagu: Certainly in this case the aeroplane was successful in dispersing the mob. I am not sufficient of an expert to endorse the honourable and gallant gentleman's remarks about aeroplanes, but I would observe that there is all the difference in the world between aeroplanes flying at a low altitude, and those flying at a high altitude in order to avoid guns.

The following extract from the *censored* account of the Gujranwala affair published in the *Civil and Military Gazette* shows that Mr. Montagu was misinformed as to the military necessity and the necessity of using bombs for dispersing the mob:—

A number of shots were fired by the police under Mr. Heron; although the mob evaded encounter as much as possible, a sufficient number received buckshot and other wounds to discourage them from further outrages. Unfortunately one section of the mob obtained access to the Church and set that also on fire.

Meanwhile the few women and children left in the station had taken refuge in the Treasury, an ancient fortified building with loopholes of an antique pattern. The crowds were already giving up the contest as not good enough, when several aeroplanes arrived from Lahore and drove the evildoers hastily to cover. However, it is satisfactory to know that by bombs and machine-gunning several casualties were inflicted though not nearly as many as the ruffians and hoodlums of the mob deserved, still the effect was decisive and the people hid themselves in their houses and during the night a large number of them fled into the adjoining villages.

If the mob evaded encounter as much as possible, where was the contest which they "were already giving up"?

Inquiry into Punjab affairs.

Mr. Montagu is reported to have said in course of his Indian Budget speech:

Questions have been asked from time to time and resolutions have been moved demanding an inquiry. The Viceroy has always contemplated an inquiry. You cannot have disturbances of this kind and of this magnitude without an inquiry into the causes of and the measures taken to cope with these disturbances but no announcement has been made of any inquiry up to this moment, for this reason: let us talk of an inquiry when we have put the fire out. The only message which we can send from this House to-day to India is a message which I am sure will be one of confidence in and sympathy with those upon whom the great responsibility has fallen of restoring the situation. Afterwards will come the time to hold an inquiry not only to help us to remove the cause of the troubles but in order to dispose once for all of some of the libellous charges which have been made against British troops and those upon whom the unpleasant duties in connexion with these riots have fallen.

The charges against British troops and others referred to above are either false, unjust, and malicious, or they are true, just and made in the public interest. But Mr. Montagu says, even before a committee of enquiry has been appointed, that they are "libellous". Is not this prejudging to some extent?

Important Calcutta meeting on Events in the Panjab and the Reform Bill.

The public meeting held in the Calcutta Town Hall on June 26, under the presidency of Mr. B. Chakrabarti, to consider the recent events in the Panjab and the Reform Bill, was very important. Rabindranath Tagore had already spoken for Bengal and India. But formal and public oral expression was given to the opinion and feelings of Bengal for the first time at this meeting. Particularly noteworthy

and significant was the following resolution:—

That this meeting of the citizens of Calcutta gratefully records its appreciation of the protest entered by Sir Sankaran Nair and Rabindranath Tagore against the policy pursued by the Government of India in relation to the Punjab disturbances and records respectfully and with regret the fact that His Excellency Lord Chelmsford has lost the confidence of the public and this meeting humbly beseeches His Imperial Majesty to recall Lord Chelmsford.

It is a bold thing to say that Lord Chelmsford has lost the confidence of the Indian public and to pray to His Imperial Majesty George V that he be recalled; but, so far as we are able to gauge public feeling, the resolution correctly represents it. The other principal resolutions, too, were very important and gave fearless expression to public opinion.

"Certain Acts to be Misdemeanours."

Section 124 of the Government of India Act, 1915, runs as follows:—

"If any person holding office under the Crown in India does any of the following things, that is to say—(1) If he oppresses any British subject within his jurisdiction or in the exercise of his authority;he shall be guilty of a misdemeanour."

Section 127 provides that

"If any person holding office under the Crown in India commits any offence under this Act, or any offence against any person within his jurisdiction or subject to his authority, the offence may without prejudice to any other jurisdiction, be inquired of, heard, tried and determined before His Majesty's High Court of Justice, and be dealt with as if committed in the county of Middlesex."

The law officers of the Crown in England should, after due inquiry, consider if these sections may not be made use of against Sir Michael O'Dwyer; or, if justifiable, impeachment may be resorted to.



LAILA AND MAJNUN

Early 18th century.

From the collection of Mr. S. N. Gupta.

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WHOLE
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TO THE MURDERED PEOPLES

BY ROMAIN ROLLAND.

(Translated)

THE horrors of war, perpetrated during these last thirty months,* have rudely shaken the minds of thoughtful persons in the West. The martyrdom of Belgium, Serbia, Poland,—of all the miserable countries of Eastern Europe, trodden down by invasion, can no longer be forgotten. But if these iniquities revolt us, because we are their victims, what of the fifty years and more during which the civilisation of Europe has practised the same evils, or allowed others to practise them, around her?

Who can say what price the Red Sultan of Turkey paid to his mutes of the European Press and of the Embassies for the blood of two hundred thousand Armenians, slaughtered during the first massacre of 1894—1895? Who has ever raised his voice against the sufferings of the people delivered over as a prey to the rapine and plunder of colonial expeditions? Who, when a single corner of the veil is lifted up from this or that part of the field of misery,—Damaraland or Congo,—has been able to endure the sight without horror? What civilised man can recall, without a blush, the massacres of Manchuria, and of the China expedition of 1900—1901, when the Emperor of Germany gave 'Attila' to his soldiers for an example, and the united armies of 'civilisation' rivalled one another in acts of vandalism against a culture more ancient and lofty than their own?

What help has Western Europe given to the persecuted races of Eastern Europe?

* The article was written by Romain Rolland in November, 1916. (C.F.A.)

What help to Jews, Finns, Poles? What help to Turkey, Egypt, China, in the day of their struggle towards self-regeneration?

For sixty years, China, poisoned by the opium of India, longed to deliver herself from the bondage of the evil which was killing her. She found, after two wars and a humiliating treaty, the opium-poison (which had brought 11,000,000,000 francs into the coffers of the East India Company) forcibly imposed upon her by England. And even after China, today, has completed the heroic task of ridding herself, in ten years, of her deadly disease, she has needed all the pressure of indignant public opinion brought upon European States to compel the most civilised of them to renounce the profits which the poisoning of a whole people brought into their banks. Yet, what wonder is there in this, when Western Governments have not yet renounced the income they obtain by poisoning with alcohol their own people?

"On one occasion," writes M. Arnold Porret, "a missionary of the Gold Coast of Africa told me, how the negroes explained the way in which Europeans had become white. The God of all the world asked the Europeans sternly,—

"What have you done with your brother?"

They became pale.

Western civilisation today has the odour of a dead body. It has called in the grave diggers. Asia is on the watch.

"The civilisation of Europe," said the great Hindu, Rabindranath Tagore, last

June, at the Imperial University Tokyo,* "is a grinding machine. It consumes the people it overruns, it exterminates or annihilates the races which impede its conquering march. It is a cannibalistic civilisation. It crushes the feeble and enriches itself at their expense. It scatters, on all sides, jealousies and hates, making a path of emptiness in front. It is a civilisation, scientific not human. Its power comes from the concentration of all its forces towards the single goal of self-enrichment . . . Under the name of patriotism, it goes back from its plighted word, it spreads its meshes of lies without shame, it enshrines, in its temples, gigantic idols of Greed, the one God it adores. And it can be safely prophesied that this cannot last for ever.† . . ."

"This cannot last for ever."

Europeans, do you hear that word? Do you shut your ears to it? Nay, but listen. Let us examine ourselves! Do not let us act like those, who throw upon their neighbour's shoulders all the sins of the world, and believe themselves thereby discharged from the debt. In the plague of the present time, we all have our part, some of our own accord, some through weakness. And it is not this 'weakness' of ours which is least to blame!

The apathy of the greater number, the timidity of respectable people, the selfish scepticism of weak rulers, the ignorance or cynicism of the Press; the greedy mouths of the men of prey; the timid servility of the men of thought, who make themselves the beadles of murderous prejudices kept in store for missions of destruction; the pitiless pride of those intellectuals, who believe in their own ideas more than in the life of their fellow creatures, and would bring

twenty million men to ruin, in order to prove their point; the cautious political scheming of a Church, all too Roman, where S. Peter the fisher Apostle is made the ferryman of diplomatic lies; the clergy, pastors of souls, sharp and cutting as a knife, who would sacrifice their flock for a purification; the dull, stupid fatalism of the poor sheep themselves—which of us is not to blame? Which of us has the right to wash his hands clean of the blood of murdered Europe, and say 'Not guilty'. Each one of us must see our fault and endeavour to set it right.

But first, there is something urgent to be said. Here is the dominating fact.

"Europe is not free."

The voice of the people is stifled. In the after history of the world, when it comes to be written, these years will ever stand out as the 'Years of the Great Slavery.' One half of Europe is at war with the other, in the name of liberty. And, in order to make war, the two halves of Europe have surrendered liberty. It is in vain that the will of the nations is invoked. The nations no longer exist as personalities at all.

A half-pint of politicians, and some bushels of journalists, speak insolently in the name of something or other. They have no right to speak. They represent only themselves,—nay, they do not even represent that! "The hand-maid of plutocracy," said Maurras, in 1905, denouncing the tame domesticated intellect, which pretends to direct public opinion and to represent the Nation.... The Nation! Who calls himself now the representative of the Nation? Who has the knowledge,—who has ever dared to look fully in the face the soul of "a Nation at War".

This monster, made up of myriads of coagulated lives, diverse, contrary, swarming in every sense of the word, and yet at the same time jellied together like an Octopus, . . . This mash of all the instincts, all the reasons,—and all the un-reasons. . . blasts of wind coming up from the abyss; blind forces and furious explosions from the smoking pit of animality; mephitic intoxication of destruction and self-immolation; fierce voracities of the species; religions

* June 18, 1916. This address, which marks a turning point in the history of the world, but which no great European journal noticed, made its appeal to Japan, as the "advance guard of Asia." It was reproduced in the *Outlook*, of New York, under the title "India's Message to Japan" on Aug. 9, 1916, and the *Journal Religieuse de Suisse Romande* quoted some passages from it on Sep. 23, 1916.

† The translation given by Romain Rolland is a paraphrase of a longer passage in the original, see p. 77. Nationalism. (American Edition). C. F. A.

shapeless and deformed; mystical exhalations of the soul, drunk with the Infinite, seeking an unhealthy gluttony of joy by suffering, self-inflicted and inflicted on others: insanely conceited tyrannies of the reason, when it claims to impose the unity that it does not possess, but only desires; inflamed vagaries of the imagination lighting up the remembrance of the past; learned phantasmagoria of historic records that have received official sanction; patriotic history, or history written in such a way as to brandish 'woe to the conquered' or 'glory to the conquered' according to requirement... And then, surging upon the tide of passions, all the secret demons, which Society casts up, as the tide ebbs, in times of peace and order... Each one of us finds himself enlaced in the arms of this Octopus. Each one finds in himself the same confusion of good and evil forces, bound and entangled together in an inextricable skein.

From all this comes the feeling of fatalism, which crushes down mankind in the presence of such a crisis. Yet it is only discouragement before the magnitude of the task, which stands in the way of deliverance. If each one did what he could, and nothing more, there would be no fatalism at all. The fatalism, from which we suffer, is made up of each man's weak surrender. In giving in, each one becomes responsible for the weakness of others.

But the shares of responsibility are not equal. Honour to whom honour is due. In the medley of European politics today the biggest factor is Money. The hand that holds the chain, binding the body social, is Wealth,—Wealth and his band of satellites. Wealth is the true master, the true head of the State. Wealth is responsible for the back-doors of our Chambers of Commerce and for our shady business transactions.* Not that we can make

this or that group, this or that individual, responsible for the evils from which we suffer. We are not such simpletons as all that! No, let us have done with scapegoats! They are too comfortably convenient!

When we read the history of the great German capitalists, who purchased mines in Normandy, and, between the years 1908-1913, had become owners of one-fifth part of the mineral sub-soil of France, and then used this ore in their own great steel factories to make the cannon which the German armies are now firing, then we can get some idea of the lengths to which moneyed men will go, till they become indifferent to anything else,—like Midas of old, who turned into gold everything he touched. Do not, however, attribute to them vast designs and dark. They do not look so far ahead. They only seek to amass quickly as big a heap as possible. That which finds its climax in them, is that anti-social selfishness, which is the plague of our present age. These wealth seekers are merely representative men in an age enslaved to money. The learned men, the Press, the politicians,—yes, the heads of the different States, those puppets of a tragic peep-show, all these, whether they like it or not, are the instruments of the money makers, who use them for a screen.* And, oh! the stupidity of the peoples,—their fatal submissiveness, their mysterious depths of ancestral savagery,

Charnais in *Pages Libres* January 19, 1907. The power of financial oligarchies "collective, mysterious, independent of all control" has appeared clearly in the government of the States of Europe,—republics and monarchies alike.

* Let me quote some lines from Manóras, who is so lucid when he does not give himself over as a prey to his own fixed idea.—"The Money State is now the Minister in charge, gilding and decorating with titles the intellect while it muzzles it and sends it to sleep. It can, when it likes, prevent the Intellect from knowing a single political truth, and if it sees the truth, from speaking about it, and if it speaks about it, from being listened to and heard. How can a country know its own needs if those who know them can be put under the constraint of silence, lying or isolation?"

What a true picture of the present time!

* Read the series of illuminating public articles during the last ten years by Francis Delaisi—for example that of January 1, 1907 in *Pages Libres* on "External Affairs of 1906" (the Algeiras year). One can see there a good example of what he calls 'Industrialised Diplomacy.' As a supplement to this read the financial article of the *Revue* (Nov.-December 1906) signed 'Lysis' and the commentary on it by Paul G. R.

which make them an easy prey, without any protection, to the blasts of lies and folly which impel them to self-slaughter!

It is a cruel and wicked proverb which states, that 'a people always gets the government it deserves.' If that phrase were true, it would lead to despair for humanity: for what Government exists today to which an honest man would willingly give his consent? It is only too evident that the people, who are the true workers, cannot and do not control the men who govern. It is quite enough that the workers have to expiate the crimes of their rulers, without being made responsible for these crimes in addition. The people, who willingly give themselves in sacrifice, die for ideas. The governing power, which sacrifices the people, lives for its own interests. And the result is that the interests outlive the ideas. Every war as it proceeds,—even the most idealistic,—becomes more and more a business concern, and, as Flaubert wrote, 'a war for money.' We do not say, of course, that we are making war for money. But when war is there, we sit down to it and milk its udders dry. Blood oozes out, money oozes out, and there is nothing to stop the flow.

Several thousands of the privileged of all castes and all races,—grand seigneurs, upstarts, Junkers, mine owners, millionaires, speculators, contractors, financial magnates, industrial magnates,—kings with no title or responsibility,—all these, from their secret corner in the Stock Exchange, know how to play upon the good and bad instincts of humanity for their own sordid profits,—its ambitions and arrogances, its spites and hates, its savage ideals as well as its devotion, its thirst for sacrifice, its heroism eager to shed its own blood, its measureless riches of trust.....

Unfortunate people! Can any one imagine a fate more tragic than this? Never consulted, but always made the victim: driven into wars, forced into crimes, that they never wished at all. The first adventurer, the first braggart, comes along the road, and arrogates the right to cloak with the people's name the madness of his own murderous rhetoric or his own selfish interests.

People, eternally duped, eternally martyred, always paying for the faults of others! Over your bent backs the rulers hurt their challenges of defiance at one another for causes about which you know nothing and for stakes in which you have no concern.....

Dear people of Europe, dying day by day, all through these years of war, upon your dying earth! Have you even yet reached the bottom of your misery? As I look forward to that which is to come, my dread is that the day will arrive when, in the discomfiture of lying hopes, in the folly, recognised at last, of sacrifices made in vain, worn to the bone with misery, you will search blindly for some one, for something on which to wreak your vengeance. Then you too will fall into injustice and be stripped bare, in the excess of misfortune, even of the fateful glory of your self sacrifice. And then, from top to bottom, the circle of misfortune and of error shall be complete. All shall be equal....

Poor, crucified people, who writhe on your cross, on either side of the Master, more betrayed even than He, who sink like lead into the night of pain! Is there no one to save you from your two enemies,—slavery and hate?

We wish to do so! We wish to do so! Ah, how greatly! But you must will it also! Your reason, bent under the weight of centuries of passive submission,—is it still capable of self-emancipation?

Who can stop now the course of the war? Who can get back, into the wild-beast-cage, the savage animal that has been let loose?—Not even those who have unchained it,—those lion-tamers who know well that they will be devoured.... The blood is drawn. It must be drunk to the dregs. Our civilisation must glut itself to the full. But when it is gorged, when peace has returned over ten millions of dead bodies, when the abject drunken-fit has been slept off, will it dare to look in the face the naked misery which had before been draped over with lies. Will that, which still can and ought to live, have the courage to break away from the deadly embrace of worn-out institutions?

People, People! Unite! People of all

racés,—the most to blame side by side with the least to blame,—brothers in blood and suffering, brothers in a common misfortune, now be brothers in pardon and resurrection!

Forget your spite and hate, which will ruin you altogether. Wear the black robes of your common sorrows: they smite all the great family of mankind. In your common grief, in the common slaughter of millions of your brothers, you have obtained already a sense of your deep unity. After the War, this unity must bring down to the ground the barriers which shameless interest will wish to build up stronger than ever.

If this unity is not accomplished,—if this war has not, for its first-fruits, a social renewal of all the nations,—then, farewell, Europe, Queen of Thought, Guide of Mankind! You have lost your way; you tread a cemetery,—your place is there. Lie there, sleep there! Let others lead the world!

All Souls Day, 1916.

(This translation has aimed at giving the spirit of the original. It is not strictly literal. C.F.A.)

Illustrative Passages.

[The above pamphlet was written by Romain Rolland as the first part of the booklet which he published. The second part is taken up with the following illustrative passages from the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore's lecture entitled,—“India's message to Japan.”]

When things stood still like this, and we in Asia hypnotised ourselves into the belief that it could never by any possibility be otherwise, Japan rose from her dreams and in giant strides left centuries of inaction behind, overtaking the present time in its foremost achievement.....

One morning the whole world looked up in surprise, when Japan broke through her walls of old habits in a night and came out triumphant.....

Japan, the child of the Ancient East, has also fearlessly claimed all the gifts of the modern age for herself. She has shown her bold spirit in breaking through the confinements of habits, useless accumulations of the lazy mind, seeking safety in its thrift and its locks and keys. Thus she has come

in contact with the living time and has accepted with eagerness and aptitude the responsibilities of modern civilization.

This it is which has given heart to the rest of Asia. We have seen that the life and the strength are there in us, only the dead crust has to be removed. We have seen that taking shelter in the dead is death itself, and only taking all the risk of life to the fullest extent is living.....

Japan has imported her food from the West but not her vital nature. Japan cannot altogether lose and merge herself in the scientific paraphernalia she has acquired from the West and be turned into a mere borrowed machine. She has her own soul which must assert itself over all her requirements.....

The whole world waits to see what this great Eastern nation is going to do with the opportunities and responsibilities she has accepted from the hands of the modern time. If it be a mere reproduction of the West, then the great expectation she has raised will remain unfulfilled. For there are grave questions that the Western civilization has presented before the world but not completely answered. The conflict between the individual and the state, labour and capital, the man and the woman; the conflict between the greed of material gain and the spiritual life of man, the organised selfishness of nations and the higher ideals of humanity; the conflict between all the ugly complexities inseparable from giant organisations of commerce and state and the natural instincts of man crying for simplicity and beauty and fulness of leisure,—all these have to be brought to a harmony in a manner not yet dreamt of.....

Therefore you cannot with a light heart accept the modern civilization with all its tendencies, methods and structures, and dream that they are inevitable. You must apply your Eastern mind, your spiritual strength, your love of simplicity, your recognition of social obligation, in order to cut out a new path for this great unwieldy car of progress, shrieking out its loud discords as it runs. You must minimise the

immense sacrifice of man's life and freedom that it claims in its every movement. For generations you have felt and thought and worked, have enjoyed and worshipped in your own special manner; and this cannot be cast off like old clothes. It is in your blood, in the marrow of your bones, in the texture of your flesh, in the tissue of your brains; and it must modify everything you lay your hands upon, without your knowing, even against your wishes. Once you did solve the problems of man to your own satisfaction, you had your philosophy of life and evolved your own art of living. All this you must apply to the present situation and out of it will arise a new creation and not a mere repetition, a creation which the soul of your people will own for itself and proudly offer to the world as its tribute to the welfare of man. Of all countries in Asia, here in Japan you have the freedom to use the materials you have gathered from the West according to your genius and your need. Therefore your responsibility is all the greater, for in your voice Asia shall answer the questions that Europe has submitted to the conference of Man. In your land the experiments will be carried on by which the East will change the aspects of the modern civilisation, infusing life in it where it is a machine, substituting human heart for cold expediency, not caring so much for power and success as for harmonious and living growth, for truth and beauty.....

The political civilization which has sprung up from the soil of Europe and is overrunning the whole world, like some prolific weed, is based upon exclusiveness. It is always watchful to keep at bay the aliens or to exterminate them. It is carnivorous and cannibalistic in its tendencies, it feeds upon the resources of other peoples and tries to swallow their whole future. It is always afraid of other races achieving eminence, naming it as a peril, and tries to thwart all symptoms of greatness outside its own boundaries, forcing down races of men who are weaker, to be eternally fixed in their weakness. Before this political civilization came to its power, and opened its hungry jaws wide open to gulp down

great continents of the earth, we had wars, pillages, changes of monarchy and consequent miseries, but never such a sight of fearful and hopeless voracity, such wholesale feeding of nation upon nation, such huge machines for turning great portions of the earth into mincemeat, never such terrible jealousies with all their ugly teeth and claws ready for tearing open each other's vitals. This political civilization is scientific, not human. It is powerful because it concentrates all its force upon one purpose like a millionaire acquiring money at the cost of his soul. It betrays its trust, it weaves its meshes of lies without shame, enshrines gigantic idols of greed in its temples, taking great pride in the costly ceremonials of its worship, calling this patriotism. And it can be safely prophesied that this can not go on, for there is a moral law in this world which has its application both to individuals and to organised bodies of men. You cannot go on violating these laws in the name of your nation, yet enjoy their advantage as individuals. This public sapping of the ethical ideals slowly reacts upon each member of society, gradually breeding weakness, where it is not seen, and causing that cynical distrust of all things sacred in human nature, which is the true symptom of senility. You must keep in mind that this political civilization, this creed of national patriotism, has not been given a long trial. The lamp of ancient Greece is extinct in the land where it was first lighted, the power of Rome lies dead and buried under the ruins of its vast empire. But the civilization, whose basis is society and the spiritual ideal of man, is still a living thing in China and in India. Though it may look feeble and small, judged by the standard of the mechanical power of modern days, yet like small seeds it still contains life and will sprout and grow, and spread its beneficent branches, producing flowers and fruits when its time comes, and showers of grace descend upon it from heaven. But ruins of sky-scrapers of power and broken machinery of greed, even God's rain is powerless to raise up again; for they were not of life, but went against life as a whole,—they are relics of the rebellion

that shattered itself to pieces against the eternal.....

The East with her ideals, in whose bosom are stored the ages of sunlight and silence of stars, can patiently wait till the West, hurrying after the expedient, loses breath and stops. Europe while busily speeding to her engagements, disdainfully casts her glance from her carriage window to the reaper reaping his harvest in the field, and in her intoxication of speed cannot but think him as slow and ever receding backwards. But the speed comes to its end, the engagement loses its meaning and the hungry heart clamours for food, till at last she comes to the lowly reaper reaping his harvest in the sun. For if the office cannot wait, or the buying and selling, or the craving for excitement, love waits and beauty and the wisdom of suffering and the fruits of patient devotion and reverent meekness of simple faith. And thus shall wait the East till her time comes.....

Eastern Asia has been pursuing its own path, evolving its own civilization which was not political, but social, not predatory and mechanically efficient, but spiritual and based upon all the varied and deeper relations of humanity. The solutions of the life problems of peoples were thought out in seclusion, and carried out behind the

security of aloofness, where all the dynastic changes and foreign invasions hardly touched them. But now we are overtaken by the outside world, our seclusion is lost for ever. Yet this we must not regret, as a plant should never regret when the obscurity of its seed-time is broken. Now the time has come, when we must make the world problem our own problem; we must bring the spirit of our civilization into harmony with the history of all nations of the earth; we must not, in foolish pride, still keep ourselves fast within the shell of the seed and the crust of the earth which protected and nourished our ideals: for these, the shell and the crust, were meant to be broken, so that life may spring up in all its vigour and beauty, bringing its offerings to the world in open light.

In this task of breaking the barrier and facing the world Japan has come out the first in the East. She has infused hope in the heart of all Asia. This hope provides the hidden fire which is needed for all works of creation. Asia now feels that she must prove her life by producing living work, she must not lie passively dormant, or feebly imitate the West in the infatuation of fear or flattery. For this we offer our thanks to this land of the rising sun and solemnly ask her to remember that she has the mission of the East to fulfil.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE "YELLOW PERIL"

SOME weeks ago Field Marshall Sir Douglas Haig, in the course of a discussion of the political problems of the future and its perils, expressed his conviction that certain changes were necessary in order that the British Empire might successfully weather the impending storms. One point in his address was of especial interest to India. He contended that a new spirit of comradeship must be infused into the relations of its various parts, and pointed out with soldierly directness that

the only means of accomplishing this was by securing to every nation under the Imperial Aegis equal rights, privileges and responsibilities.

As far as one is able to appreciate his position from the summary available, it would appear to be this:—The British Empire, both because of its geographical diffusion, and the wide racial diversities which exist within it, has only one hope of successfully solving the problems which will face it in the coming age. This hope

lies in creating a state of affairs in which all the various nations in the Empire will recognise that they mutually and *equally* profit by the Imperial connection—a bond made strong by the appreciation of a common interest.

Sir Douglas Haig is not a "statesman" in the usually accepted sense of the word, yet how infinitely more statesmanlike is his clearcut formula of equal rights for all within the Empire than the quibbles and political gymnastics in which so many so-called statesmen are indulging nowadays.

The soldier speaks as a man and a gentleman, and in the outcome of this mental attitude we see true statesmanship exemplified. It is as though he said to those whom he was addressing, "The only one upon whom you can depend in times of emergency is a *comrade*, and no true comradeship is possible without true equality. Make those races of the Empire who at present suffer from disabilities friends indeed, and when the time of testing comes you will find them friends in need." What could be simpler, and in spite of its simplicity what could be more true? What firmer foundation can be laid for unity in the Empire than that which is laid in the recognition of a common advantage, a common responsibility, and common rights and privileges?

And yet how many of the statesmen of the day seem quite satisfied to build the foundations of future Imperialism upon the sand. In place of striving for that good-will among its various parts which can only be built upon the knowledge of fair-dealing and equal justice between nation and nation, they labour to bolster up the claims of unfair privilege and vested interest. Wholly lacking in political imagination and appreciation of the awakened spirit of the age, they cling to the old formulas and think that by a judicious use of camouflage people may be induced docilely to accept the shadow for the substance—the high-sounding effusions on benevolence and good will which they consider a suitable substitute for justice. The times have changed but such men seem quite incapable of changing with them.

Indeed the attitude of some of them hardly seems to take the question of justice into account at all. To these the problem appears merely to be that of persuading the people to accept their point of view, and if they do not succeed in this to use sharper arguments followed by piously worded expressions of regret that such a course was forced upon them. The fact that they may be in the wrong does not seem to strike them. One must assume that their attitude is based upon the unshakable conviction of infallibility and that any opposition to their arrangements for managing the affairs of the world is a manifestation of darkness fighting against the light.

Some go further still, and frankly express their opinion that it will only be possible to *rule* by the occasional display of power and "the inculcation of a wholesome respect" for it grounded upon the part of the ruled in a sad experience of its potentialities. They are right; the only way in which they can *rule* as they conceive ruling is by an occasional resort to terrorism. But thank God, the times are changed, and with them the attitude of the Government of the Empire as regards its relations with what were once looked upon merely as "subject peoples."

Typical of the attitude of these exponents of terrorism judiciously applied is the sentiment expressed by the Egyptian correspondent of the *Pioneer* in a recent issue, when he stated that the feeling among the nationalists there appeared to be one of discouragement and depression, and added that this was all to the good. One presumes that he felt that this state of mind would afford the proper atmosphere in which to build up a strong Empire!

What a contrast to this is the attitude of the present Secretary of State for India! Abused and scoffed at, called a "political charlatan," and his honesty impugned by the reactionary Anglo-Indian press, how firmly has he taken his stand upon what he considers just and fair for India! The present situation reminds one vividly of certain lines from E. B. Browning written many years ago—

A Great man (who was crowned one day)
Imagined a great Deed :

He shaped it out of cloud and clay,
 He touched it finely, till the seed
 Possessed the flower ; from heart and brain
 He fed it with large thoughts humane
 To help a People's need.
 He brought it out into the sun—
 They blessed it to his face ;
 "Oh great pure Deed, that hast undone
 So many bad and base !
 Oh generous Deed ! heroic Deed !
 Come forth ! Be perfected ! Succeed !
 Deliver by God's grace !
 Then Sovereigns, Statesmen, north and south,
 Rose up in wrath and fear,
 And cried, protesting by one mouth,
 "What monster have we here ?
 A great Deed at this hour of day ?
 A great, just Deed—and not for pay ?
 Absurd :—or insincere !

There is no use to complete the above.
 Times have changed since the lines were
 written, and we trust and believe that
 Mr. Montagu's "great deed" will not be
 too great for the age in which we live.
 If it is, then alas for the age !

As this paper has been headed "Some
 Thoughts on the Yellow Peril" it will
 probably occur to the reader to question
 what relation the foregoing bears to that
 subject. In the writer's opinion a very
 intimate connection exists.

In the course of his speech Sir Douglas
 Haig expressed his fear of an eruption of
 the "yellow races" as a possibility of the
 future. He also spoke of other Oriental
 races as presenting potential perils if the
 discontent arising from unfair treatment
 and racial discrimination were allowed to
 grow. An Anglican Bishop also has recently
 been expressing himself in England upon
 this so-called "Yellow Peril," and in
 America its possibilities have been long a
 subject of discussion. In the opinion of
 the writer of the article the peril is a very
 real one. Given certain circumstances it
 would appear highly probable that the
 next hundred years may witness a struggle
 before the magnitude of which the recent
 war will assume insignificant proportions.

Yet it is hardly fair to call it the
Yellow Peril. Thousands of years have
 elapsed without any attempt upon the
 part of the Far East to encroach upon the
 West. History furnishes no indications
 that military aggressiveness has been a
 part of the genius of China—or, even of

Japan until she came under the influence
 of the Western Spirit.

No ; if such a catastrophe ever takes
 place, it will be because the views of such
 bodies as, for example, the Indo-British
 Association, succeed in gaining sufficient
 power to mould the view-point and policy
 of Europe and America.

We are convinced that they never will—
 that they are the manifestations of a
 dying school of thought (or thoughtless-
 ness), and that a nobler, broader concep-
 tion of national responsibility and obliga-
 tion is even now displacing it. But they
 are, for all that, the expression of a mental
 attitude which has largely influenced the
 political attitude and actions of Europe
 in the past. Of this there can be no
 doubt. We might go even further and
 assert that even at this moment those in
 the West upon whom the broader and
 juster vision has dawned are a micro-
 scopic minority, howbeit an influential and
 growing one.

Let us examine as far as we may the
 mental attitude of the average Western,
 and see if what we find does not have a
 vital bearing upon the question of the so-
 called "Yellow Peril." In order to do so
 it will be needful for us to glance very
 briefly at the relations which existed
 between Europe and the Orient in ancient
 times.

In the days of Greek, and later, of
 Roman ascendancy in the West, the great
 nations of the Orient—especially India—
 were treated as equals. The learning of
 the Brahmans and "Gymnosophists" was
 highly spoken of and in the days of Pliny
 India's trade with Europe brought her in
 nearly fifty million sesterces in coin per
 annum. Embassies were exchanged upon
 several occasions between Rome and
 various Indian potentates, and the Emperor
 Trajan is reported by Dion Cassius to
 have entertained one such embassy with
 great magnificence, and to have given its
 members senators' seats at the theatre.
 There is also ample evidence that at one
 time there were Roman soldiers serving in
 the bodyguards of Indian Kings. The
 writings of Clement of Alexandria
 contain allusions to India based upon

information obtained from his tutor Pan-taenus who had been there, and not only he but Bardesanes and various others speak of certain aspects of Brahman philosophy and self-discipline with considerable respect, while there can be no doubt that the influence of Indian thought upon the development of neoplatonism was very great. From all of which it seems clear that in the days of the glory of Greece and Rome the attitude of Europe to Asia was entirely different to that which was later evolved.

Then came the fall of the Roman Empire, followed by the disintegration of society in Europe and what are known as "the dark ages," and for centuries direct communication between the West and India virtually came to an end.

At last came the Renaissance, and when Europe emerged from the chaos of the Middle Ages her attitude toward the rest of the world had entirely changed. In fact it was a different Europe with other ideals and political purposes from that upon which the curtain had fallen with the dissolution of Imperial Rome.

It has always been true that everywhere in the world each great nation has considered itself the greatest and noblest. But in addition, as far as one can gather as regards this period, the peoples of Western Europe hardly considered that other races had any rights at all. Such races were exploited ruthlessly in so far as the West found means to get in touch with them. Spain grew rich upon the gold extracted by murder, robbery and the torture of the unfortunate peoples of Mexico and Peru. Portugal, Holland, France, England and America all more or less stained their good names in the years that followed—not only in the East and in the New World, but by heartless slave-raiding operations on the west coast of Africa. These facts are mentioned merely to indicate how utterly oblivious the nations of western Europe were to the rights of others when they emerged from their age-long isolation; and to draw attention to the fact that in many ways their attitude toward non-European nations was widely divergent from that of the Europe of two thousand years ago.

But—to be as brief as possible—from the Europe of the Renaissance thrilling with new life and aflame with new ambitions grew that overpowering industrial civilization of the West which at present dominates the world. Of the latter it may be asserted that it is the own child of the former, and that except in certain of its outward manifestations its attitude toward the non-European races was very similar until the earlier part of the last century. As a result of changed conditions and the new needs which its development dictated this industrial civilization no longer indulged in the bloody excesses and piracy which marked its precursor in the 15th and 17th centuries, but its methods clearly indicated that the view-point had not changed. Two salient characteristics of its attitude are especially worth attention. The first was its absolute conviction that everything Western was *per se* vastly superior to anything else to be found in the rest of the world. The second—and it was the corollary of the other—was its assumption that by reason of this infinite superiority "the great civilized nations of the West" were quite justified in annexing, governing and exploiting the rest of the world for their own advantage, and quite irrespective of the wishes of the people in the countries concerned.

If the writer is not mistaken this is the attitude of the average Western today, with certain reservations. He considers it beyond all dispute that the modern civilization of Europe and America is infinitely superior to any other civilization in the world. In fact we might go further and assert that he would only concede the civilization of any other race in so far as its system would fit in with his own. The mere fact that anyone was of his own stock would, in his opinion, entitle that individual to be considered civilized, while the civilization of an Asiatic, no matter how cultured, he would quite unconsciously hold open to question. He would suspect him "of ways that are dark and tricks that are vain," and could never quite persuade himself of the possibility of an outsider's attaining to a civilization equal to his own. And in all this his unexpressed

conviction will be apparent that there is no true civilization but his own. If the reader will consider for a moment he will perceive how fully this accounts for the attitude of the average Western to the people he comes in contact with in the East.

With the earlier phases of modern Western mental development it is not our purpose to deal in this paper. The later ones are much in evidence in these days and most enlightening. In acts more than in words the West has claimed the right to subordinate the wishes and aspirations of the rest of the world to the exigencies of that form of civilization which she has evolved for herself. There can be no doubt of this. In spite of the fact that she even now staggers torn and bleeding as a result of the peculiarities of her system, her confidence in it appears little shaken. What other conclusion can be drawn from the new system of mandatories she has just evolved? Does it not imply the conviction that she considers it her duty to guide the destinies of other races—races that do not appear likely to conform of themselves to the system she has evolved? Indeed one hears much loose talk about her duty to them, and the various aspects of "the white man's burden" are receiving a good deal of honest attention, yet down at the root of the matter is not the position of most people crudely this? "We, the enlightened nations, have evolved a superior form of civilization based upon an orderly system of barter and trade. Our programme includes the use of your raw materials which we consider vital to our welfare. We propose in exchange to sell you our manufactures, and if you are not yet sufficiently civilized to appreciate and desire them we shall take steps to make you so. If you consent to this and take no measures to protect your own industries at the expense of ours, we shall permit you to govern yourselves, provided always that no political exigency arises which would make it necessary for us to annex you. If this should ever become necessary we shall of course confer upon you the blessings of education and what little share in the management of your own affairs, your natural

lack of ability and incapacity makes possible."

This seems to the writer to express the average view-point of the West *at its best* until comparatively recently. At its worst it was merely a scramble to plant the flag of one's country upon the shore of any island or continent where the flag of no other powerful European country had been previously set up, and, quite irrespective of the wishes of its inhabitants, claim it as belonging to one's King.

During the early part of last century, however, a new spirit began to evince itself. Men began to understand that these many arbitrary acquisitions brought with them responsibilities to consider the welfare of the people upon whom they had forced their rule. At first there were only a few solitary voices raised on behalf of this new ideal, but with the years the vision grew until at the time of this writing the Imperial Government not only admits the right of the people of India to a present real share in the administration of their country, but also acknowledges that the time must come before long when Indians shall govern India within the Empire.

Yet here arises a difficulty. To admit a right is one thing; to have the courage to grant it quite another. Not only as regards India but also as regards the whole question of the relations of the present dominant races to the rest of the world, two schools of thought are fighting desperately—the old and the new. One represents the conviction of innate superiority involving the right to acquire and exploit without any reference to the desires and feelings of the exploited. The other—and so far as India is concerned Mr. Montagu seems to be its champion—represents the new spirit, and the one upon which the future welfare of the world must depend. It embodies the recognition of the right—not merely of every *Western* nation—but of every nation to what the late German Kaiser used to call "a place in the sun." It represents the honest attempt to make realities of the cant phrases and party catch-words of the last century, and as it grows and develops it will

come to include the recognition of the right of every race, whether great or small, to follow along orderly lines of progress its own destiny in accordance with its own desires and propensities. At present it has its limitations, but it carries within it the germ of mankind's political and social salvation, because its conceptions are deep-rooted upon the eternal bed-rock of justice.

The great question is—Will it triumph at this juncture? Or is it to be submerged by the older, grosser, more selfish conception? If it is, let the world beware. If the West decides to reject the new light—to still uphold its ancient claim of a right to annex, control and exploit the rest of mankind, irrespective of their wishes and feelings, a time will come when the nations of Europe and America will have to face, not only a yellow peril, but the peril of all the races whose feelings and rights they have outraged through the centuries. It will not be in our day; it may not even be in the days of our grandchildren; but it will surely come. The rest of mankind will rise in indignation and with a might which justice gives the wronged, and ask "By what authority do you arrogate to yourselves the right to parcel us among yourselves, to force us into treaties against our wills drawn up to your gain and our loss? You have denied us the right of entry into your own countries while claiming the right of entire freedom to do what you like in ours. Not only have you refused in your own lands any of the privileges you have claimed for yourselves in ours, but even in the lands of

our birth you have denied us the rights which are ours by every moral law. In what lies your justification when you force us to destroy our own systems of life and social economy so that we may adopt ourselves to your needs? We do not admit your right; we refuse in future to live at your dictation. Be gone! We will have no more of you."

We do not believe that such a situation will arise. We cannot believe that the old dark point of view will conquer. But if it does, and if as a result the world is plunged into such a sea of devastation and distress as it has never seen before, upon whom will the guilt lie? Surely not upon those races who after suffering coercion and wrong for a long period of years, rise to defend themselves and to win that freedom which every true Englishman and American values more than life.

No; there is no "Yellow Peril," and if the West be true to its highest ideals, earnestly endeavouring to give the less powerful nations those rights and opportunities which it values for itself, such a peril will never arise.

But if the counsels of the reactionaries prevail, this Peril must always be taken into consideration and recognised as a potent factor of the future. Yet in justice it should be called—not the "Yellow Peril," but the "White Peril," for those who inflict the wrong must be held responsible for the result.

Kotgarh,
June 19, 1919.

SAMUEL EVANS STOKES.

NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA THE BUSINESS OF THE STATE

BY LAJPAT RAI.

In my last educational article I have given long extracts from Mr. Fisher's speeches, because in my judgment they embody the fundamental principles of

national education, accepted by all competent authorities the world over. The schemes in force in different countries vary in detail, but the principles underlying them

are the same. To us in India Mr. Fisher's words are of greater significance than those of others, equally well placed, of other countries, because of our political connection with England. Here is the chief educational authority of the Empire, laying down certain principles and expounding truths which are, according to him, of general application in all self-respecting, progressively-minded communities. We, the Indians in India, are not yet free to determine our educational policy. Even with the promise of educational autonomy to provinces, the last word will practically remain with the Imperial Government. The progress of popular education in India must, for a long time, depend on the goodwill of the British officials in charge of policies, and vested with powers over revenues and funds. The words of a British minister of Education will be more to us in our discussions of educational policies and schemes than those of any other authority in any other part of the world. In the region of policy the example of Great Britain is the best for our purposes and I cannot sufficiently urge upon my countrymen the importance of using the British system as a fulcrum for the raising of educational standards in India.

This does not involve a blind imitation of British methods of education, nor does it mean that we should neglect to profit from what is being done by the other great nations of the world, especially the United States and Japan, in this department of their national life. But on the whole Britain can teach us much in this line.

In adopting Britain as our model, however, we are not bound to pass through the same processes of experiment and wastage through which she has passed in her educational evolution. It is the height of stupidity and ignorance to argue that the evolution of any nation must proceed on the same lines, as has that of those that are now in the vanguard of progress in the world. Why should not the younger marcher profit from the mistakes of those that have gone ahead? Why should he not avoid the wastage involved in the failures and blunders of others? Of what use is history if its warnings cannot be heeded by those

to whom they are available? Let us, therefore, be on our guard against the fallacious argument that we must grow through the same misakes, of which the others have been guilty in their growth towards freedom.

Nor does this mean that we can neglect the various stages of development through which we must pass before we can come up to the level of those who started long ago. What we require is a rational and a comprehensive scheme, taking note of the general principles which have come to be universally accepted all the world over, with special emphasis on our special needs, and with due consideration of the stage of social evolution in which we are and also of our resources.

Now we may assume that the following general principles of national education are accepted all over the civilised world:

1. That national education, being the surest and the most profitable national investment for gain, as well as the best and the most effectual insurance against loss, is as necessary for national safety as the military provision for its physical defence.

Among the lessons of this Great War, the most important, in my judgment, is the value of education to a fighter, from a military point of view. Personal bravery and courage must, as ever, continue to be an important element in war. But even more than that, the fate and safety of nations have come to depend on the intelligence and efficiency of its fighting units. Wars are now virtually fought in schools. The numbers matter a great deal, but even much more than the numbers matter intelligence, skill, efficiency and discipline. Then, again, the efficiency of a nation does not mean merely military efficiency; the latter is so much wound up with its economic and industrial efficiency.

Economic and industrial efficiency does not mean the mere possession of gold and silver, but the brains and capacity of the whole nation to turn the gold and silver and other raw materials into modern arms and ammunitions—ships, submarines, aeroplanes, guns and bullets are only the concrete, completed forms, containing numerous other parts, the manufacture of

each of which requires technical skill of the highest order—and, last but not least, food and hospital necessities. Assuming, therefore, that security from without is the first duty of a State, popular, universal education alone can make it possible under modern conditions.

The war has conclusively established the fact that the idea of a mercenary standing army, consisting mostly of illiterate units, is an obsolete one; also that India cannot be defended by British people alone; nor can India depend upon Great Britain for its supply of the sinews of war, be they arms and ammunitions or the numerous other things found vital in modern warfare. If the British had foreseen this and equipped India for the inevitable struggle, they could have crushed their enemy in comparatively less time, and with greater facility. Universal education of the best modern type is, therefore, an absolute necessity for the future security of India and, for all that, for the best interests of the Empire, which require that the human resources of the Indian Empire should be economized to the fullest extent. It is a crime to let them be wasted so flagrantly as they have been until now.

Universal popular education must be provided by the State and should be the first charge on State revenues. Any attempt to provide for national education by private agencies and private funds, is futile, and to attempt it is to attempt the impossible. Moreover, it diverts public attention from the State.

A national system of education must be provided for, enforced, financed and controlled by the nation, and in performing that function the nation must be represented by the State. It may be pointed out, as has in fact been done by Mr. B. G. Tilak, in his views on national education, that in India the nation, not being represented by the State, that function must devolve, at least for some time, on private national agencies. The remedy, in my judgment, lies in concentrating our energies on the task of converting the State into a national agency. Along with that, we can use what powers we have or are conceded to us under the new scheme, for

insisting on the State providing for universal national education befitting the needs of the nation and guaranteeing in war, as well as in peace, the fullest use and development of our human and industrial resources.

National education must be provided by the nation, and whether the State is representative of the nation or not, it must be made to provide for it. The nation should be made conscious of this.

2. The old idea that the State was only concerned with making provision for elementary education, is also gone. All over the world it is recognized that the duty of the State does not end with elementary education. The economic and industrial efficiency of the nation depends upon technical and industrial education, and that also must be provided by the State. Nor can the State ignore the necessity of higher education, for intelligent and efficient leadership depends on that.

3. Education does not consist in imparting certain amounts of book knowledge and teaching the three R's. It includes the provision for the physical development of the young. It embraces a provision for the general health of the child, including feeding if necessary, to such an extent as to ensure the fullest benefit to the child from the provision for his education made by the State.

4. In short, the duty of bringing up and educating the child with a view to make him an efficient, intelligent and prudent citizen, lies on the State, and the State must be made to fulfil it. It no longer depends on the capacity or willingness of the parents.

Some great thinkers and educationalists, such as Spinoza, have maintained that the Government will, if it controls the education of the nation, "aim to restrain, rather than develop the energies of men." Kant remarked the same differently.

The function of education, in the eyes of a dominant class, is to produce skilled but obedient men, as distinguished from self-thinking and self-reliant men. This theory presupposes the predominance of a particular class in the Governance of the nation. Democratic ideals of government bar any such assumptions. The Imperial British Government has pledged itself to the deve-

lopment of responsible Government on democratic lines in India. Our own ideal is the same. It may be that, so long as we do not get full responsible government, national education will more or less be under the thumb of the dominant class, but then the remedy lies in our own hands. Constant vigilance, constant agitation, constant education of the public mind, will be our duty, so long as the goal is not reached and when the goal is reached, our policy will be completely in our hands. Then there will be no danger of the control of education falling into hands other than those of the future Fishers of India.

At no time can or will private efforts to further education be dispensed with. Pending the development of full national Government, private effort must do a great deal of what the Government fails to do. In short, private efforts should supplement the efforts of the Government, without any pretence of supplanting it or doing what it is the latter's duty to do, and what it can, under the circumstances, be forced to do.

Private efforts, therefore, should be directed to fill up the gap left by State education, and also to supply the particular needs of particular classes with a view to bring up every class in the nation, to the level of general national efficiency. It seems that education is one of the subjects under the new scheme (which, at the time of writing, I have not seen) regarding which full responsibility is going to be thrown on Provincial Legislatures. Provincial Legislatures are already legislating in some provinces at least, giving the local bodies power to declare it compulsory and to provide for it. Now, sitting at such a distance, I am unable to say much about these moves. As at present advised, I am inclined to think that this may be the proverbial vicious circle in which things move in India.

We have seen from Mr. Fisher's speeches that in England the policy is laid down by the national Government, and the bulk of funds are provided by them. For every 17 millions sterling, provided by the local rates, the national purse has been giving 16 millions and the present Government, in spite of the awful strain of the war on its

finances, has sanctioned the additional grant of another four millions from the national purse, thus making the national contribution twenty millions as against the 17 millions realized from local rates.

What is going to happen in India, I don't know, but of one thing I am certain in my mind, that the general outline of a scheme of national education in India must be laid down by an All-India agency, leaving the actual working out of the details to the Provincial and local bodies. This all-India agency must have a majority of Indians on its personnel, and the policy laid down by them must be accepted by the Government, subject to the limitation of funds. What is needed is a national policy, a national scheme, and a maximum grant of national funds for the purpose, to be supplemented by Provincial taxes and local rates. Of course, the first need of the nation is more schools and more teachers. The second is good schools and good, contented teachers. The third is vocational schools, including schools for instruction in commerce and foreign languages. The fourth is technological institutes. The fifth is continuation schools. The sixth is more high schools and more universities.

I do not suggest that all this should not be done simultaneously. But I believe that the bulk of the available funds must be reserved, for some time to come, for more schools and more teachers, to give instruction to the children of the nation on national lines.

In my judgment, the first ten years of our national effort should be *mainly* devoted to (a) the increase of literacy; (b) the production of literate, skilled labour conscious of its rights as human beings, and conscious of its rights as members of the body politic; (c) multiplication and training of the teachers with as great an increase in their remuneration as may be possible under the circumstances. It should be the duty of the State to provide higher technological and agricultural institutes in selected localities, in sufficient numbers to enable the nation to develop its mineral, agricultural, and industrial resources. It should be the aim of the State to fill up these institutes with Indian expert talent, which, if not

forthcoming at once, should be gradually but steadily introduced as competent men, trained in foreign countries as Government scholars, or otherwise, return.

If Mr. Fisher was right, as undoubtedly he was, in saying that national education is not only an investment, but an insurance as well, I see no reason why education in India should not be provided for, pushed and furthered wherever necessary, by supplementing the amounts made available for the purpose, from the taxes and the rates, by raising additional national debt. If it was legitimate to raise money by loans for railways, and for defence and for contribution to the Imperial War Fund, why is it not legitimate to raise funds for national education and the development of essential national industries by the same means?

At this stage I may as well give another passage from one of Mr. Fisher's speeches. When addressing the manufacturers and business men of Bradford, he asked them if it does "not often happen in the management of a business that you find yourself compelled to face an additional outlay in order to get full value from the outlay that you have already made? And what is true of individual business is true of national business."

In order to get full value for the outlay which India has made on railways, canals and the frontier defences, it is necessary to develop the intelligence, the productive power and capacity of the nation (its defensive and offensive capacity), as well as its capacity to compete with other nations on equal terms in industries and manufacture. The raising of the nation's intelligence and skill, the improvement of its physique and the development of its earning capacity is as important, if not more, as railways, canals and forts. Sometimes it seems to me that in India the cart has been put before the horse.

My argument is that there are certain things which can only be done by the State and must be done by the State; that the State should do these things even by incurring financial obligations in the nature of public debts, if the current finances are not sufficient or adequate to do them on any decent scale; and that universal elementary education and a widespread provision for the training of teachers, and an equally widespread provision for vocational and technical education, both of the lower and higher order, are among those things which cannot be postponed without risk of serious danger to the political safety of the nation.

These things, being provided for by the State on a scale commensurate with the needs of the nation, private effort should be unsparing to contribute to the rest. All privately endowed colleges and academies should be allowed to develop into universities, conducting their own examinations, giving their own diplomas and conferring their own degrees. All research work in classical language, in history and philosophy, in logic and mental and moral sciences as well as in social sciences, may be left to them. The State-maintained colleges and the State universities should mainly concern themselves with scientific education, scientific development and research, and with the natural development of the country. Not that the State and the nation have no interest in the former. Oh! no, the nation is interested in everything that develops and aids efficiency in the individual, as well as in the classes, and more so in leadership, but for the time being the above-mentioned division of labor between the State and private enterprise in education may be the best way of collaboration to economise our resources and get the best possible results from them.

THE LIFE OF AN INDIAN MILL LABOURER

I.

THE time has fully come when those who have the welfare of the Indian poor deeply at heart should study closely and carefully the condition of the labourers working in the Mills at our great industrial centres. Nothing is more disappointing in the long Report of the Industrial Commission than to note the scanty attention that has been paid to this subject and the inconclusive results which have been reached by the Commissioners. The Report, from beginning to end, has been written from the capitalist's point of view, and labour is treated in a cursory and haphazard way.

I cannot pretend to any elaborate or detailed study of the Indian problem of labour, nevertheless I will venture to put down in as simple and untechnical a manner as possible some of the experiences I have gained from living for a short time among the mill labourers in Madras and the difficulties that have thus been brought before me. The first-hand information which I received by actual residence has seriously set me thinking, and I have a hope that, if I relate some of these thoughts while they are still fresh in my mind, it may help others who are working at the same problem to take courage in their work and press forward. For the cause is a great one.

Nowhere in the world, except in Japan and China, are cotton mills worked at such long hours and under such exhausting climatic conditions as in India. The Indian Factory Act allows a working day of twelve hours' full work, the only stipulation being that there must be an interval of half an hour, in the course of the day's work, during which the machines are not to be used. The Mill may therefore run from 6-30 a.m. in the morning to 7 p.m. at night, with only an interval of half an hour in the middle of the day for food and

rest. When we compare such a day with that common in English or American mills, we find that the Indian mills are kept running between twenty-four and thirty hours longer each week than those in the industrial West. The Indian mills run for 72 hours per week, the mills in England and America run between 42 and 48 hours per week.

Now let us consider how this actually tells upon an average working man's life. I will take a record from the notes which I made while living near the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, in Madras. The man I questioned told me that he had nearly five miles to walk every day before he got to the Mill. In order, therefore, to be punctual, without any danger of a lock out, he had to get up before half-past four,—because he needed some coffee and a little food before starting and he allowed a margin of ten minutes in order to be on the safe side. When he reached his work, he would have to stand at the loom from six o'clock to twelve o'clock with hardly any pause or break. Then at twelve o'clock he would have forty minutes allowed him in which to get his food, which consisted mainly of cold rice and a little currie. He had to get back to his loom punctually at twenty minutes to one, and to go on standing at his loom working until six o'clock in the evening. He told me that he usually reached home some time after half-past seven, and then he would obtain his first properly cooked meal. He went on to describe to me how, when he reached home, he was so tired, that he usually, after taking his food, went straight off to bed. He hardly saw his children at all, except on Sundays.

The man who gave me these details was a respectable working man, drawing good pay, and it will be noticed that these Mills in Madras do not work up to the maximum limit of the Factory Act Regulations. They give forty minutes' interval

for food instead of thirty minutes, and work 11½ hours instead of twelve.

But what a life to have to lead all the year round! What drudgery, what monotony! There is scarcely a break in it, except the weekly Sunday, and a very scanty list of religious festivals,—six or seven days in all, besides Sundays, in the course of the year. One has to take into account the heat and noise and dust inside the mills; the strain of standing for such long hours without a break; the practical certainty, sooner or later, of digestive troubles owing to badly-cooked or fermented food; the discomfort of the rainy season, walking through the mud, arriving wet through, often contracting chest and lung diseases, which are aggravated by the cotton fluff that is always flying about and getting into the throat. It must be remembered that there are no workmen's compensation or sick insurance acts in India, as in the West,—no fund to draw from in case of illness. What a life!

I asked this man whether he had to work the whole six hours *standing*. He said that the men were allowed to go out for a short time in turns to the latrines, by getting a pass, and some men stayed there to smoke. But the work was piece-work and the managers would 'speed up' one man against another, and besides this there were overseers who were ready to come down on any man, if he was away too long.

Another question I asked him was about the housing of the workmen.

"Why," I questioned him, "do you live so far away from your work?"

"It is difficult," he replied, "to get even a single room near at hand. They have all been taken up, and besides, I don't like the people's habits near the Mill. I have a wife and children to bring up, and I prefer to live some distance away."

He told me that a considerable number of the mill labourers did as he did, especially the more respectable ones. Some lived even further away still.

I have taken this example for one of the best managed Mills in India, where the Company has done a great deal to help the men. If, notwithstanding all this, the con-

ditions of this workman's life were so exacting, what must be the case in those Mills where the Factory Act is always strained to its full limits and dirt and filth and foul atmosphere and insanitary latrines are the common daily experience? I have seen a Mill of this latter type, and there the labourer's lot must have been much harder than that which I have just depicted,—though, possibly, the slackness of oversight could give the workman a greater margin for slackness in his turn.

This brings me to a third type of Mill, which interested me greatly and made me study anew the question of the length of hours. Here, the Mill was in no sense conducted on what might be called antiquated or slovenly lines. There were no filthy floors or badly built rooms, with foul air and stifling heat. Every thing was quite up-to-date. The owners prided themselves on this fact. The passages and gangways were kept perfectly clear, and the latrine arrangements were modern and sanitary. The rooms were well situated for light and air and space, and there was no foul atmosphere. But, because labour was difficult to retain, on account of competition from other Mills, the great object of the managing body was to make labourers feel quite at ease and so come to prefer this Mill to any other. This was effected by employing an over-plus of workmen to run the machines, paying them good wages, and then permitting each labourer a margin of leisure to go out and smoke or sleep, while the labourer next to him kept an eye on his machine, which would be kept running while he was away. This relaxation would be allowed, turn and turn about. The manager himself told me that very few men did more than eight hours' solid work in the course of the day. I noticed that the morning meal was eaten within the Mill. When it was brought in, the men would sit down in little groups and eat it, while their fellow-workmen looked after the looms of the absentees. In this way the whole Mill had its breakfast, not in the interval, but during actual working hours. The men under these conditions, were contented and the Mill was popular.

I asked the manager, if it would not be possible to work the Mill more efficiently by having a shorter working day and less going out to have a 'rest'. The manager stated his own opinion, that this leisurely method of work was more suited to the Indian climate and the Indian labourer's habits. It was expensive, for it meant a large overstock of workers; but this was compensated,—when compared with Lancashire,—by the cheap cost of labour and also by the greater number of hours per week that the machines could be run.

There are thus clearly two or three different types of Mill in India, not one kind only. There are the old, badly constructed, badly arranged, and badly managed Mills, working up to the very limits of the Factory Act, and beyond those limits where it is safe to do so. These Mills are often the curse of the country. They sweat their working men in a disgraceful manner, and do not impart to them any new ideas of order, method or cleanliness. Secondly, there are the Mills, which keep well within the hours prescribed by the Factory Act and are thoroughly up to date and modern, but take the last ounce of labour out of the workmen by rewards as well as by punishments, always dealing with the fear and cupidity of the labourer at the same time, offering bonuses and prizes on the one hand and threatening with penalties on the other. These up-to-date Mills have usually a large staff of overseers and foremen, who 'drive' the men all through the day. There is a certain educational value in Mills of this kind; they drill the workmen into punctuality, order and business efficiency. But it is a hard process, in which only the fittest survive. The waste product—the men thrown back as useless,—is enormous. The race is indeed to the swift and the rewards are to the strong: but the weak are cast out on to the rubbish heap, and our pity goes out to them. And then, last of all, there is the type of Mill, which I have just sketched, wherein slackness of a certain type is allowed and the pace is made rather by the average man than by the strong man greedy for money. Here too the educational results are not slight, while

at the same time there is much less wear and tear.

I have mentioned already the question of competition with Japan and it is likely to loom larger in the future. I have visited Japan and enquired into the condition of the cotton industry there. From all that I could gather, I feel certain that the strain of the work, especially upon the women, is far greater than in India. The way the pace is forced appears to me to be quite unnatural and abnormal and a nemesis is certain to follow later on. Coming out direct from leisurely India to strenuous Japan I could see, and almost personally feel, the nervous tension. The labour also appeared to be 'sweated' labour, not organised for self-protection as in America and England, and yet drawn from a congested and needy population.

I have brought in this Japanese problem because it confronts us in India at every turn. It is the one final argument, difficult to meet, which seems to stand in the way of an immediate shortening of the factory hours. For instance, the following argument was used when I talked the subject over with certain employers of labour in Madras:—

"We would be only too glad," they said to me, "if we could have a shorter working day in our Mills. We have given evidence to that effect before the Factory Commission. But the shorter hours agreed upon must be the standard for all India, not for Madras only."

"Certainly," I replied, "let us get to work and persuade the Bombay people to fall into line. For instance, why not advocate a ten hours working day?"

"You will never," they answered. "induce the Bombay people to agree, till Japan comes into line as well; and that won't happen in a day."

In this argument we are brought up at once face to face with the international problem of modern industry. We have seen recently how the labour representatives at the Peace Conference have argued, that not only military war, but also commercial war must cease, and disarmament must begin on the commercial side of life as well as in the military sphere. There

is a 'poison gas' whereby a neighbouring country is flooded with sweated goods, just as there is that by which armies are stricken on the battle-field. Commerce itself may become another form of militarism, no less ruthless than ordinary war.

How far this argument concerning Japan holds good, will come up for consideration in the concluding section of this paper.

Shantiniketan.

C. F. ANDREWS.

MOVEMENTS IN INDIAN LITERATURE SINCE 1850

I

THE influence of England on India has been most marked and most beneficial in the department of thought, and this result has been achieved without any pressure from the Government. The vernacular languages of India have been wonderfully developed and in some cases almost evolutionised by the example of English and the needs of the modern age. In one sense our literary language has become both simpler and harder. Though poetry was very highly developed in many of the vernaculars of India before the 19th century, prose was in a crude and primitive condition everywhere. It wanted flexibility, variety of expression, and naturalness of movement, because the learned cared to write only in Sanskrit or Persian, and if the vernacular was used at all by them it was used for writing poetry. (Letters and official papers were written in vernacular prose, but they are not literature). The prose written in the early British period was overloaded with heavy Sanskrit and Arabic words and was as remote as possible from the spoken language of the home and the street.

Vernacular prose, specially in Bengal and Bombay, received a great impetus from the missionaries who published translations from the Bible, sermons and controversial treatises in it. But the style was stiff and foreign, and hardly influenced our men of letters. A few vernacular prose works were also published under the patronage of the Government, for the use of the officials

studying in the College of Fort William. The necessity of supplying such officers with text books was one incentive to the creation of a prose literature.

But a literature cannot be really developed except by literary geniuses. And such appeared in Bengal in the middle of the 19th century in the persons of Michael Madhu Sudan Dutta, the poet, and Pundit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, the prose-writer. Both of them greatly modernised the Bengali tongue and made it a proper vehicle for expressing the varied thoughts and feelings of modern life. Both followed the classical style, i.e., used Sanskrit words by preference and avoided colloquial or homely expressions. But at the same time, there was no stiffness, no pedantry, no obscurity in their style, and their genius was shown in combining clearness, sweetness and beauty of expression with strength and purity of diction and a certain music of sound.

The Bengali newspapers of the time also employed a classical but flexible and fairly simple prose. In Urdu the old Muhammadan models continued to be followed for a generation after Vidyasagar; but within the past 30 years a new school of Urdu writers have risen who aim at a simpler, more vigorous and more flexible style in imitation of modern English Prose. What Vidyasagar had achieved in Bengali was achieved in Hindi 20 years after him by Harish Chandra, who introduced a simple, varied but sweet and vigorous prose, rather less Sanskritised than that of Vidyasagar. But the influence of Bengali on

Harish Chandra is unmistakable. A similar transformation of Marathi prose took place in the last quarter of the 19th century; and it is correct to say in general that to-day nearly in all the vernaculars of India, literary prose has assumed a simple and natural structure, and the old rigid structures have been discarded, chiefly through the influence of the novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji.

The Indian drama has been completely changed since the middle of the 19th century and is now really a close imitation of the modern English drama. The classical Sanskrit model of Kalidas's time has been entirely discarded. In style, plot, characterisation and scenery, the modern drama, in Bengali, Urdu, Hindi and Marathi, is an open imitation of the English drama. Many English plays have been bodily translated, many have been adapted in a modified form, and only a few miracle-plays of the mediæval Hindu type still survive to remind us of the old. In the earlier vernacular dramas of the British period a highly Sanskritised prose was spoken and there were long metrical speeches and outbursts as in the French drama before Victor Hugo. But very soon afterwards a colloquial prose was adopted which still holds the field. Thus the Indian drama was completely anglicised, much more quickly than our literary prose.

Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar merely marks a transition stage in the development of Bengali prose. He improved it no doubt, but he did not proceed far enough in the direction of simplifying and modernising it. Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novels indicate a long step in advance. The basis of his style is still the so-called "pure", i.e., Sanskrit vocabulary, but his sentences are shorter and simpler than those of Vidyasagar and he has a richer variety of expression and of feeling and far wider interests than the writings of Vidyasagar. He at first avoided colloquial expressions, but they got into his later novels. Long Sanskrit compounds are frequent in his earlier novels; but towards the close of his literary career his style became simpler and more easily intelligible to the common people. He, however, retained to the end

the literary or strictly grammatical structure of sentences, and did not adopt the prose that is actually spoken by the people in their daily life.

II

The third stage in the development of Bengali literature is represented by Rabindranath Tagore. We shall discuss only his prose here. More than forty years ago, he and his fellow-workers in the monthly magazine *Bharati* deliberately avoided Bankim's Sanskritised vocabulary and used a simpler and more colloquial style without absolutely reproducing the language of the man in the street. The conservative critics raised a hue and cry that the "purity" of the language was being destroyed by these innovators. But this simple prose went to the hearts of millions of readers, who were ignorant of Sanskrit and could understand very little of formal literary Bengali. The success of the new style was also indicated by the rise of a large number of imitators, and it is now the prevailing prose style except with a few pandits and writers on abstruse philosophical subjects.

Another solvent on Bengali prose style has been the growth of public oratory, both religious and political, and the almost phenomenal progress of the Bengali newspapers intended for the vast lower middle class. These orators and journalists have naturally adopted a style that is most readily understood by the millions, because they want to make converts to their views. (This simplification of Bengali prose has its parallel in the simple English style that Addison introduced after England became a democracy as the result of the Revolution of 1688.) The most popular literature of to-day, namely novels and dramas, are written in very much easier and shorter sentences than those of even Bankim, though they often lack the vigour, grandeur and variety of Bankim's style.

For the last ten years an acute controversy has been going on in Bengal about introducing into books the exact grammatical structure and pronunciation of the language of the man in the street at Calcutta. Rabindranath has been experimenting in

this line in prose and verse alike during the last 5 or 6 years. His opponents are, first, the writers of Eastern Bengal, who argue that while literary Bengali is one for the whole country, colloquial Bengali differs in every district and the adoption of the latter in books would destroy the literary unity of Bengal, as the dialect of Dacca cannot be appreciated at Calcutta except in comedies, and the dialect of Calcutta would attract no readers in East Bengal.

The second class of opponents of colloquialism consists of the writers imbued with the spirit of the Sanskrit classics who insist that literary language should have a certain dignity and polish of form, which the spoken dialect of the man in the street does not possess. Experiments in pure colloquialism in serious prose and imitation of some of the mufasil dialects are being published in the monthly magazine *Sabuj Patra*, which is also ardently defending this movement. Literary or grammatical Bengali, more or less sanskritised, is strenuously advocated by the two magazines *Narayana* and *Sahitya*.*

III

The modern English drama was adopted in all its features in Bengali about 1860. At first historical plays were very popular, and large numbers of them were written. Translations and more frequently adaptations of Shakespeare were also staged for some time, but no translation of Shakespeare into any Indian vernacular has been made by any literary genius, and consequently the great poet is not worthily represented in our theatres. In the eighties of the last century religious dramas became popular and almost monopolised the Bengali stage for a quarter of a century. But these plays written with a purpose have not become literary classics. In the course of the last four years the Vernacular

stage in most provinces in India has greatly deteriorated and the plays are, with a few honourable exceptions, low intellectual performances with plenty of music and dances for which alone the audience care. Their moral tone is distinctly low and from the artistic point of view also these dramas are very poor works.

Dinabandhu Mitra was the first great dramatic genius in modern Bengali and excelled in comedy. His works have deservedly become classics. D. L. Roy, in the next generation, was also a great author and excelled in historical plays and lyrics. His dramas are second only to Dinabandhu's and miss perfection only because he wrote too fast, pruned and polished too little, and did not always work at his best. Girish Chandra Ghose, the actor and playwright, was the ideal of Bengali play-goers for a generation. But he had great industry, range of reading, and power of adaptation rather than original genius. Again, his profession compelled him to write voluminously, producing two and sometimes three plays in a year; hence much of his work will be forgotten by posterity. Rabin-dranath has attempted the drama; but though he has attained a high level of excellence and avoided glaring defects, yet his genius is not dramatic, and he has not produced any immortal work in this branch of literature. His shorter dramatic dialogues, or rather "Imaginary Conversations" in verse, are masterly. Two of his smaller and lighter plays, namely, *Saradotsava* (The Autumn Festival) and *Goray Galad* (Initial Blunder) are first-rate productions. Recently he has been writing mystical plays like the *King of the Dark Chamber*, the *Post Office*, *Achalayatan* (the Stereotyped Cathedral Chapter).

The Hindi theatre was modernised by Harish Chandra and his plays are still deservedly popular on account of their easy and yet strong and dignified style, excellence of ideas, and general literary finish. He is admittedly an imitator of Bengali literature.

But the present-day Hindi stage is occupied almost exclusively by religious plays of the primitive kind and sensational dramas or love-plays of a low moral and

* Whatever the theoretical contentions of the editors of these magazines may be, in practice they welcome and publish many contributions written in language far different from what Prof. Sarkar says they advocate,—language which often degenerates into vulgar Calcutta slang.—Ed., *M. R.*

intellectual type, often adapted from low-class English dramas through the medium of Urdu.

The Urdu theatre is a disgrace to our society and danger to the aesthetic faculty and morality alike. The greatest writers like Shakespeare go through a degrading perversion in the Urdu adaptations and become absolutely vulgarised.

In the Marathi theatre music preponderates, and no great dramatic genius has yet appeared.

IV

The new spirit in Indian Literature: The example of the modern European literatures and of English translations of the classics which are so dissimilar in character to the old products of the Indian authors, has caused a new birth in our vernacular literature. We have described above the extent and sources of the imitation of the European *forms* in the modern literatures of India. The change in the *spirit* has been even more striking. Happily, no foolish attempt was made to transplant European literature into India wholesale; but our authors have shown their genius by assimilating the spirit of the West and often giving expression to it in an Eastern garb. The greatest changes have been the growth of the modern drama and the modern novel in nearly all the Indian vernaculars. The change in poetry has been striking but not wholesale. The cast-iron rigidity of metrical forms sanctioned by the old books on prosody and the slavish imitation of the Sanskrit classical models, have given place to far more varied and often lighter metres. Deliberate attempts have been made with considerable success by a long line of Bengali poets from Madhusudan Dutta to Rabindranath Tagore to adapt in Bengali various English metres, especially lyric forms; and we find the same phenomenon in Hindi and Marathi poetry, though 50 years after Bengali.

Now, in respect of spirit, our first great gain has been the analysis of character. Here European models are followed even by commonplace Indian writers, while in the hands of geniuses like Bankim and

Rabindranath a degree of excellence is reached in characterisation not inferior to that of the greatest European authors. Secondly, historic truth and local colour are now scrupulously observed by all our authors who care for their reputation. Hence, their writings are more life-like, more marked by naturalness and individuality and less conventional than the pre-British literature of India. Thirdly, the old theological dogmas, legends of saints and miracles of the gods or hackneyed novels which formed the subject-matter of our older literature have given place to the treatment of modern social, ethical and political problems. Our best writers now are didactic, i.e., they write with the purpose of teaching certain principles or theories. All the novels of Bankim's later days and the plays, poems and stories of Rabindranath in his maturity, deal with such problems and suggest solutions to the reader. At the present moment the theories of Ibsen, Maeterlinck and Bernard Shaw are finding expression in Bengali literature, sometimes in direct translation, but more often in adaptation. In one word, the best of our vernacular literatures have ceased to be medieval and are becoming modern not only in form but in spirit also. The new spirit shows itself in a wider, more natural, healthier and more rational outlook upon life. Orthodoxy has been completely discredited in literature, though it still rules society.

Even in the treatment of a subject like love, though it was well-known to our authors of the ancient classical period and though a minute analysis of it and a considerable variety of its moods are to be found in the mediaeval Vaishnava poetry, yet the example of English literature has enriched our modern poets' works with greater delicacy, greater thoughtfulness and a wider variety than was known in our country in the past. (Rabindranath is the best example of this gain.)

The influence of Europe has enriched our literature also by kindling our nationalistic spirit and developing our historical sense. Historical novels and plays have become popular. The Indian mind has swept away the petty barriers of caste distinctions,

provincial isolation, and linguistic differences and risen to a sense of the oneness of us all. This awakened sense of nationality has added a manly and noble element to the Indian literature of our day. In plot, in treatment of subjects, in the general characteristics of style, it approximates to the spirit of Europe, though retaining the

distinct features of our vernacular languages and contributing a peculiar Indian element to the store-house of modern thought. Hence the best things in modern Indian literature do not appear utterly foreign or grotesque in the eyes of European readers.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

WILLIAM ARCHER'S "INDIA AND THE FUTURE"

BY LAJPAT RAI.

III.

IN Chapters IV, V, & VI, Mr. Archer discusses "Hindu Spirituality," "Caste and its concomitant", and "Manners." In the first article we have made some general observations on this part of Mr. Archer's book. The object of his criticism in these chapters is explained thus :

"Until Hindu patriotism is dissociated from irrational arrogance, and associated with rational humility, the advance of the mass of the people towards self-respecting intelligence must inevitably be slow."

I, for one, am in full sympathy with this object. But that does not imply that I admit the gratuitous assumption made by Mr. Archer about Hindu arrogance. Barring a few utterances which may be rightly put down as rhetoric, no sensible Indian has ever been guilty of "irrational arrogance". Arrogance is hardly ever rational unless Mr. Archer desires to characterise his, as such. Nor do we fully understand what he means by "rational humility." But Mr. Archer is an English writer of repute and I, a foreigner, should not presume to criticise his language.

The Indian masses have no arrogance at all. If they had, they would not have submitted to foreign rule for so long. Nor can that charge be laid at the door of the old-fashioned Pandits and Maulvis. They are "irrationally" humble, if we may use such an expression. Are the English-educated classes then arrogant? Decidedly not. Some of them have only recently started paying the white man in his own coin. There are some reactionaries who have been encouraged to justify and excuse every Hindu custom by their English masters, as also to deprecate the adoption of European manners and European standards. So, it is hardly fair to hurl this charge in such a sweeping fashion, against us. The truth is that the English in India were so much accustomed to a display of "irrational" humility on the part of the

Indians, that the new spirit of independence, which sometimes starts extolling the Indian civilization to the detriment of the European, galls their sense of pride and they call it arrogance. There is no arrogance, however, though occasionally there is an exhibition of false pride and a tendency to underestimate the difficulties of the situation. So far back as 1915 in one of the articles I contributed to the *Modern Review*, I warned my countrymen against the dangers of over-sanguineness. "While pessimism is positively harmful as dispiriting and discouraging, optimism may be misleading as tending to produce a frame of mind which is always sanguine, prone to belittle difficulties and to neglect very necessary precautions.*" The best and the safest course, therefore, will be to steer clear of extreme views, to weigh the situation as accurately as may be possible in the light of our own history***. Practical wisdom lies in eschewing over-estimating as well as under-estimating. While it is no good under-estimating our difficulties and over-estimating our capacities, it is perhaps more harmful to have a very low opinion of ourselves and our people.* We have so long been in doubt about ourselves, about the world, and about the good in the world, that it is time to exchange this latter attitude of mind for confidence in self, confidence in our people and hope for a better future."

Now, when I was a boy at school, and later, even when at college, the atmosphere around me was one of extreme under-estimation and humility. For over three quarters of a century the educated Hindus had accepted the word of the missionary about their religion and their past. The missionaries had made even a much lower estimate of us, our culture and our capacity than Mr. Archer has now done. The study of Sanskrit was then at a discount. We knew almost nothing of our history, except what was told us by our masters. Giving credit to our foreign censors for honesty, truthful-

ness and good faith, we almost implicitly believed what they said. That is perhaps the kind of "rational humility" which Mr. Archer wants us again to adopt. Then came the reaction, the most important force to bring it about being "the irrational arrogance" and the sweeping condemnation of everything Hindu by the former. I am free to confess that the spirit of retaliation did in a small degree introduce an element of boastfulness in the educated Hindu, and has done some harm to the cause of social and religious reform. But on the whole, its effect has been marvellously healthy. The ways of abject humility and of servile prudence are not the ways of progress. So long as the leading intelligence of the country prove their claim to that position by seeing things in juster proportion there is no danger of an uncalled-for emphasis on the other side. I am not aware of many Indians of education and position to whom Mr. Archer's description of the tendency towards arrogance can apply.

The reformers may be classified as follows:

- (a) The members of the Brahmo Samaj.
- (b) The members of the Arya Samaj.
- (c) Social Reformers.
- (d) Theosophists.
- (e) Sanatanists.
- (f) Free-thinkers.

There is hardly anything really valuable in Mr. Archer's criticism of Hinduism against which all these classes have not raised their voice. The degree of vehemence with which they have denounced the evil customs has been determined in each case by their estimate of the rate at which progress is or was possible. Mr. Archer pleads for "a patient and resolute struggle", a language, very similar to that which is or has often been used by the advocates of extreme caution and slow progress. Let me assure Mr. Archer that the number of Col. Olcott's followers is greater in the West than in India. By that I do not mean any disparagement of Col. Olcott. I have no doubt in my mind that there is a larger percentage of *educated men* in the West who deserve to be called "credulous" than in India. There are more Roman Catholics, Christian Scientists, believers in healing by faith, spiritualists and believers in magic, among the educated men and women of the United States, than in the corresponding classes of India. Now I do not say that these people are really credulous. I express no opinion against them. But according to Mr. Archer's ideas of credulousness they may possibly be so. Amongst the *educated* in India, there are not many who believe in palmistry or fortune-telling or magic, while in my small experience in the West, I have met hundreds of University graduates, men and women, who are crazy after their fortunes being told. Now this is no sign of degeneracy, because these men and women are extremely efficient and rational otherwise. As to the particular instance of "credulity" relied upon by

Mr. Archer on the authority of Professor Oman, let me tell him with all "humility", that there are a great many "rational" westerners who believe, that the world moves in a circle, that there is nothing really new in the scientific developments of the modern age, and that the existence of words in ancient languages denoting the ideas which are embodied in these scientific developments, is evidence presumptive of their having been known to the world at some previous stage of its history. Mr. Archer would at once come down upon me, if I were to base my conclusions as to the mental or spiritual capacity of the West, upon these "insanities." The truth is, that in these respects, there is more of "insanity" in the world all round, than otherwise. I wonder, if Mr. Archer can tell me what percentage of the western humanity is entirely free from it. A "sane" world would not have started this war. A "sane" world would not give a copy of the Bible to every combatant. A sane world would not use the best products of man's intelligence for the purposes of sheer destruction. A sane world would not tolerate the horrible conditions of modern industrial life. A sane world would not tolerate the existing unequal distribution of wealth. A sane world would not punish people for their opinions nor send them to years of imprisonment for stealing a loaf of bread. A sane world would have no need of night Courts, or of "tombs" or of big prisons or of so many lunatic asylums. Mr. Archer will come across many such "insanities" in Mr. Upton Sinclair's articles on the "profits of religion" which are being published in his monthly issued from Pasadena, Los Angeles, U. S. A. Why, as a matter of fact, there is more of insanity in the West than in the East. A sane world would not call upon God to help in the murder of their fellow-beings. The fact is, that neither the East nor the West are in a position to throw stones; neither are, or have ever been, perfectly or entirely "sane". Yet we have to admit that there is a sufficient amount of sanity in the world to enable it to go on. The mere facts of power and wealth are not evidences of greater sanity. Else we should have to admit that Chengis Khan and Tamerlane were saner than Darwin, Huxley, Buddha and Christ. The same may be said about "rational" sanity, if one can use such an expression.

At this stage I might state my own point of view. I believe (a) that once India had a great civilization, the greatest of *that age*, which lasted quite up to the beginning of the Christian era. That does not mean that the India of that time was quite free from "insanity" or "credulity" or even of "barbarism". (b) That India's degradation and fall was brought about by an abnormal increase in the volume of this "insanity", "credulity" and "barbarism". (c) That up to the middle of the 18th Century, India's "insanity", "credulity", and "barbarism" were at no time and in no way greater than that of

the rest of the world, including Europe and America. (d) That since then, while Europe and America have in certain respects lessened the volume of their "insanity", "credulity" and "barbarism", though they have added to it in certain others, India has been, thanks to her political and economic conditions, more or less stagnant. (e) That India's future goal ought to be, not an imitation of Europe's "insanity", and "barbarism", but an assimilation of its sanity and civilization.

As regards the ridicule which Mr. Archer heaps on the Vedas and the other literature of the Hindus, all that I want to say in this place is, that they have survived the attacks of greater men than himself, and surely the evidence of their intrinsic worth is greater and more weighty, both in the number of the witnesses and the character of their evidence, than that to be found in this book. Mr. Archer's witnesses are not generally of the best kind. They can be hardly considered disinterested and impartial. For example, Mr. Archer quotes a Missionary commentator of the Vedas, assaying that "the horizon of the Rishi is confined almost invariably to himself. He prays for happiness of neither wife nor child, nor for the good of his village or his clan, nor yet for his nation or people. He manifests no common joys, any more than common sorrows." A more ludicrous statement than this, is impossible to be conceived, as the Vedas are quite full of prayers of the latter kind. In fact most of the prayers are in the plural number. In some places whole chapters are devoted to prayers for common good. Take for example Atharva III. 30 or Yaj. XII. 88 or Rig. X, 191. Speaking of "monstrous conceptions", he quotes a hymn from the translation of Max Muller, which has been times out of number explained by other scholars as symbolic and which only illustrates the danger of translating the Vedas literally, and in utter disregard of the fact that the Vedic language is *Yaugika* and etymological, and that the same word is often used in different senses. It is impossible for me to attempt to reply to Mr. Archer's criticisms in detail (I was very nearly tempted to use Mr. Archer's own language and call it his "ravings"), as that would involve the writing of another volume of the same or perhaps bigger size. I am sure, I could fill a volume with quotations from European scholars of high repute and authority, testifying to the spirituality of the Hindus and the high value of their philosophy and literature. Mr. Archer has himself admitted that in places, though very grudgingly and half-heartedly, which is rather inconsistent with his general sweeping denuncia-

tion of it otherwise. I think Hindu spirituality can well take care of itself. Hindu caste is disintegrating and so we need waste no time over it. As to Hindu manners, I would not like to change them very materially. The practice of wearing nose-rings and heavy ear-rings by the women is disappearing, because (a) there are not enough precious stones to go round; Europe and America are consuming most of them; (b) the vast bulk of the population cannot afford to invest any part of their miserable pittance of income in jewelry; (c) the commercial spirit of the age is catching India by the throat.*

I am not sorry for it. I do not like either the nose-rings or the ear-rings, not even when the latter are worn by white women. But I may here add by way of explanation, that manners are more or less matters of local custom and so is the idea of beauty. What is revolting to the Asiatic sense of decency is at times extremely beautiful to the European, and vice versa. A European is crazy in admiring certain things which our Asiatic detests. I say this, not because I admire the practice of wearing nose-rings and ear-rings, but because to me the matter seems to be so trivial that Mr. Archer's repeated references to it, seems to me to be evidence of bad manners. Mr. Archer was horrified at the sight of blood at the temple of Kali in Calcutta. The sight is no doubt horrible to any man of aesthetic sense, but I will tell a story to Mr. Archer of how I was shocked, when I visited England the first time. The Headmaster of a famous College was showing me the two things for which his institution was famous,—their kitchen and their organ. When he took me to the former, the sight I saw shocked me beyond description. Reader, can you imagine what I saw? Seventy carcasses being roasted, at once. That was the thing of which my kindly host was proud. Of course I said nothing. But to me it was as bad as cannibalism. As to the habit of truthfulness, I will advise Mr. Archer to read the comedy of "Nothing but the truth", which Mr. Collier has been presenting in American theatres. I hope Lord Curzon will also glance at it. The chancellories of Europe also, will furnish much material on that subject. Let him consult Messrs. Bertrand Russel, Lowes Dickinson, Neilson and others, who have written volumes on the causes of the war.

* The jewellery on the persons of American women in New York, and in jewellery stores, would exceed the whole of British India's wealth in cash or jewels.

AN INDIAN EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION TO AMERICA

IT seems on this side of the Atlantic that Hindustan is living in the stone age of education. If she really wishes to take her rightful place among the great nations of the world, India must have a more modern educational system. But where will she go to seek for the ideals of newer education?

In the past the Indian zone of observations has been chiefly confined to only one country in the West, and that, too, admittedly backward in matters educational. Be that as it may, this zone should now be pushed and widened to the United States. Here one can see at this moment, better than at any other, what reconstructional plans are engaging the thoughts of American leaders, what re-educational experiments are in progress for the disabled in war, what new departments are being added to colleges of science and agriculture.

A few years ago the English government in India sent a fish commission to this country to study American fisheries. Is it too much to expect that American colleges and universities will be considered as worthy of careful study as American fisheries? At all events, the Indian leaders who are interested in the educational advancement of India should send a commission to America at an early date. The commission should be made up of the very best educational experts India can afford. The founders of the University of Mysore, Women's University of Poona, the Hindu University of Benares, as well as the organizers of the proposed Muslim University at Aligarh and the Nizamina University in Hyderabad, should be willing to co-operate in sending this mission to America. If the needed means and initiative fail to come from the government, they should be furnished by the nation itself. For after all, education is the most important piece of business in the Indian agenda just now.

It is interesting to note that several foreign countries, including Japan and England, have recently sent commissions of education to the United States to make an intensive study of the American educational system. Why should not India also "go and do likewise"?

An Indian educational commission to America is not at all an idle speculation; it is eminently practical. Many of the leading American educationists whom I have consulted on the subject have given it their unqualified approval and whole-hearted support. Dr. Walter A. Jessup, the President of the State University of Iowa, with which I have the honor to be connected for the past few years, wrote to me in part:

"Should the proposed Commission visit the

United States, we would be pleased to have them make Iowa City and the State University of Iowa their headquarters while studying the schools, colleges, and universities in the central part of United States. We believe that it would be to the advantage of such a commission to make this place their headquarters since in Iowa City there may be found typical public schools of all grades including the State University, with its professional colleges of law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, and engineering, and its college of liberal arts, graduate college, and college of education.

"The College of Education of the State University of Iowa is equipped with an experimental school, including both elementary and secondary grades, and is used as a sub-station of the United States Bureau of Education.

"In the event that the proposed Indian Commission should come to Iowa City, the State University of Iowa would do everything in its power to facilitate their work."

I also bring encouraging words of greeting from no less a distinguished man in the world of education than the Honorable P. P. Claxton, the Commissioner of the United States Bureau of Education at Washington. Dr. Claxton, whose position is very similar to that of the Minister of Education in the British Government, sent me among others the following lines: "I wish to assure you and others who are interested in the matter that it will give me great pleasure to lend whatever assistance I can to this Commission either personally or through the United States Bureau of Education."

Education in India has been more or less unsatisfactory. The time has come when the frozen decorative ideals of the past should be shattered, and swept out of the halls of learning. There is now a great need of a co-ordinated and well-directed plan to build a new education for new India. And as a basis for such an education reform, a commission of expert investigators and trained educators should come to America and see first hand the creative work that is being done in commerce, industry, art, literature and science. The results of such an investigation are bound to give immense stimulus for reconstruction of educational life, and make it quiver to the very soul of India.

It only remains for me now to add that if an educational commission should come, Mr. R. I. Khemka, the very able President of the Hindu Association of America which has for years been helping the newly arrived Indian students choose right American colleges, will be delighted to place his services at the disposal of the

mission. Should it desire, both Mr. Khemka and I would be willing to look after the preliminary details of its visit and pilot it through the country. Those who are interested in the plan or want information concerning American educational opportunities are invited

to communicate with the President of the Hindusthan Association, 116 West 39th Street, New York City.

Iowa City,
U. S. A.

SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., PH.D.,
Lecturer in the State University
of Iowa.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Condition of the Hindu University.

A correspondent signing himself *A Senator of the Hindu University* has attempted to reply to my article on the Hindu University published in the June Number. Along with much irrelevant matter, evasion of the main issues and replies to what I never said or suggested, he has contradicted several of my statements of facts. Now, my membership of every academic and administrative body of the Hindu University has given me a more accurate and first hand knowledge of the present condition of the Hindu University and the causes thereof than a mere Senator can have.

I shall not weary the reader by refuting every one of Senator's contradictions. A few typical instances will suffice to convince him where truth lies. The sudden and capricious changing of the starting point of the college day given on p. 656 is based on the diary of a professor who kept an accurate record of these changes with dates. But *Senator* non-chalantly denies it, saying that the change was made from *season to season*. If the latter had been the case, there would have been only *one* change in the year, and not *six* as was actually the case last year. The duration of the "period" was so uncertain that one day about midday no bell was rung, though more than 48 minutes had passed. Two professors inquired at the office, which professed helplessness in the absence of the Principal's special instructions on the subject, as the periods were being changed so often.

Again, Senator writes "It is plain untruth to say that Mr. Gurtu is going away." This writer's notion of truth and untruth must be diametrically opposed to that of all honest men, seeing that Mr. Gurtu openly declared the severance of his connection with the Hindu University at the 1st meeting of the committee for bringing out the results and repeated it on a later date when there was a council meeting. The reader can judge of the veracity of a writer who denies known facts in the hope that his defence of the rotten condition of the Hindu University will find credence with the innocent public outside Benares.

Similarly, a show of correction has been made

in some cases where the Senator's reply is utterly irrelevant to the issue. I said that Mr. Chintamani and Dr. Jha had resigned their seats on the *Council* and other bodies. The contradiction of Senator is that Mr. Chintamani was never in the *Senate*!

Senator indulges in a long rhapsody on the service of Mr. Malaviya to the University and his sacrifices in its cause. Now, in thanking Mr. Malaviya for his exertions, his worshippers should not lose all sense of proportion nor take leave of common decency, unless they wish to make their master ridiculous. They have been steadily following the policy of effacing the memory of Sir Sundar Lal, but for whom the Hindu University would not have been allowed by Sir Sankaran Nair its independent existence with effect from 1st Oct. 1917, as is well known at Simla. It is a bad school of ingratitude in which Mr. Malaviya is training his admirers. Where will *his* memory be after his death, if we can judge from Sir Sundar Lal's posthumous reward at Benares?

When Sir Harcourt Butler was welcomed at the University in August 1918, Dr. Ganesh Prasad publicly spoke of the Hindu University as the creation of Mr. Malaviya. Sir Harcourt in his reply said, "This University represents the enthusiasm of the Hon'ble Pandit M. M. Malaviya and the unfailing wisdom, patriotic devotion and patient industry of your late Vice-Chancellor, Sir Sundar Lal. How much the country owed to him, how much it has lost in his untimely death, I know as fully as any of you." If anything could deepen the infamy of the ingratitude to Sir Sundar Lal by the present rulers of the Hindu University, it was that their omission was corrected by a foreigner and outsider like the provincial governor.

In the same month Mr. Malaviya addressed the students of the C. H. C. after which Dr. Ganesh Prasad exhorted them to shout thrice *Malavi Maharaj Ki Jai*! The gross sycophancy produced a titter among the audience; even the idol blushed at the puja offered to him and cried out, "No, no, give three cheers for the Hindu Vishvavidyalaya." The true value of a man's services to an institution is proportioned to the sacrifice he has made for it. That is the real

incidence of the tax he pays. Now, it is well-known that when University work made Sir Sundar Lal prolong his visit to Benares in the winter of 1917 by one day beyond his first engagement, he lost for that single day Rs 5,000 in fees. It should also be borne in mind that if Mr. Malaviya in collecting money for the Hindu University has impaired what professional practice he had, he has, on the other side of the account, secured, as the accredited agent of the Hindu University, *entree* to high places which would have been closed to him as a stump-ordinator. The gain has been mutual.

But admitting for the sake of argument that Mr. Malaviya has done for the B. H. U. all that is claimed for him by his blind admirers, we must realise what price we are being asked to pay for it. Money getting is only a means to an end. Are we to subordinate that end,—the ideal, the efficiency, the good name of the Hindu University,—to the sole purpose of touring for subscriptions and making the travelling agent the absentee dictator of the University? All mathematicians who have not forgotten their algebra and simple arithmetic in the pursuit of "higher research" will admit the correctness of the formula that

$$\begin{aligned} \text{if } m^3 &= m^2g \\ \text{then } m &= g, \end{aligned}$$

i.e., If Madan Mohan Malaviya = money-getting machine, then Malaviya must be governor-general of the Hindu University.

With results for which see Babu Bhagwan Das's letter.

"INSIDE VIEW."

The Benares Hindu University : An outside View of an Inside Criticism.

Every one, Hindu or not, who believes that Hindu culture and learning have particular contributions to make to the wellbeing of humanity must place great hopes upon the eventual achievements of the first Hindu University of recent times. But the greater one's insight into the nature of such an institution as a University, and the more closely one has followed the course of the histories of other Universities the more patient one will be with regard especially to the efforts of the early years of a new University. It is, perhaps, before all things necessary to go slowly in circumstances of this kind. In the particular conditions of Indian Academic life which does not seem to train, as yet, very many prominent scholars, and in which when such

scholars are produced they are as long as possible retained in particular institutions and localities, it is not possible to bring together in a short time the kind of staff which should be aimed at. It seems to us far better to wait than to appoint men about whom it is possible for people to say that their positions were gained by personal influence and not by evident merit. We have heard it said, for example, that one of the Professors was appointed chiefly through the influence of one about whose poetry he had written in flattering terms. For the sake of the Hindu University we shall be glad to find that such reports are radically false. In any case a good reason may be given for delay in filling University appointments until the type of man required is available. It should be regarded as the best in the circumstances to make some temporary appointments.

From what has been said—also from an inside source—there appears to be an absence of loyalty and co-operation amongst the members of the staff and it would seem from the attempt to make criticisms against the Principal that he is not treated as one has learned to expect. To us, and we know Dr. Ganesh Prasad neither directly nor indirectly, the statements about his policy are really indefinite and not such as to give any support to the view that the University is in "rapid dissolution". Had there been more efficient organisation at the beginning, in the time of a certain Acting Principal of the Hindu College, Dr. Prasad's task might have been easier. No University can expect to do good and effective work, no Principal of a College can organise with credit to himself and the institution, if there is a source of disaffection in the staff.

Perhaps it is sufficient to say here, that when the "Insider" has worked as hard for the University as Pandit Malaviya he may have the right to write in the manner he does. We do not hold a brief for the policy which the Pandit pursues, but we believe that he might give a good answer to much of what the critic says.

There is real ground for regret in the resignation of the Vice-Chancellorship by Sir P. Shivaswami Iyer. But such a man is able to state clearly any criticisms he may wish should be published for the good of the Hindu University; the last thing we can imagine is that he should wish an inside critic should present the matter as he does, in a manner from which it is improbable that any good may come—except perhaps the unveiling of the "Inside Critic" himself,

OUTSIDE CRITIC.

A PEACE THAT IS NO PEACE

AS the issues raised by the latest act of the Allies, in forcing an unwilling peace on Germany, are of the gravest moment for the future history of the world, and of especial importance for India, I propose to put the case, so far as the present data are available, with some detail. For if selfishness has actually prevailed over humanity, if the Armistice terms have not been truly kept, (as I believe to be the case), then it appears to me to be certain, that, only when we have retraced our steps and acted humanely towards Germany, can we afford to rejoice. It is no slight thing to be called upon to invoke God's name upon our actions, and we must not take that Name in vain.

I

The Armistice was concluded on November 11, 1918, with two reservations mentioned later, on the basis of the terms offered by President Wilson in his speeches during the year 1918, which have been called respectively,—

- A. The Fourteen Points.
- B. The Four Factors of Peace.
- C. The Five Requisites of Peace.
- D. The Five Issues of Peace.

It is necessary to get these, in their outline, practically and concisely before the eye of the mind. I shall give them, therefore, in detail with very slight abbreviation,—

A. THE FOURTEEN POINTS.

I. Open covenants of peace shall be openly arrived at. No private national understandings. No secret diplomacy.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation of the seas, outside territorial waters. No naval blockade except by international action.

III. The removal of all economic barriers, as far as possible, between nations.

IV. Adequate guarantees, given and

taken, that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory. The settlement of all Russian questions, by giving Russia unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, under institutions of her own choosing.

VII. Belgium must be evacuated and restored.

VIII. All occupied French territory to be restored. The wrong done in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine to be righted.

IX. A readjustment of Italian frontiers to be made along clearly recognisable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary to be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, Montenegro to be evacuated and occupied territories to be restored.

XII. The Turkish portions of the Ottoman Empire to be assured a secure sovereignty. The other nationalities to be guaranteed full opportunity of autonomous development. Dardanelles to be a free passage for all nations.

XIII. An independent Polish State to be formed, which should include territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations.

XIV. A general Association of Nations to be made affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

B. THE FOUR FACTORS OF PEACE.

I. The destruction of every arbitrary power that can secretly, separately, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world.

II. The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of material advantage or interest of any other nation which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

III. The consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct towards each other by the same principles of honour that govern the individual citizens of all modern states in their relations with one another.

IV. The establishment of an organisation of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right.

C. THE FIVE REQUISITES.

I. The impartial justice, meted out, must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favourites and knows no standards but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned.

II. No separate or special interest of any single nation, or any group of nations, can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all.

III. No leagues, or alliances, or special understandings, shall be made within the general and common family of nations.

IV. No special or selfish economic combinations, and no employment of economic boycott shall be made, except when the power of such boycott is vested in the League of Nations for discipline or control.

V. All international agreements and treaties must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world.

D. THE FIVE ISSUES.

I. Shall the military power of any nation, or any group of nations, be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples, over whom they have no right to rule, except the right of force?

II. Shall strong nations be free to

wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purpose and interest?

III. Shall people be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force, or by their own will and choice?

IV. Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations; or shall the strong do as they will, and the weak suffer without redress?

V. Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance; or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?

There are certain extremely important utterances of President Wilson, interpreting the Armistice position, which were made during the days of the Peace Conference sessions. The following are the most important:—

(a) *Speech to the Italian Deputies.*

January 3, 1919.

"Our task at Paris is to organise the friendship of the world, to see to it that all the moral forces, that make for right and justice and liberty, are united, and are given a vital organisation, to which the peoples of the world will gladly and readily respond."

(b) *Address to the Peace Conference.*

January 25, 1919.

"We are here to see that the very foundations of this war are swept away. These foundations are the power of small bodies of men to wield their will and use mankind as pawns in their game. Nothing less than the emancipation of the world from these things will accomplish peace."

(c) *Speech in the Chamber of Deputies.*

Feb. 3, 1919.

"We have come to work out a world which is fit to live in, and in which all countries can enjoy the heritage of liberty for which France, America, England and Italy have paid so dear."

(d) *Message to the American People.*

Feb. 24, 1919.

"The men, who are in the Conference at Paris, realise that they are the servants of their own people, and that the spirit of their people has awakened to a new purpose,

and that no man dare go home from that Conference and report anything less noble than was expected of it.....I have uttered, as the objects of this great war, ideals and nothing but ideals; and the war has been won by that inspiration.

(2) *Statement on the Italian-Jugoslav dispute.* April 23, 1919.

"The war was ended by proposing to Germany an Armistice and a Peace which should be founded on certain clearly defined principles; which set up a new order of justice. Upon these principles, the peace with Germany has not only been conceived, but formulated. Upon these principles it will be executed."

We can find, with perfect clearness, in President Wilson's very carefully defined terms,—which were actually taken as the basis of the armistice,—the principles and professions with which the Allies came to the Peace Conference. Germany had already accepted these principles, and had made drastic changes in her political and national constitution in guarantee of that acceptance. She had carried through a Revolution which made her, for the first time in her history, a Federal Republic. She had also, for all practical purposes, disarmed herself by sea and land.

What has to be continually remembered is this fact, that the leaders of Germany accepted the Armistice on certain conditions. They did not unconditionally surrender. The allied leaders offered those conditions and pledged their honour to abide by them.* As President Wilson himself has described it,—"*The War was ended by proposing to Germany an Armistice and a Peace, which should be founded on certain clearly defined principles.*"

II

It has now to be considered, in the light of all we know, whether these principles, which were agreed upon by the Allies at the Armistice, have been faithfully carried out.

* There were two points only left 'open for discussion', viz: the meaning of the 'freedom of the seas' and the question of 'compensation.'

To take certain facts of the Conference itself,—it is common knowledge that President Wilson and the American delegation were more than once on the verge of giving up the whole of the Conference in despair because of the turn which events were taking. The Italian and French delegates stood for an extreme attitude of paralysing Germany financially, and also for obtaining territorial concessions beyond the Armistice conditions. Secret treaties were brought to light and insisted on, and Great Britain was compromised. The claims of Japan also in the Shantung Province were put forward, although they were clearly contrary to the Armistice terms.

But President Wilson appears to have made no serious stand, except over the Italian claim to Fiume. We can be fairly sure, by the length of time that the Treaty took to frame, that there must have been many deadlocks; we can be also sure that the French and Italian delegates gained their way in the main. President Wilson did actually sign. But it is not clear whether he compromised, as politicians often will do, on certain matters, in order to carry his main point, concerning the League of Nations. It is well known that he regarded the League of Nations as the vital part of the Treaty.

In England, we have had a significant statement from General Smuts. This delegate came nearer to President Wilson, in his general outlook upon the future, than any other statesman. This makes his opinion all the more impressive. He says bluntly, that he signed the Peace treaty, not because it is a satisfactory document, but because it is imperatively necessary to bring these months of suspense after the war to an end. The six months since the Armistice, he continues, have perhaps been as ruinous to Europe as all the four years of war put together. Any further delay would mean chaos. In the Peace Treaty, we have not achieved a real peace; the real work of making peace is only just beginning. The statesmen found the problem too hard, the people must solve it. The territorial settlements, punishments and stipulated indemnities,

all need *revision, modification, or expungement*.

Mr. Lloyd George,—who alone of the Prime Ministers has spoken officially up to the date of writing—takes a typically defiant attitude. His speech reads rather like that of a politician desirous of making capital out of the situation, for party purposes, than that of a trustee, who has been given a most sacred trust to fulfil for the people.

The terms, he admitted, were stern, were even terrible, but the crime of Germany had been terrible; besides, they would have been more terrible still if Germany had succeeded in winning the war. As for justice, it would have accorded with every principle of jurisprudence to have thrown the whole cost on Germany. He therefore challenged any member of the House to show a single case of actual injustice in the terms which had finally been settled. Germany's offence was heinous, and the world could not afford to take such risks again. This Peace Treaty should not be a 'scrap of paper.' Germany must fulfil it. The guarantees included the disarmament of Germany and the destruction of her arsenals.

I propose to take up that challenge of Mr. Lloyd George and examine it.

The primary question is not whether the peace terms, which have now been signed under compulsion, shall be made a 'scrap of paper'. If they are unfair and unjust,—as even General Smuts, who signed them, seems to think,—then, the sooner they are amended, and even (to use General Smuts' own word) *expunged*, the better.

No! The crux of the situation is not there at all. It lies in the one supreme point of honour. Did the Allies at the peace table, when Germany was absolutely at their mercy, *make the Armistice terms a 'scrap of paper'?*

III

There are two charges brought forward.

A. That the Armistice terms concerning (i) Open diplomacy, (ii) Disarmament, (iii) Transfer of territory, have been violated by the Allies.

B. That the financial exactions, imposed by the Allies, have been beyond any

thing ever contemplated in the Armistice agreement. They are contrary to the *spirit* of President Wilson's declarations.

A. (i) The initial clause of the Armistice principles was, that no secret diplomacy should be allowed. Yet the Allies are proved to have been engaging in secret treaties with one another all through the war; and at the peace table these secret were treaties regarded as inviolable, even when they have been contrary to the principle of free self-determination of peoples, on which principle the war was fought and won.

There is a direct charge of bad faith here, and it is difficult to see anything but double-dealing in the conduct of England, France, and Italy and also of Japan. Here is the cabled despatch to America of what happened at the peace table:

"It was an awkward moment.—Mr. Lloyd George turned to Baron Makino; whereupon Mr. Wilson was informed, that Japan had received the promise of England, France, Italy and Russia, two years ago, that she should have outright all German islands Worth of the Equator... After learning so much, Mr. Wilson asked if there were any other secret agreements. It was then admitted that the agreement with Japan also included the British, French and Italian promises to support her claims to the Chinese province of Shantung, as the price Japan demanded *for allowing China to enter the War.*"

"IT WAS AN AWKWARD MOMENT."

The awkwardness needs to be called by a much blunter name. It was a moment of dishonour.

(ii) Concerning the question of disarmament, the Fourteen Points of President Wilson are so explicit, that it would seem quite impossible to get round them. The words are,—*"adequate guarantees (i.e. of disarmament) shall be given and taken."* (Point IV.) With regard to guarantees *taken* from Germany we have Mr. Lloyd George's own statement,—*"Our guarantees include the disarmament of Germany and the destruction of her arsenals."* But we do not find a single word in the Peace

Treaty about guarantees of disarmament being *given* by the Allies. General Smuts confesses, in his statement of what happened, 'regret, that the abolition of militarism is confined to the enemy.'

What can be said about responsible people, who first solemnly pledge themselves that adequate guarantees of disarmament shall be *given and taken*; who then insist on the disarmament of the other side; and, last of all, when the other side is disarmed, refuse to give any guarantee themselves?

There is a certain action sometimes tried by sharpers called the 'confidence trick.' It is difficult not to call the action of the Allies by that name.

(iii) No single point was insisted on more often in the Armistice terms than that of the free self-determination of peoples; that peoples should be governed according to their own choice and not merely used as pawns by the stronger nations. All the territorial articles, in the Fourteen Points, keep this end in view. The principle is defined with great care and exactness in the second of the Four Factors; and it is also implied in the first two of the Five Requisites and the first four of the Five Issues. Indeed, it would hardly be too much to say that the War was determined by this issue. Yet in the Peace Treaty terms we know that the following four territorial changes, *against the will of the peoples and by military force*, have been decided.

(a) The Saar Valley, with its coal fields, which is German territory, is to be handed over to France with an international administrative control, for fifteen years' exploitation, after which a plebiscite is to be taken.—The disguise of this plebiscite is too thin to deceive any one.

(b) Territory bordering on Poland is to be handed over to Poland though the population is German.

(c) A part of the northern Adriatic coast is to be given to Italy even where the population is not Italian.

(d) The German 'rights' in the Shantung Province of China are to be handed over to Japan, even though China strongly and emphatically objects to it.

It is not unlikely that other breaches of the right of self-determination have actually been decided upon by the Council of Four, especially in Asia Minor; but, apart from this, those which have been publicly acknowledged appear to me incontestably to prove that the Armistice terms have been departed from in order to satisfy imperialistic aims. The terms have not been honourably kept.

B. It is difficult to record concisely all the economic and financial exactions which have been levied upon Germany under the Peace Treaty. The following is a brief summary of the main points:—

(a) Germany, an industrial country, depending on coal and iron, loses one-third of her coal supply, and two-thirds of her coal reserves.

(b) She loses one-half of her iron supply, and three-fourths of her iron reserves.

(c) She has agreed to grant freedom of transit through German territory to "persons, goods, ships, carriages and mails from or to any of the allied or associated powers, without customs, transit duties, undue delays, restrictions, or discriminations."

(d) She restores all devastated regions, and makes good any coal deficiency. She also must give option to France, Belgium and Italy on 21,500,000 tons of coal annually (one-seventh of Germany's pre-war production.) For 3 years, she must deliver benzol, coal-tar and ammonia to France. She forfeits 5000 railway engines, 5000 motor lorries, 160,000 railway cars.

(e) She forfeits all ocean ships of 1,600 gross tons and upwards, one-half of those between 1,600 and 1,000 tons, and one quarter of her steam trawlers and fishing fleet. In addition, she is bound to build a million tons of ships for the Allies within five years.

(f) Abroad, Germany is stripped literally of everything. On this account, she is practically deprived of all opportunity of taking immediate active part in industry and trade abroad,—so far as the conquerors can dictate.

(g) She accepts, in addition to all this, the responsibility for a war Indemnity

(called compensation) which is to be finally settled by an Inter-allied Commission, not later than May 1st 1921. She pledges an initial indemnity of 20,000,000,000 marks within two years, and to issue bonds for 40,000,000,000 marks, assuring the full payment of these bonds within 30 years. The total discharge would require 160,000,000,000 marks. Staggering already under an enormous public debt, driven out of the world markets, and economically imprisoned within Germany's own markets, with her economic equipment exhausted by the war, each single German family will have to pay, for the next 30 years, in addition to all other burdens, 300 rupees out of its own scanty domestic income to the Allies.

It is this Peace Treaty which Mr. Lloyd George declares must be fulfilled at the point of the sword and not allowed to become a 'scrap of paper.' It is this Peace Treaty which, he says, can be guaranteed, because "the guarantees include the disarmament of Germany and the destruction of her arsenals."

It may be thus guaranteed, but again we ask the question,—Is this fair, is it just, is it human, is it true to the Armistice proposal? There is not the least doubt that Germany was inhumane in war, but that is no reason why the Allies should not be humane in peace.

Place these economic terms side by side with President Wilson's own speech, containing the Fourteen Points,—on the basis of which the Armistice was made. Here are his own words :—

"The day of conquest and aggrandisement is gone by..... We have no jealousy of German greatness and here is nothing in this programme which impairs it. *We do not wish to injure Germany, or to block*

in any way her legitimate influence or power..... We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world,—the new world in which we now live."

Then take the British Officers' Official Report of conditions today in Germany :—

"We were shocked at the condition in the poor quarters. *Spinach is brewed in the kitchens for babies of three weeks to three years old and the sight of babies sucking spinach soup out of their bottles, in place of milk, is distressing. Charts show that babies at the end of their third year do not weigh much more than at the end of their first year.*"

I have put side by side, with very little comment of my own, the professions and the practices of the Allied statesmen towards Germany.

The Treaty which has ended the war with Germany contains no true or lasting peace, because it is based upon untruth. It will have to be undone.

Just as, from every corner of the world the cry went up before against the inhumanity of the war methods employed by Germany, which shocked the conscience of mankind, so now from every corner of the world the cry will go up against the inhumanity of these 'peace' methods of the Allies, which, as soon as they are fully known and understood, will shock the conscience of mankind. Inevitably this will come to pass and the voice of thoughtful men everywhere will be clear and strong.

July 9, 1919,
Shantiniketan.

C. F. ANDREWS.

THE WORKING OF THE HINDU UNIVERSITY

ABSENTEE ADMINISTRATION AND ITS RESULTS.

IT has been shown in the June Number of this Review how, as the result of preferring absentees to resident Univer-

sity teachers in elections to the Executive Council of the Hindu University, in 1918 *not a single meeting* was attended by even half of its members, and that most of the

meetings were composed of only *one fourth or even less* of the full strength of the Council. For the major part of the year 1918 there was *only one* resident teacher in the Council. In July two other councillors became resident teachers and in November a third. At the elections held at the end of 1918 and early in 1919 two other teachers of the University got in, and there were six resident teachers in the council, but it was for less than *three months* (January—March.) The number has been now reduced to *three* in consequence of the late resignations.

The various University bodies of Benares look very grand and representative of all India on paper. But as the actual figures quoted in the June Number show, all work is done by a very small minority—one-third or even one-fourth, and the distant members (in some cases people living as near as Allahabad and Patna) keep away from the interminable, jejune and mostly irrelevant speeches which are allowed to go on unchecked.

The reader will be surprised to learn that Pandit Malaviya was elected Pro-Vice-Chancellor by just a trifle over *one-tenth* of the members of the Court. This august body, adorned with Rajahs and Maharajahs, representatives of the Native States and learned professions, pandits and scientists, lawyers and doctors, looks formidable with its membership of 187. Only 20 is the quorum. But 18 or less than one-tenth attended at the time announced for the election of the Pro-V.-C. Under the law, if a quorum is not found within 15 minutes of the opening of the meeting, the President has to dissolve the meeting as void. It would have been a public scandal if this meeting had been so cancelled and the seat of the Pro-Vice-Chancellor left vacant for months. So, Sir Sivaswamy, poor old man! stood shivering in the verandah in the biting cold of a dark winter morning of Benares for two mortal hours, without entering the hall, so as to save the letter of the law, while University clerks were sent out in *ekkas* to hunt the town for lurking courtiers. The meeting had been timed to open at 8 A.M. It actually began after 10, when the whippers-in

had secured the bare quorum. Thus was the second highest executive office of the University filled! *Vox populi est vox quorami* (pardon the dog Latin.)

On the academic side the failure to secure high grade men on the staff and its inevitable consequence of reliance on absentees, have produced disasters. The last meeting of the Board of Studies in Economics was attended by only *two* members (both local professors) out of *seven*, though four of the absentees (including Mr. Malaviya) were living at Allahabad and Patna. This happens at a university whose sole *raison d'être* is that it is residential and unitary!

HOW NOT TO DO THINGS ACADEMIC.

As early as 5th May 1917, the Syndicate appointed a sub-committee (including Mr. Malaviya) to select and publish (after approval by the Board of Studies and the Faculty of Arts) the courses in Sanskrit for all the examinations. As the Benares University curriculum was to be begun in July 1918, the selections should have been made and the text-book printed *before* that month. But nothing was done, though a senator (Mr. Sheshadri) drew attention to the urgency of the matter early in the summer of 1918 and later moved a resolution (Senate. 17th Aug.) to the effect that some text-books should be prescribed by name and expurgated editions specified, as the selections proposed to be compiled by the University had not yet been taken in hand. This simple and business-like suggestion provoked opposition, as it was supposed to cast a reflection upon Mr. Malaviya, who had taken the Sanskrit selection business under his own care *while declining the responsible position of convener of the Sub-committee*. Mr. Malaviya assured the Senate that the proposed measure was unnecessary as progress had been made in preparing the selections and he was suggesting steps for finishing the work *at an early date*. Mr. Sheshadri—a man of peace—withdrew his resolution.*

* The wording of the minute on this point is significant of the methods followed at Benares. Mr. Sheshadri dictated, "In view of the

Now mark the sequel. Since that Senate meeting *eleven months* have elapsed but no duly sanctioned selections have been made available. Towards the end of the academic year 1918—19, a brochure of 17 pages containing the hackneyed Chanakya *slokas* and some 180 couplets from the *Ramayan* was printed, but as the booklet has not yet been passed by the Board, the Faculty and the Senate, it cannot be used in the classes. Thus our academic mountain, after having been in labour for 2 years and 2 months (May 1917—July 1919) has not even brought forth the proverbial mouse. An impasse was reached in Dec. 1918 when an examiner in M. A. Sanskrit wrote to say that he could not possibly set his paper of the next examination as the selections from the Vedas had not yet been made. The Vice-Chancellor had to use his *emergency powers* and prescribe certain books to save the situation,—thus justifying Mr. Sheshadri's wisdom. But what time had the candidates to prepare these pieces which were announced on 19th January 1919, while the examination was to take place in April next?*

This Sanskrit selection sub-committee was appointed on 5th May 1917 with five members. But its first meeting was held on 31st October 1918 (i. e. 1½ years afterwards) only one member attending. The 2nd and 3rd meetings were attended by the same number and the 4th and 5th by two members, out of five! And this (or these) "resolved" on behalf of the whole body. Happily there is no quorum in a sub-committee.

PROMISES AND PERFORMANCES.

No private gentleman who has the least sense of responsibility will make any promise which cannot under normal circumstances be carried out. Caution in this

assurance given by Mr. Malaviya, I beg leave to withdraw the resolution." Mr. Malaviya immediately insisted on the word *assurance* being changed into *explanation*, so that no responsibility would lie on him when his assurances afterwards came to nothing, as they have actually done.

* Later, the M. A. examination was put off to July, on account of the late epidemic.

which is expected to have a permanent impersonal existence, stretching beyond the lives of its founders. In raising subscriptions (or what comes to the same thing, in attracting students), there is naturally a strong temptation to humour the audience and a practised orator is apt to let his tongue run away with him. But promises made on such occasions without due consideration of their practicability, have a disadvantage: they come home to roost, as Mr. Malaviya's are now doing, to the dismay of the officers of the University.

Mahatma Munshi Ram, the revered leader of the Gurukul educational scheme, recently remarked in addressing the C. H. C. students:—

"It may be sedition to say so in this hall, but none of the founders of this University realises what they mean when they speak of this institution reproducing the educational ideal of ancient Aryavarta. Such dazzling promises are made by your leaders when they find it necessary to induce a shower of silver from the audience. But in practice they have only added one more to the stereotyped Universities of modern India. You attend lectures, lead free and easy lives, cram at the end of the term and go through the grind of the examination, here as elsewhere."

The orator and "financial resource beggar" of the Hindu University has been telling his audiences that it would harmonise the East and the West intellectually, that it would impart the highest modern or Western knowledge while reviving the devotion and morality of ancient India, and therefore all Hindus, all well-wishers of India have a sacred duty to subscribe to it. "Easier said than done," one is tempted to reply in the language of Carlyle when criticising Scott's dying speech to Lockhart.

The synthesis of the East and the West can be effected only by divinely gifted geniuses who are born as the winds of Fate blow. You cannot create them to order, or by mechanically stamping men with the hall mark of Ph. D. and D Sc. In religion such a synthesis was effected by Rammohun Roy a century ago, and in literature by Rabindranath, three generations afterwards. In art we are still strive—respect is still more obligatory on the leaders of an institution, like a University

ing after it. The Hindu University, even if it piled up the 4 crores of Rupees demanded by Mr. Malaviya, cannot create the genius who will "harmonise the East and the West" in the domain of knowledge.

But one thing it can do. It can and ought to improve the quality of its passed students, so that they may go forth and compete in the world's market better equipped than their rivals from the Allahabad, Calcutta, Bombay or Madras Universities. The present condition of the Benares teaching staff has been already described; now for the output. At the recent B.A. examination, which is the first conducted by the Hindu University with its own examiners and its own question papers, at first 73 p. c. of the candidates were passed, and then two more in a supplementary list, making about 75 p. c. of successes! Sir Asutosh Mukerjee must look to his laurels, as he could not pass more than 54 p. c. at the B. A., in the days of his highest glory. The Hindu University in the first complete year of its existence has done nearly half as much again.

Great as this achievement is, it just misses the mark of Mr. Malaviya's eloquent address to the C. H. C. students last monsoon term, when he publicly expressed the hope that the Hindu University would pass 95 p. c., nay *cent. per cent.*, of its candidates! The reader can easily imagine the effect of such a speech by a man of his position on students from the province of Allahabad where the old University has hitherto passed about 25 p. c. only at the B. A.*

Another promise of Mr. Malaviya—equally alluring to the ear, especially the orthodox and Marwari ear, but equally difficult to perform, was flung in his teeth by Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta at the 1st Annual Meeting of the Court in 1917. Mr. Malaviya was reminded that he had, when collecting money, promised that he would reproduce the scene of 5000 students sitting on the grass by the Ganges under

thatched roofs at the new Hindu University and receiving the highest education, whereas he was now proposing to spend twelve lakhs on buildings.

Yet another case. When welcoming the Maharajah of Darbhanga to the C. H. C., in 1918, Mr. Malaviya declared that it had long been his aim to teach Sanskrit to every student of the Hindu University from the Brahman to the Chandal. (The audience, as the intelligent reader may guess, was composed mainly of Pandits.) The real facts are that Sanskrit has been omitted altogether from the science course, made optional at the matriculation and a very elementary test in it has been laid on such Arts students as do not wish to offer it as a subject.

BUSINESS PROPOSALS THAT DO NOT MATURE.

The reader's attention is also drawn to the paragraphs which are inserted in the daily papers at the psychological moment without any signature—for that would be inconveniently binding and would fix definite responsibility in the case of their proving false,—but also without any contradiction from the University chiefs. Such paragraphs are so worded as to be very soothing to past donors and alluring to prospective only. Hitherto they had promised the migration of the University to Nagwa and the opening of a complete residential University there in the near future. The latest resource-catcher in this line announces that the Hindu University would supply electricity to the whole town of Benares and would also manufacture chemical dyes commercially. The last item is particularly interesting, seeing that the new British Dye Company formed to compete with the Germans has a capital of many crores. Subscribers would do well to watch for the date when the chemical dyes manufactured by the Hindu University enter the Indian market commercially.

An advertisement for a post is a promise that the advertiser is prepared to appoint a suitable man if found. In the case of the highest academic chairs the selection of their incumbents may sometimes take time, but ordinary lecturships should be rapidly filled; as they are at all other in-

* The proportion of its candidates, which a university passes is in itself not a proof either of its efficiency or of its inefficiency. Ed., M. R.

stitutions in India. But it has become a matter of adverse comment in educational circles all over India that an advertisement by the Hindu University does not really mean business, it does not usually mature in the appointment of anybody. Select candidates are written to, and interviewed, but months pass away and the post remains unfilled, while men of exactly similar qualifications get or have already got posts at other colleges without delay.

Similarly, the Exodus of the whole University to the promised land of Goshen at Nagwa is being repeatedly put off and making our "chosen people" soul-sick. When investing the Hindu University with the powers of an independent body from 1 Oct. 1917, the Government of India demanded an assurance that the removal to the residential site would soon take place. The assurance was given. At the Council meeting of 30 Oct. 1917, on Mr. Malaviya's motion, the Engineers were ordered to "start work *forthwith*" on the Arts College, the two Science Laboratories and a Hostel for 600 students. (*Minutes*, II. 282.) Building materials cannot be said to have appreciated since that date, but migration to Nagwa is now (July 1919) conditional upon the University realising above 9½ lakhs of Rupees of the arrears of promised subscriptions and donations and above 22½ lakhs of new, not yet promised donations. Thus, unless more than 32 lakhs of Rupees are actually collected in the present year, "urgent expenditure on buildings" cannot be met. (Budget Estimate, p. 2). Will a new Moses appear, coin all this money with his prophetic rod, and accomplish *our* Exodus? If so, when?

THE FUTURE.

From the facts quoted by us the public will get an inside view of the Hindu University as it is run at present. Where lies the remedy? The first to strike a certain type of politicians is to use a morning paper or two to assure the public that all

is for the best in this the best of all universities in India. But blinking truth will not avert catastrophe. In the severe struggle of the after-war world, mere votes (of the *quorum* as usual), mere platform clap-trap, the habitual wriggling out of promises when they happen to be unwritten, the evasion or denial of unpleasant truths, is "not business." The cure can come only if the patient with a contrite heart admits his disease and does not try to brazen it out or to hide his head in a sand-heap. Whether that mental stage has been reached at Benares we cannot say. But hoping for a better day we suggest the following remedies as likely to help forward that day:

(1) The recognition that money is only a means to an end, and that end should not be jeopardised in the quest of money.

(2) The use of common sense and common business honesty in the conduct of affairs and addresses to the public.

(3) A definite, simple and practical programme of work clearly laid down in advance and steadily followed without being lured away to "side-shows." The merciless rejection of the theatrical element and newspaper advertisement.

(4) A resident Executive Head (Vice-Chancellor), with experience of the working of some older University, power of controlling assemblies, and capacity for hard labour. Sir Michael Sadler told me, "I feel that I cannot stay away even for a day from the University of which I am Vice-Chancellor." A resident and active Vice-Chancellor of commanding personality is essentially necessary for a new University like that of Benares, in its initial stage.

(5) The predominance of men with modern knowledge and teaching experience in the governing bodies of the University. Hence, the formation of a professorate *on the spot*, capable of running the University unaided. Quality not quantity.

INSIDE VIEW.

THE DUTIES OF KINGS IN ANCIENT INDIA

FROM Dr. R. C. Majumdar's learned work on *Corporate Life in Ancient India* which has been recently published, we learn that in the Vedic Age kings were sometimes elected by the *sabhas* and *samitis* which were a part of the constitution, that the only means by which rival claimants to the throne sought to gain over the assembly was supremacy in debate, that after the death of King Dasaratha the *rajakartarah* (King-makers) met together to select a King,¹ that the King's Privy Council (called *mantriparishad* by Kautilya) was, according to the Mahabharata,² to consist of 4 Brahmanas, 8 Kshatriyas, 21 Vaisyas, 3 Sudras and 1 Suta, that the whole of northern India immediately preceding the Christian era was studded with non-monarchical or republican states known as *ganas*, that even in the Deccan 'some states were republican and some monarchical in form,'³ that unity was the chief refuge of the *ganas* and that it was only from the fifth century A. D. onwards that they ceased to be important factors in Indian politics.

As an instance of the custom of electing the king may be mentioned the Junagadh inscription of the Satrap Rudradaman who ruled in Ujjayini about the middle of the second century A.D., where it is represented that men of all castes went to him and chose him as their lord for their protection.⁴

The whole subject has been treated in

1. Ramayana, II, 67-2.

2. Santiparva, Section 85.

3. Vide अवदानशतक, no. 88 (first century B. C.)— 'केचिद्देशा गणाधीनाः केचिद्वाजाधीना इति'

4. 'सङ्घा एवाङ्गणानां शरणं गच्छत्'—Mahabharata, Santiparva, section 107.

5. 'सर्वेष्वैरभिगम्य रक्षार्थं पतित्वे वृतेषु' ।

quoted at p. 22, Dr. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Deccan (1884).

the book under reference with a wealth of detail which leaves no doubt in the mind of the reader that "institutions, which we are accustomed to look upon as of western growth, had also flourished in India long, long ago." (p. 122).⁵

My object in writing this short article is to add a few more authorities which I have come across in the course of my reading on the duties of kings. In the Mahabharata, we read ;

'The king who, taking the sixth of the produce from his subjects, fails to protect them, is said to take upon himself the entire burden of their sins'.

Similarly, in the Bhagavata Purana⁶ ;

'The protection of his subjects is the highest of royal virtues, by which in after life the king robs them of a sixth of their merits ; otherwise, by exacting taxes from his subjects and yet failing to protect them, he is robbed by them of his merits, and himself eats their sins'.

But nowhere has this idea been more forcibly expressed than in the Markandeya Purana,⁷ where the royal sixth has been

6. See also, on the same subject, *Buddhist India*, by Rhys Davids, ch. II ; *Epic India*, by C. V. Vaidya, ch. VIII : Kautilya's *Arthashastra* translated by R. Shamasastry, Bk I, ch. XIX, Bk V, ch. VI, Bk VIII, ch. II, Bk XIII, ch. V, &c. ; *Sukraniti*, translated by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, ch. I.

7. अरक्षितारं राजानं वलिषड्भागहारिणम् ।

तमाहुः सर्वलोकस्य समग्रं पापचारिणम् ॥

Adiparva, section 213, verse 9.

8. अथः प्रजापालनमेव राज्ञो

यत् साम्प्रदाये कृतात् यष्टमंश्च ।

हृत्तान्यथा हृतपुण्यः प्रजाना—

मरक्षिता करहारीऽयमस्ति ॥

Skanda 4, ch. 20, v, 14

9. यदन्यः पालयते लोकसद्वृत्तान्तरसंश्रितः ।

मृकृती वलिषड्भागं नृपतेर्नरको भ्रुवम् ॥

निरूपितमिदं राज्ञः पूर्वं रक्षयेतनम् ।

अरक्षन्त्यौरतस्यौर्यं तदेनो नृपतेर्भवेत् ॥

ch. 18, v. 6--7

described as the king's *rakshanabetanam* or wages for protecting his subjects. Here a distinct contrast is implied between the king and the people over whom he reigns, by virtue of which the right of the sovereign to exact tribute from his subjects is strictly limited by his obligation to render them adequate service in the shape of protection. The whole passage runs thus :

'If the subjects, after paying a sixth of the produce as tribute to the king, have to be protected by others, the king is sure to go to hell; this tribute has been fixed by former jurists as the king's salary for protecting his subjects; if the king does not protect them in return, he robs them, and is guilty of theft'.

The Code of Manu displays a high regard for the kingly position, and says that the king is a great deity in human shape,¹⁰ and that the Lord created the king for the preservation of order on earth.¹¹ Yet Manu declares that the king who through infatuation oppresses his own state, soon loses his kingdom as well as his life with his whole family. Just as a man's vitality is undermined through physical suffering, so also the king's life is shortened by the oppression of his state.¹² The Mahabharata¹³ even goes the length of saying that an unrighteous king deserves capital punishment.

Nowhere has the object of the tribute paid to the king been more beautifully expressed than in the well-known lines of the immortal Kalidasa, where he says that the king levies taxes on his subjects for their own welfare, just as the sun draws up mois-

ture from the earth only to return it a thousandfold (in the shape of rain).¹⁴

The proper manner of levying the tribute has been very happily illustrated in a passage in the Mahabharata,¹⁵ and the same idea is also to be found in the Manu-sambhita¹⁶ and the Garuda Purana.¹⁷

Says the Mahabharata,

'The king should tap the resources of his kingdom as gently as the bee sucks honey from the flower, as men milk a cow without wounding her udder and starving the calf, as the leech drinks the blood, as the tigress takes her cubs between her teeth and lifts them without inflicting pain, as the mouse bites the sole of the feet imperceptibly with its sharp teeth; from people in affluent circumstances the king should levy taxes on a gradually increasing scale'.

In the Sabhaparva of the Mahabharata there is a long dialogue between Narada and Yudhisthira on the duties of kings, from which the following extract¹⁸ is given. Narada asks Yudhisthira :

'Is thy kingdom persecuted by thievish or covetous people, by the imprudence of minors, or the influence of women or thyself or not? In thy kingdom, hast thou established large tanks and lakes full of water, and hast thou distributed them in such a manner that all the lands have a proper share? Or hast thou left the agriculture of thy realm wholly dependent on the mercies of the gods? In thy kingdom do not the agriculturists feel the want of either seed-grain or food? And dost thou, out of due consideration, grant the tillers of thy realm loans at a small rate of interest? O child, are the departments of thy state, dealing with the four professions of agriculture, trade, cattle-

10. महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति ।

ch. 7., v. 8

11. रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमसृजत् प्रभुः ।

ch. 7, v. 3

12. मोहाद्राजा खराष्ट्रं यः कर्षयत्वनवेच्छया ।

सोऽचिराद्भ्रूयते राजाज्जोविताच्च सवात्यवः ॥

जरीरकर्षणात् प्राणाः क्षीयन्ते प्राणिनां यथा ।

तथा राजमपि प्राणाः क्षीयन्ते राष्ट्रं कर्षणात् ॥

ch. 7, v. 111-12

13. वयं लोकस्य धर्मदा ।

Santiparva, section 92, v. 9

14. प्रजानामेव भूखर्यं स ताम्बो वलिमयहीतु ।

सहस्रशुणमुत्सृष्टुमादत्ते हि रसं रवि ॥

Raghuvamsa, canto 1, v. 18

15. मधुदोहं दुहेद्राष्ट्रं ममरा इव पादपम् ।

वत्सपेक्षी दुहेच्चैव स्नानांश्च न विकुटयेत् ॥

जलीकावत् पिवेद्राष्ट्रं मृदुनैव नराधिपः ।

व्याघ्रीवच हरितं पुत्राण्य सन्दृष्ट्वा च पीडयेत् ॥

यथा शल्यकनानासुः पदं धूनयते सदा ।

अतीक्ष्णनाभ्युपायेन तथा राष्ट्रां समापिवेत् ॥

अत्यन्तात्येन देयेन वर्धमानं प्रदापयेत् ।

ततोभूयस्ततोभूय क्रमवच्च समाचरेत् ॥

Santiparva, section 88, v. 4-7

16. ch. 7, v. 129.

17. Part 1, ch. 111, v. 4-6

18. Section 5, v. 76-79.

earing, and banking, managed by honest officers? Upon these, O son, depends the happiness of thy people."

The happiness of the people should indeed be a prime consideration with good kings according to the ancient political theorists of India. 'Raja prakritiranjana'—the word 'king' in Sanskrit is derived from a root which means to please (the people).¹⁹ Whether the banishment of Sita was morally justifiable or not, the fact remains that Rama, knowing in his heart of hearts that his queen was chaste and honourable²⁰ did not scruple to exile her in her delicate state of health in order to please his people. In the Matsya Purana,²¹ we have the following pregnant advice:

'Every king should consider what are the acts which please or offend the people in his state, and he should take particular care to avoid the offensive acts. O moon of the solar dynasty, royal prosperity depends on the people being favourably disposed. Hence the best princes on earth should carefully act in such a way as to please the people'.

In two passages in the Vamana Purana²² and the Brahma Purana²³ we have it that where the king is virtuous and powerful and his officers are well-disposed towards him, and the country is well-governed, and where moreover the people live in unity

and follow the path of justice, are peaceful and without mutual jealousy, there one should fix his habitation, as it is pleasant to reside in such a country, whereas it is otherwise in a country under a bad king.

The seven deadly sins of a king are—(a) excessive fondness for hunting (b) gambling (c) excessive sexual indulgence (d) drunkenness (e) financial extravagance (f) habitual use of harsh language (g) fondness for severe punishments.²⁴ In the last lines of the same chapter we are referred, for details, to the treatises of Sukra and Vrihaspati, who are said to be the founders of the science of politics.

Ancient Indian authorities were not very favourably disposed towards bureaucracies. Manu lays down the following:

"Since the servants of the king whom he has appointed guardians of districts are generally knaves, who seize what belongs to other men, from such knaves let him defend his people."²⁵

Kalhan, in his Rajatarangini, everywhere bitterly complains against the "Kayastha's" or royal officers, who according to Sir Aurel Stein, were mostly Brahmins by caste, and ridicules their sacrosanct pretensions. According to the *Sukraniti*, the king should take the side not of his officers, but of his subjects.²⁶ "For who", says Sukracharya, "does not get intoxicated by drinking the vanity of office?"²⁷

Alluding to Hieun-Tsang's description of the grand Parliament of Religions convened by Harshavardhan under the presidency of the celebrated Chinese Master of the Law, Mr. Havell says:

"Another striking characteristic of Indian political life is the extraordinary deference shown by military rulers to the authorised exponents of national culture, the professional pandits."²⁸

The influence of philosophers was not the only factor in curbing royal despotism. The coronation oath which the king had to swear required him to consider always as God whatever is law and whatever is

19. 'रञ्जिताश्च प्रजाः सर्वोऽस्तेन राजा'

Mahabharata, Santiparva, section 59, v. 125

20. 'अन्तरात्मा च मे वेति सीतां श्रद्धां यशस्विनीं'

Ramayana, Uttarakanda.

21. कर्मणा केन मे लोके जनः सर्वोऽनुरज्यते ।

विरज्यते केन तथा विज्ञेयं तन्महीक्षिता ॥

विरागजनकं लोके वर्जनीयं विशेषतः ॥

तथाच रागप्रभवा हि लज्जो

राज्ञां मता भास्करवंशचन्द्र !

तस्मात् प्रथमेन नरेन्द्रमुख्यः

कार्योऽनुरागो भुवि मानवेष्ट ॥

ch. 215, v. 95—96

22. वसेत् सुदृष्टेषु राजकेषु । सुसंहितेषु च जनेषु निव ॥

ch. 14, v. 55

23. जितमुखो नृपो यत्र वलवान् धर्मतत्परः ।

तत्र निव वसेत् प्राज्ञः कुतः कुनृपतो मुखं ॥

पौराः सुसंहिता यत्र सततं न्यायवर्तिनः

शान्तामत्सरिणो लोकास्तत्रवासः सुखादयः ॥

ch. 221, v. 110—11

24. आखेटाक्षी स्त्रीसेवा पानक्षैवाधर्मदूषणम् ।

वाग्दण्डोपशान्तिपादण्यं सप्तैतानि विवर्जयेत् ॥

Kalikapurana, ch. 84, v. 42.

25. Chap. VII, v. 123.

26. i, 754.

27. ii, 227.

28. *The History of Aryan Rule in India*, Harrap, London, 1918, p. 207

in accordance with ethics and whatever is not opposed to policy and to act according to that and never to act arbitrarily.²⁹

"There was no struggle", says Mr. Havell, "for freedom of conscience or for the political rights of individuals, because both were established by the unwritten law of the land, confirmed by every monarch in his coronation oath....."

Religion took the foremost place in the political history of India by a natural psychological process, because when the preliminary steps in social evolution were passed—freedom of conscience and a sufficient measure of personal liberty to ensure the contentment and material prosperity of the community—all impediments to the attainment of the highest goal of intellectual effort—spiritual freedom—had been removed."³⁰

The Sukraniti lays down that the king must never act upon his own opinions,³¹ but upon the opinions of the majority.³² Public opinion is more powerful than the king, as the rope made up of many fibres is strong enough to drag a lion.³³

"In defining the limitations of monarchy the Hindu lawgiver is much more explicit and outspoken than the barons of England at Runnymede when they dictated Magna Carta. Whoever the reputed author [of the *Sukraniti*] might have been, he certainly was regarded as an exponent of an ancient popular tradition which every king was bound to respect, for these *Nitisaras* were the text-books for the king's education. There are always kings who forget their lessons or learn them badly, but the theory that India has never enjoyed a constitution according to modern ideas is an historical fiction which does not bear careful examination."³⁴

Discussing the very remarkable evidence of genuine local self-government and the management of village revenues and common lands, tanks, gardens, and charitable endowments, &c., by different committees of the village *Sabhas* and *Maha-Sabhas* elected after regular voting by ballot on the most approved modern methods and the exercise of judicial powers extending not only to the imposition of fines but also to capital punishment by these assemblies, full details of which have been brought to

light by recent archaeological research on South Indian temple inscriptions of the ninth to the twelfth centuries A.D., Mr. Havell very justly concludes that

"the common belief of Europe that Indian monarchy was always an irresponsible and arbitrary despotism is so far as concerns the pre-Muhammadan period, only one of the many false conceptions of Indian history held by Europeans. Neither ancient nor modern history in Europe can show a system of local self-government more scientifically planned, nor one which provided more effective safeguards against abuses, than that which was worked out by Aryan philosophers as the social and political basis of Indo-Aryan religion. The liberty of the Englishman was wrung from unwilling rulers by bitter struggles and by civil war. India's Aryan constitution was a free gift of the intellectuals to the people; it was designed, not in the interest of one class, but to secure for all classes as full a measure of liberty and of spiritual and material possessions as their respective capacities and consideration of the commonweal permitted."³⁵

Speaking of Southern India at the dawn of the Christian era, Mr. Aiyangar in his *Ancient India* (ch. IV) says :

"The rulers in those days held before them high ideals of government. Their absolute authority was limited by the 'five great assemblies', as they were called, of ministers, priests, generals, heralds (spies), and ambassadors. There appears to have been a general permit for a learned Brahmin to speak his mind in any *darbar*; and these often gave out their opinions most fearlessly. This privilege was similarly accorded also to men of learning."

The account of the Chola administration (A.D. 900 to 1300) in chapter VI reads like a romance, though gathered from the most authoritative and unimpeachable sources, and demonstrates that self-government of a democratic type not surpassed by any country in the modern world—formed the very basis of society in Southern India.

In a little book recently written by Mr. Vincent A. Smith to prove the unfitness of Indians for responsible government, that most hostile of all writers was compelled to admit that

"Both Hindus and Muhammadans recognised that the king had duties as well as rights, and that if he was from one point of view the master, he was from another the servant of the state. A

29. See the quotation from Mahabharata, Santiparva, Havell, pp. 35—6.

30. Havell, *op. cit.*, pp. 215—16.

31. ii, 5—6. 32. i, 232—33.

33. iv, 7, 838—39. 34. Havell, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

35. Havell, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

recent Hindu author justly observes that 'the conception of the king as servant of the state was one of the basic principles of political thought in Ancient India'. The idea finds frequent expression in literature, most emphatically, perhaps, in the declarations of Asoka".³⁶

Bhartrihari in the seventh century A.D. wrote as follows in his *Nitisataka* or Century of Morals :

'O king, if thou wouldst suck the Earth like the cow, tend now thy subjects like a calf, for if they are so tended, constantly and well, the Earth becomes as fruitful as the mythical Kalpa tree'.³⁷

36. *Indian Constitutional Reform viewed in the light of history*—by V. A. Smith (Oxford, 1919) p. 20.

37. राजन् दुधुचसि यदि क्षितिष्वनुमेतां

तेनाद्य वत्सुभिर्वलोक्यमानसु प्रप्राण ।

The prosperity of the people under a good king was, in fact, a fundamental axiom of Hindu politics.

We shall conclude with two further extracts.

'The king whose subjects are devoted, who is devoted to the protection of his subjects, and who has disciplined himself, enjoys great prosperity.'³⁸ 'In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness; in their welfare his welfare; whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good'.³⁹

X.

तस्मिन्स्य सत्यगतिश्च परिपोष्यमाणे

नानाफलैः फलति कल्पवृक्षेव भूमिः ॥

38. The Sukraniti, ch. I, v. 191—92

39. Kautilya's Arthashastra, Book I, ch. XIX, 39.

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH CHINA ?

By ST. NIHAL SINGH.

EVERY Oriental, no matter to what particular Eastern nation he may belong, is deeply interested in China's future; for so long as she remains a prey to chaos, the finger of Occidental scorn, will be pointed towards her, to remind all Asiatics of their incompetence to manage their own affairs. I, therefore, took the opportunity of seeing His Excellency Chengting T. Wang, one of the Chinese Peace Delegates, when he recently came to London on a brief visit, and asked him to tell me just what the matter was with China, why the Republic was so unstable, why there was internecine conflict, and why his people could not settle down to putting their house in order, and to assisting the world to create a new order.

I first met His Excellency in Shanghai fourteen or fifteen years ago, when I was engaged in journalism in the Far East, when he was trying to learn all that he could of Western institutions from friendly Americans and Europeans. Shortly afterwards

we both travelled on the same steamer to Japan, where he had undertaken to work among the Chinese students, who at the time numbered something like 18,000 men and women, all eager to learn from Nippon the arts of peace and war which had enabled her to defeat Russia, and to become recognised as one of the great Powers of the world. Now that China is a Republic, it will do no harm for me to say that on board that steamer Mr. Wang told me that China would have no chance whatever until the Manchus had been swept away and the way had been cleared for the younger men to come into power and set things right. More than once while in Japan he enlarged upon that theme in conversation with me.

After leaving Tokyo I lost sight of Mr. Wang, until I met him the other day in London. During the intervening years he had gone to the United States, taken his M. A. degree from the Yale University, and returned to China just before the revolu-

tion began. Believing, as he did, that the Manchus should be driven out of power in the interests of Chinese progress, Mr. Wang threw himself heart and soul into the movement. He was at Wuchang when fighting was going on there, but apparently he bore a charmed life, and came out of it without a scratch. After the disappearance of the Manchus his intimate knowledge of Eastern and Western institutions, and his great energy, enabled him to force his way to the forefront of public life in his country, and he was elected Vice-President of the Chinese Senate, and later was appointed Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. When Yuan Shih Kai usurped power Mr. Wang remained true to the ideals of republicanism, and stuck to the South. His inclusion among the Chinese Peace Delegates is, for that reason, significant.

For a man in the prime of life and full of energy, His Excellency talks with great gravity. He told me that to understand the situation that exists in China to-day, and to realise the problems that confront the Chinese patriots, it is necessary to make a survey of recent Chinese history.

"You may recall," he said, "that in 1897 two German missionaries were accidentally murdered in the interior of Shantung. The Chinese murderers were apprehended and executed, certain officials were punished for lax conduct, indemnity was paid, and two expiatory churches were erected. Nevertheless Germany refused to drop the matter, and demanded that Kiaochao be leased to her for a period of 99 years. Since that demand was enforced by a German squadron under the command of the Prince Henry of Prussia, the late Kaiser's brother, China had to submit.

"Other European nations were watching the German game in the Far East. None of them stopped Germany from robbing China, but as soon as she had succeeded in wringing concessions out of China, Russia demanded Port Arthur and Dalny, Great Britain Wei-Hai-Wei, and France Kwang-Chwai-Wan, in order to maintain the balance of power in Extreme Asia.

"China was helpless in the matter. Everyone believed that she had no self-

respect—no national pride and thus it would be impossible to hurt her self-respect and her national pride. Greatly was the world surprised, therefore, when the Boxer Rebellion broke out in the beginning of the present century. Many explanations were given at the time and many have been given since, but the only basis on which it is possible to explain why certain Chinese massacred foreigners, and laid siege to the Legation in Peking is that they resented the humiliation that the foreigners had heaped upon their country. In other words the "blow-out" was the result of mad resentment, although it was expressed in a stupid way.



CHENGTING T. WANG,

Late Vice-President of the Chinese Senate.
Former Minister of Commerce and Industry,
Peace Delegate of the Chinese Republic.

"Not long after the outbreak had been put down by the joint forces of the various Western powers and Japan, an indemnity levied, and other harsh terms imposed upon China, things appeared to settle

down. But they really never did so. There was unrest under the surface. China still nursed her bruised national pride. These of her sons who could think for themselves, and who were filled with love for their country, found it difficult to hold their heads high. Severally and collectively they felt that the weak, effete Manchu Government, which was unable to give China a sound, progressive, administration, and which was no match for the foreign diplomatic, consular, financial and military agents was a stumbling block that must be removed at any cost, and as speedily as possible.

Then came the Japanese war with Russia. That inverted values. Russia, which the Chinese had looked upon as a giant, was beaten by our little neighbour from across the China Sea—our little neighbour who got her religion, literature, and art from us, and who still employed our ideographs. They said that Russia's heart was not in the fight, otherwise little Japan could not have beaten her. But explanation or no explanation, we could see that Japan had hurled the Russian soldiers back from the seaboard, hundreds and hundreds of miles, and that in their retreat, the Russians had lost large numbers of men and great quantities of *material*.

That defeat—or whatever you may like to call it—galvanised China. Thousands of our young men who used to scoff at Japanese progress hurried across the sea and entered Japanese schools and colleges. Hundreds of other young men went to America and to various other countries in Europe to learn the art and science of the West. The progressive among the provincial governors aided many of these enthusiastic young Chinese to go on their pilgrimages to the students' Mecca of the world.

The United States of America set a high moral example to the world. It refused to take any more Chinese money for the men who had been killed or maimed, and the property that had been damaged during the Boxer Rebellion. That example was, alas! lost upon the other nations, but China was deeply moved. And I am glad

to say that our Government, in spite of its weakness and shortsightedness, rose to the occasion at that time. It told the authorities at Washington that China was ineffably moved by American generosity and that it wished to make arrangements so that the money that the United States was remitting would still be spent in America. She proposed to use it in educating her promising young men and women at American schools, colleges and universities.

"It is strange how even intelligent persons all over the world continue to cherish the notion that in remitting their share of the Boxer indemnity Americans made a bargain with the Chinese that that money must be spent in the United States of America. That is a libel upon American character. The arrangement was suggested by China.

"As the young men, and aye, the young women educated abroad—and especially in the United States—returned to China to find that the Government still went on in its sleepy reactionary way, the warm young blood coursing in their veins began to boil. Controversy over affairs in Manchuria was going on between China and Japan at the time. Chinese indignation at Japanese high-handedness led to the boycott of Japanese goods. Collision between the Chinese and the Japanese in China occurred, for which China had to eat humble pie. That made the young Chinese men grit their teeth, and hastened the revolution, which was precipitated on October 10, 1911.

"I myself thought", said Mr. Wang, "that the revolution broke out prematurely. But that could not be helped. It is not possible to control such a movement when it goes beyond a certain stage. Any how, premature or not, it succeeded. The struggle was brief and not particularly sanguinary. The Manchus were advised to abdicate by Yuan-Shih-Kai. They did so. The way was thus made clear for the establishment of the new order.

"Time did not justify the placing of Yuan-Shih-Kai at the head of the Republic; but at the time that appeared to be the only thing to do. At any rate, in the circumstance, it was magnanimous of Dr.

Sun-Yet-Sen the 'father' of the revolution, to offer the highest prize in the gift of a nation to another individual. Even though Yuan acted treacherously, Dr. Sun's abnegations did not go altogether in vain. I believe it had a tremendous effect upon the world. It showed quite clearly, more than anything else could possibly have done, that Young China was not out merely for office and that, you will concede, was a great thing.

"After the revolution had succeeded we found," said His Excellency, "that our difficulties were greatly increased because the various Powers of the world—strange as it may sound—appeared to be lined up with the reactionaries against the progressives. The reactionary elements in the country were strong numerically, and extremely influential. With the backing that they received from various agents, and especially the money that they were given by various nations, they could defy the progressives. That, I think, is the real reason why the progressives have not been able to succeed any better than they have done—why during the short space of 7 years there have been 4 revolutions, and two attempts to re-establish the Imperial regime.

"When the War began and the liberal Powers of Europe ranged themselves against the autocratic Powers of Central Europe, the progressive element in China hoped that a new chapter in Chinese history would begin. We heard, for instance, that Great Britain was going into the fight in defence of national rights and the freedom of small nations. We wanted nothing more than to be left alone to work out our own salvation, and we believed that Britain and her Allies meant their formulas to apply as much to the Far East as to the Far West.

"While Chinese Progressives felt thus, the Chinese Government began to negotiate with Germany for taking over the unexpired lease of Kiaochao. But these negotiations were rudely interrupted by the ultimatum served by Japan upon Germany. When China offered to join forces with the Allies to co-operate in the reduction of that German outpost, her offer was objected to by a certain Power.

"Early in 1915 China renewed her offer to go into the war. But for some unspecified reason that same Power was opposed to her doing so. A friendly diplomat in China advised our Government not to press her demands. What could China do ?

"You will see, therefore," pointed out His Excellency, "that it was not China's fault that until 1917 she remained neutral, and that her contribution to the war consisted merely in sending thousands of Chinese sailors to help to keep afloat Allied merchantmen engaged in bringing food to Britain and other lands, and hundreds of thousands of Chinese labourers to work behind the lines and in munition factories in France, Mesopotamia and elsewhere ; and providing large quantities of provisions and raw materials for use in war and other industries. The entry of the United States of America into the war, and her appeal to the neutrals to join the Powers associated together to crush the menace of militarism and to make the world safe for democracy, paved the way for China to come in.

"You may recall", emphasised the Chinese statesman, "that no delay occurred on the part of China. Further she made it absolutely clear that she had gone into the fight from no sordid or ulterior motive. Her whole aim was to help to crush the peril to civilisation, and to insure national rights and self-determination.

"China's entry into the war profoundly affected the Far Eastern situation, especially the situation in regard to Kiaochao. From that time onward the territory did not remain territory that had been acquired by an enemy from a nation that was neutral. With China fighting on the side of the Allies, it became a territory that rightfully belonged to an Ally, and that, if the Allied formulas of national rights and self-determination had any meaning whatever, must be handed back to China. But the Chinese delegates at Paris find that the fate of a territory which belongs to China, one of the Allies, is being settled on the basis of *conquest*. While the Allies have refused to make the territories in Africa which actually belonged to Germany the subject of barter with Germany, it is proposed that the fate of Kiaochao, which

was merely leased to the Germans, shall be a matter to be settled by the victors with the vanquished. China is to be treated in this matter as if she were not an Ally at all."

I reminded His Excellency that the Japanese had definitely promised to transfer to the Chinese the rights and privileges in the leased territory in Kiaochao that Germany was to transfer to them. "Yes," said he, "I know all that. But Japan has expressed the intention of retaining part of Tsingtao as a Japanese concession. They want no more than twelve (12) square miles. That is true. But those twelve square miles contain the wharves, railway terminus, and the business part of the town. Besides, the Japanese desire to have certain railway, mining, and industrial rights in Shantung—including the joint management of the railways, with Japanese guards stationed on them."

After a short pause, the Chinese statesman added with great deliberation, as if he was weighing every word that he uttered: "If the Chinese were to consent to giving such rights to Japan, which, unlike Germany, is China's next-door neighbour, what becomes of China's territorial integrity and her sovereignty? That is the reason why my colleagues and I in Paris have adopted an uncompromising attitude over the Kiaochao question. Since we are asking for nothing but the application of the principles for which the Allies fought so nobly, we fully expect that they will sympathise with our cause."

"Whatever the future may hold for Kiaochao, it is to be hoped that alien imperialism and foreign financial interests will let us alone to work out our own salvation. If the world will give us a chance it will find that we Chinese know our own minds. Whatever the cost, all the progressive elements in our country are united in their desire for the preservation of Chinese independence, and the Republican form of Government. In face of tremendous difficulties we are doing all that we possibly can to improve and extend education, sanitation, and communications, to revise and codify our laws, and to re-organise our institutions, so

that, while retaining the essential Chinese characteristics, they will conform as far as possible to the most modern standards.

"Our ideals and aims should appeal to every progressive person in the Allied countries, and should guarantee to us that sympathy and help without which, as matters stand at present, it is impossible for us to establish a new world order in China. 'The spheres of influence' which menace our sovereignty and which prevent our commercial and industrial expansion, must go. So must consular jurisdiction, which offends Chinese national self-respect and often causes miscarriage of justice. The postal and similar concessions wrung by the Powers from China must also disappear, for they are like grit in the Chinese eye, and they hamper Chinese progress. The Powers must also withdraw the obligation imposed upon China to levy customs at the uniform rate of five per cent. *ad valorem*, irrespective of whether they are necessities or luxuries—a clear case of injustice.

"Besides all this 'negative help,' the liberal peoples of the Allied countries can render us much 'positive' assistance. We need capital, not to carry on internecine warfare and to pursue Imperialistic and jingo politics, but to build railways and roads to develop natural resources and industries, and to carry out other equally urgent measures of national amelioration. We need not only capital, but also experts who will help us to reorganise our institutions, whom we are willing to pay adequately, and who, in days to come, will be sure to be gratefully remembered by China. But first, last, and all the time, we desire to be left alone, so that we may be able to carry on the work of regeneration undisturbed. Foreigners must cease interfering with our internal affairs—aiding one party against the other. That really is the root-cause of the trouble. The minute foreigners cease giving money and other help to Chinese factions, internecine warfare will receive its death-warrant, and the reign of order and progress can be unshored in."

Let us hope that this appeal of the Chinese statesman and patriot will not fall upon deaf ears.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Rabindranath's Resignation.

Everyman's Review (Madras) for June, 1919 in its Notes and Comments writes :

Though the title of a Knighthood is but a trifle for a man of Rabindranath's genius and celebrity, his resigning that conventional honour, coveted by most men and only very sparingly conferred by the Government, and resigning it quite unprovoked and unincited by personal insults is an act of heroism and charity characteristic of the world-renowned poet. -If we want to have a precedent to this, we must go back to him alone; and his refusal to visit Canada and deliver lectures at the Canadian Universities because of the injustice done to the Indians settled in Canada is the only other example that can be compared to this resignation prompted by simple and pure fellow-feeling and regard for the mother-country. The letter written by the poet to His Excellency the Viceroy on the eve of his resignation will hereafter form a land-mark in the history of political and literary advancement of India. Dr. Johnson's letter to Lord Chesterfield is famous and epoch-making in the history of English Literature because of the courage with which it upholds the dignity of human nature and condemns the hypocrisy of all scheming tyrants posing themselves as patrons of Fine Arts. Rabindranath Tagore's letter is destined to take a place secondary, if at all, only to that of Dr. Johnson's celebrated epistle, and future generations of Indians will read and re-read it and feel inspired by the language of lofty moral indignation used by the poet against the wrongs done to his humble and beloved countrymen.

While we reproduce the above with approval, we fail to find any exact analogy between Dr. Johnson's famous letter to Lord Chesterfield and that of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore to Lord Chelmsford. Johnson wrote his letter actuated by the wrong, supposed or real, inflicted on him by Lord Chesterfield by neglecting his claims to recognition while he was in distress and then going forward to heap praises on him when he was no longer in need of any patronage. Rabindranath was never in distress arising from poverty and never sought any patronage from anybody, much less from the authorities represented by Lord Chelmsford. Thus while Johnson's letter was a protest against personal neglect Rabindranath's is nothing of the kind, being based solely on national grounds in that it contains his

resignation of all titles and honours conferred on him by a Government with which he ceases to see eye to eye as to the manner of the administration of the affairs of his country and people.

The Uplift of Indian Womanhood.

Mr. Abdul Hameed contributes a well-written article under the above heading in the June number of *East and West* now published from Simla. The article runs :

From the beginning of time Woman has occupied a very important position in Society. She has always been in a large measure the source of strength and inspiration, and there are instances in the history of all nations where women have been the types of all the highest qualities. We have Savitri, the ideal of perfect Love, who conquered Death; we have Sita, who is held in the highest reverence as the ideal of Indian womanhood. Women have always exerted a great influence on every race. Well has it been said, "The hand that rocks the cradle is the power that moves the world." It looks impossible that a nation can be great and free if its other half is held in bondage. That is a question with which we, in the India of these changing times, are confronted, and it looks as if in the path of our nation's destiny the words of the poet ring truer than ever :

"The woman's cause is man's, they rise or sink
Together, dwarf'd or godlike, bond or free."

In the main, we have forgotten the high ideals of the long ago, and Indian womanhood is not given the freedom and knowledge which men enjoy and that is why our national awakening is only half complete. Women are looked upon as slaves and they are considered to have no duty higher than doing the ordinary household work. They are denied the light and air of life. As for the state of their education it is very backward, and one feels the position which they nowadays occupy when it is borne in mind that on education depends the realisation of the values of life, the social, moral and political issues, as well as as the knowledge of their duties in home and civic life.

It is the mothers who are the mainspring of all the activities of the race, the mothers who in their very laps arouse race-consciousness, that have been the builders and the mainstay of empires. These are the mothers like the mother of the Gracchi, that made Rome what it was—the pride of the nations, and the wonder of subsequent ages. There is no greater duty, no nobler task for Young India than the one which can be so simply expressed. "Make women realise their Self," for only in self-realisation lies the knowledge of God, and the world. Let them feel that they are the inheritors of great ideals, and that the redemption

of their nation depends on them. Woman's position with man's is one of equality, and both complement one another in the labours of life. This idea must take deep root in us, and will give rise to a reverence towards women which is their due. Therefore the first duty that we owe to women as well as to ourselves is the proper realisation of the place of women in society. Having done that and felt how indispensable they are to national as well as individual well-being, how handicapped societies and individuals are without the help and guidance of womankind, the next thing is to equip them so as to become of the greatest service. This can be achieved by a healthy and proper system of education commensurate with their needs. This must not degenerate into a fetish of instruction, that would be the greatest disservice we can do; rather let it aim at developing their highest qualities. When we have succeeded there, we shall have solved one of our greatest national problems, and raised society to a nobler level where men and women still walk as comrades, and the progress of the state also in every sphere will be assured.

Unless, therefore, a feeling of sacredness and reverence surrounds womanhood, and the high ideals of a golden past where women were goddesses and partakers of life, and not mere jasmine flowers, there can be no real progress. The springtide of our regeneration will not come until our women hold forth the banner of a nation's freedom. For, as the Prophet of Araby has so exquisitely said, "Under the feet of the Mother lies Paradise."

यत्र नार्यास्तु पूज्यन्ते रमन्ते तत्र देवता :—where women are honoured there the gods rejoice —is a Hindu saying.

Religious Education.

In the June number of *The Hindusthan Review* (of Allahabad) there appears an article under the above caption in the course of which the writer, Mr. Doraiswamy Iyengar, B.A., says :

The present system of English education in India which was established in the thirties of the last century has been found faulty in many respects and capable of much improvement. Of late it has become the fashion in India to decry this system without thought or moderation, and lay every evil in the land on its head. Among its suggested defects none has been subjected to so much criticism as the absence of religious instruction. This protest against pure secular education received articulate voice during the national awakening of the last decade and found concrete expression in the movement for the two denominational universities. Just now this question has drawn upon itself an unduly large portion of national attention.

The writer continues :

The problem of religious education, though apparently a simple one, really involves many issues. It is the most perplexing education problem of modern times all over the world, as it is attended with insurmountable difficulties, theoretical and practical.

The crux of it is that it raises some of the deepest controversies of the modern age which have irreconcilably divided people into hostile camps. A plea for religious education falls into three parts; a case has to be made out for the universal necessity of studying religion; next, it must be proved that religious education can be satisfactorily imparted only in public schools; lastly, an actual scheme must be devised meeting all the practical difficulties. The champions of religious education mostly devote themselves to the first of these and altogether ignore the second and the third, failing to perceive the possibility of opposing religious education on any one of the three grounds even if the other two are granted. They also ignore the difference either between religious education and religious instruction, or between religious education and moral education, and confounding all of them with one another commit serious fallacies.

Continuing the writer observes :

Several reasons are advanced to show the universal necessity for the study of religion, the most pet reason being that religion is the soundest basis for morality. On this supposition very many people have indulged in a good deal of 'cheap talk' about our present system of education. This education is described as sceptical, materialistic and debased in character, capable of producing only rank agnostics and frivolous atheists without 'having' any living faith for later life, and almost solely responsible for the moral degeneration in the country.

The writer further argues :

Leaving aside for the present the question of the difference between morality and religion, it can be seen that the summary condemnation of the present system of education as being by nature immoral and solely responsible for all the supposed moral degradation of our nation, is hardly fair. There is no doubt that the hold of traditional morality and conventional religion on the educated youth of to-day has been largely undermined, and some signs of a little moral confusion are visible in our national life to-day. But this is the result of many causes. All over the world the modern spirit is up in arms against customary morality of any sort and India has also witnessed within herself this upheaval in the world thought. The clash between the old and the new, the East and the West, is now violently raging amidst us, and the commotion incidental to such a wholesale shaking of thought and life cannot be judged by the standard of a peaceful age. All our cherished standards of life, outlook on things and experience of the world have been thrown into confusion, and under such conditions there is scope for some frivolous, if not positively immoral, living. Westernism has implanted within us the spirit on individualism which is the great solvent of all traditions and set-forms. The Age of Authority and of unquestioning obedience to it is past and the individual is the master of himself and his opinions. Modernism is also the most formidable antagonist of all kinds of formalism; it wants to have the spirit, the inner meaning, and rejects all external forms. It is just possible that our youths have given up all the external and unessential forms of moral and religious observance, and drawn upon themselves the wrath of the large body of traditional formalists. The existing system of education is the undoubted cause of the

advent of these factors, that have shaken the hold of conventional morality but it is not inherently opposed to morality itself.

Mr. Iyengar goes on arguing :

But is not this supposed moral depravity of our educated youths an exaggeration? Is the present system of education really so bad as is made out? It is atrocious on the part of our leaders to call the entire educated community of India by bad names, when that community has successfully acquitted itself in all the available fields of national activity and has been primarily responsible for the national progress so far attained. It is also an exaggeration to call the modern system of education as sceptical and atheistic. How many of the thousands of its products have led atheistic lives? Most of these are law-abiding men, meek and pious. And besides even if the education is atheistic there ought to be no harm since the Hindu is said to be inherently the most religious of beings.

The writer continues :

People say that the present system of education is essentially materialistic and as such imperfect as well as dangerous. A mere physical, external, animal sort of life is no doubt bad, and the present education is to some extent responsible for such a kind of life. But this does not arise from the secular character of the education. Education in Europe is mostly secular but still spiritual. If by spiritual we imply the notion of other-worldliness, then the European and the Indian systems of education are both non-spiritual, materialistic and secular. But how is this dangerous or low? Are we to say that Mill, Spencer, George Elliot, Leslie Stephen, John Morley, Bradlaugh and Heckel are

persons of no worth because they are not spiritual in the above sense? - One of the greatest leaders of modern India, the late G. K. Gokhale, was an agnostic who had adopted the intellectual creed of English Philosophical Radicalism. Was India any the worse off on account of this? A distinguished student of the material sciences like Sir J. C. Bose, who has grown up, so far as his public education went, in a purely secular and materialistic environment, can prove to be a more spiritual and religious man than a Pandit who has grown up in a life-long study of religion, provided he has a tendency for introspection. Deep reflection on any thing may lead to the development of a philosophy of life, eminently serviceable to its author throughout his life. Those who have read the thoughtful discourses of Sir J. C. Bose can know how he has been able to draw out an altogether original and independent philosophy of life from a deep reflection on the biologic processes of nature. The cant about the materialism of our education and its danger to the country has no foundation in fact....

It is not thus proper to condemn the present system of education in India as being responsible for all the moral evils of our national life. The environment and the character of our life are more to blame for this than the educational system.

The writer concludes :

Without prejudice to these considerations the contention of Mr. Justice Sheshagiri Iyer may be conceded, that if the mass of the people in a country demand religious education, it must be provided for. The best agency for it must always lie outside the school.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The British Empire and The League of Nations.

In the April number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* Bishop Frodsham, who is especially dubious about the operation of the mandatory system, writes about the League of Nations in the following manner:

It would be futile to imagine that all who are concerned with the formation of the League of Nations are friends of the British Empire. They may neither side with Germany nor be planning our undoing, but none the less they do not consider themselves as custodians of our imperial foundations or superstructure. On the other hand, there are some who believe that the British Empire will gain, in some unexplained fashion, by the mandatory system. No greater mistake could be made. And even if the British were to gain much, they would lose far more, and the whole world would share their loss, if it meant purchasing a cumbrous political machine at the cost of the new-born spirit of unity and trust which has sprung up between America and the Allies—an ethical kinship which may yet prove to be the best positive product of the war.

This article has not been prompted by any prejudice against the main principle for which the League of Nations may be presumed to stand. The British Empire stands for the same principle, which is nothing less than making the world into a peaceful home for a united human family. The main difference between the League of Nations and the British Empire is that one is a theoretical venture, the other has the right to claim experimental value; the one plans from the circumference, the other works from the centre. The League of Nations is a glorious dream, but the British Empire is a solid reality. However drab in comparison with dreamland the British Empire may appear, it exists upon this much-enduring, blood-stained earth as a preliminary sketch of what the whole world can become, that is, a community of all varieties of the human race bound together by ties light as air but strong as iron. The ink upon the charter of the League of Nations is barely dry, and already the draft may be pencilled over with innumerable amendments. The constitution of the British Empire has not yet been written. It is in the heart of the people—the same people who have shown their willingness to die for the Empire but who, it is complained, refuse even to be interested in the

League of Nations. The British Empire is the product of gradual development and of three hundred years of practical experience. It has neither outgrown its usefulness nor is it tottering to its fall. It is by far the largest and most extensive part of the edifice of human society. And no greater world-disaster could be conceived than that the fabric of the Empire should be undermined in order to make room for an ambitious but imperfectly thought-out scheme for building a Palace of Peace, which may turn out to be only another castle in Spain.

How self-righteous !

The Monroe Doctrine.

We are indebted to *The Review of Reviews* (London) for the following interesting extracts relating to the oft-quoted Monroe Doctrine :

The genesis of the famous political doctrine known as the Monroe Doctrine, says Mr. J. G. R. Marriott, in the April number of the *Edinburgh Review*, has been the subject of considerable dispute. The theory contains in its complete form two distinct formulæ, first, abstention on the part of America from any intervention in European affairs, and, secondly, the exclusion of European influence from the American continent ; and both formulæ date long before the President who gave them their name. The first was explicitly affirmed by Washington in his Farewell Address in 1795, and by Jefferson in his First Inaugural in 1801 ; and it was not long before the second and strictly correlative formula was added to it, for as early as 1808 Jefferson insisted that the object of the United States should be "to exclude all European influence from this hemisphere." The first enunciation of the Doctrine, by President Monroe, in 1823, was brought about by Canning's famous endeavour to "bring in the New World to redress the balance of the Old." Mr. Marriott says :—

By this message Canning was gravely perturbed. He had got much more than he bargained for. All that he desired was the co-operation of the United States in thwarting the supposed designs of the Holy Alliance, and in particular of France, upon the Spanish colonies. What he got was a general intimation, *urbi et orbi*, that henceforward the American continent would be the exclusive preserve of the American peoples, and that no further acquisitions of American soil would be permitted to European or other States.

From December 1823 to December 1918 the Monroe Doctrine has been the sheet-anchor of American diplomacy. Primarily put forward in reference to the Russian claim upon the North-West coast and to the crisis in Spanish South America, the principles enunciated by President Monroe were from the first, perceived to possess a far wider application. Canning's chagrin was amply justified. The message no more discriminated between Great Britain and the absolutist Powers of the Continent than did the propagandist Decrees issued by the French Republic in the autumn of 1792. It was, in fact, as Professor Dunning has candidly admitted, the pronouncement of a great democracy just arrived at aggressive self-consciousness. Its underlying spirit was in very truth antagonism, so far as concerned

affairs of the Western hemisphere, to all monarchic Europe, Great Britain included.

Japan and India—As Others See Us.

Under the above heading Mr. S. Kamisaka, Managing-Director, Japan Spinners' Union, who recently travelled in India on business, records his views about this country and its people in the pages of the *Journal of the Indo-Japanese Association*, No. 24 (Tokyo), in the following words :

Rather closely connected as Japan and India are in respect of thought, they are, materially speaking, truly alienated from each other. While Europe, which first came into touch with Indian thought about the mediaeval age and which has even now but a very faint spiritual relation with India, has got ahead of Japan in entering into close material relations with India and succeeded, after exchanges of commodities, in obtaining territorial possession, Japan, to our great regret, still ranks in Indian trade among such minor European countries as have the least. This is, needless to say, due to the general trend of modern civilization of the world. Had our navigation been as active since the 17th century as that of Europe and our national resources as bountiful, India would have approached Japan before Europe, and Japan would have no doubt achieved as much at least as Europe did in India. But our domestic conditions are too widely different from those of Europe, and our national resources too inferior to enable us to reap the same result in India. It will not be, however, too exaggerated a statement to say that within twenty years hence Indo-Japanese relations will undergo a thorough change.

The writer continues to observe under the sub-caption "Religious Caste a Drag upon Indians :—"

International relations depend a great deal, if not entirely, upon national feelings, for national feeling plays an important role in international friendship. The Indians have entertained good feelings towards the Japanese, or, more properly, show a national tendency to approach Japan. But this tendency is founded not as the result of the popular feeling, but upon the national faith, which is more deeply rooted than feeling. For, the Indians are a unique religious people, and their thought is so fundamentally religious, that they can conceive nothing without religion ; religion is the sum total of Indian thought. And according to the religion which they embrace, the caste system, entirely peculiar to India, will never be changed as long as the world remains populated. To the Indian eye, therefore, the protection of the caste means more than that of the state. For man is born in caste, and there exists no human being outside of caste. Violate

the usage of caste, and you are doomed entirely. Members of different castes never marry, have any sort of intercourse, or sit at table together. People of the same caste get intimate, but those of different castes reject one another, at the pleasure of their gods. The fundamental principle of Indian thought is religion. Religion accounts for the existence of caste, which is most strictly adhered to as something sacred. The attitude of the Indians towards other people, whether neighbours or strangers or aliens, is governed by this caste spirit. Once an intimate Indian friend called me a "Brahmin of Japan," meaning that among the Japanese people, who are on the whole friendly, I was the most friendly to this particular Indian, like one of the Brahmin caste of his country. This is enough to show how thoroughly the caste spirit permeates the thought of the Indians.

According to this Japanese gentleman "Indians are a lovable nation." Talking of the "attitude of Great Britain towards India" Mr. Kamisaka observes :

Great Britain is far more disadvantageously situated than Japan in regard to an understanding of the psychology of the Indians. For something stands in the way of the union of the European and Indian minds. There were some hundred thousand British subjects in India in pre-war times, but how many of this large number truly understood the customs, manners and hearts of the people? Need I mention the still greater difficulty the British people at home experience in their study of India? Still, be it said to the credit of Great Britain, that the British colonial policy has been a successful one.

Apart from political and financial affairs, England never interferes with any Indian customs or practices pertaining to their religion, but leaves such matters to the free judgment of the Indians. The British people never hint at the improvement of these practices. For they know full well that a careless interference with any religious question, which is the central thought of the Indians, might lead to serious trouble. And this fear is not imaginary or groundless, for every trouble that Great Britain has experienced with Indians and every outburst of Indian rage have been directly or indirectly connected with religion. The Indians are comparatively indifferent in matters of politics, finance and other social questions. It is the Indian policy of Great Britain, I believe, not to anglicize India from the foundation, but to unify the internal administration, maintain order and peace in the country, increase Indian wealth, and obtain as much profit herself as possible. And Great Britain has perfectly attained her object in the past, for under the British administration India has seen the most peaceful prosperity ever witnessed in Indian history, and the Indian is perfectly satisfied with British government, showing no sign of discontent or complaint.

Even the anti-British feelings, often reported lately, represent the views of but a small portion of the Indian people, having nothing to do with the general sentiments of the nation.

The writer, under the sub-caption "Indian Trade Prospects", concludes.

I have elsewhere stated what good feeling the Indian people entertain towards the Japanese, and good feelings often pave the way for peaceful business transactions. Besides, no other nation in the world is more influenced, either favorably or otherwise, by social considerations. Their characteristic exclusiveness, by which they never eat anything touched by one of another caste, may be held to account for the distinctions they make in caste, in race, in religion, and everything else. But this same trait may influence them in business transactions, and also in the purchase of daily necessities. This is the natural tendency from which no Indian can free himself. If, therefore, the Japanese manage to harmonise themselves with the thought and feelings of the Indians, become truly intimate and friendly with them, most confidently and confidently lead and guide them, and, at the same time improve and promote our industries to meet fully the Indian demands, and exchange our industrial products for the inexhaustible natural resources of India, for the mutual convenience and profit, then we may safely expect to see Indo-Japanese relations most closely established within twenty years hence.

Multiplicity and the Social order.

We take the following from an article under the above caption contributed to the April number of the *Harvard Theological Review* by Mr. J. Lowenberg :

The issues of philosophy are too grave for facile theories. So are the issues of the war. The war is a struggle of general ideas of which there are exponents in every nation and some of which come to predominate now in this, now in that country. Racial and national conflicts themselves may be interpreted in terms of a deeper opposition. There are after all but a few fundamental problems, towards which there are but a limited number of ultimate attitudes. One such problem, of which the war of nations is only one instance, is the problem of multiplicity. And this problem is as general as it is fundamental. It is everywhere forced upon us. We have but to open our eyes to see it reflected in a thousand shapes. Nature with its manifoldness exhibits it; the inner life with its diversity of moods, passions, and motives discloses it; the social order with its variety of institutions, forces, laws, interests, and claims bares it; the world with its many lands, races, nations, states, cultures, and creeds displays it. The world is everywhere multiple and diverse. This is the universal

situation. And it is this situation which creates our significant problems, practical as well as theoretical. The problem of individual ethics is the problem of choice. In a world in which there is possible but one course of action, no moral perplexity can exist. There is a problem of social morality because there are many of us. Were there but one individual, no social questions would arise. And in a world made up of one nation only, there would be no international disputes. The problems of science have meaning because many and various and complex phenomena call for interpretation. Without a multiplicity and diversity of facts to reduce to law and order, science itself would evaporate. And philosophy—what is it but an effort to reconstruct the meaning of a world in which many antitheses and contradictions seem to prevail? The work of philosophy consists in formulating the many problems of life and of reality and in appraising the validity of opposed solutions.

Again :

Is the State logically prior to Law, or is Law logically prior to the State? Is the will of the State ultimate, or is there an authority, legal or moral, which ranks superior to the will of the State? Is or is not the State capable of criminal acts? These questions cannot be answered without determining the character and the reality of the State. As a mere collection of detached individuals it is irresponsible; as a mystic being existing as a sort of Platonic Idea, the State transcends the moral judgments which bind human individuals; as a "fictitious" or "symbolic" or "hieroglyphic" personality which is and is not an individual, the State again eludes responsibility. Truly romantic is the "double evaluation" of the group. As *Persona ficta* the State has all the privileges with none of the responsibilities of a person. But if the State is neither a collective name, nor a transcendent Idea, nor a fiction or symbol, but a person in the ethical sense, or an organized individuality, as Plato conceived his Republic, then the State can sin as do individuals, and is subject to the same moral restrictions as are its individual members.

What has Japan done in the War.

Baron Makino writing in the *London Daily Telegraph* of London, an article on "*Japan and China: An Official View*," says :

We ask nothing for Japan but those things which appear to us just and equitable, and of the justice and equity of which we may be able to convince not only the representatives of the nations in the Peace Conference, but the people of the countries they represent. We have no demands to make; we merely advance certain matters for the same consideration by other

nations as we have ourselves given to them in the light of our own position and the future of the Far East. It may be necessary to go back through the history of some years in order that we may arrive at what we regard as a fair and equitable conclusion.

After detailing *in extenso* all that has been done by the Japanese in helping in the maintenance of peace and order in central Asia and in the Far East since 1905 up to the end of the War just closed which began in 1914, the Baron concludes with the following words :

The question has been asked, 'What has Japan done in this war?' I answer only by saying that Japan has done her best. It is perhaps not unseemly to state that her fleets in the Pacific and Indian oceans and in the Mediterranean traversed over 1,200,000 miles in the work of protecting transports and merchant vessels from the submarines, and we escorted three quarters of a million men rushing to the aid of France and Britain. Japan's geographical position, her resources, and the fact that the Pacific Ocean was freed of the menace which has threatened the freedom of other seas, enabled us to provide considerable quantities of war supplies and materials to Russia, to England and to France, and including loans to Russia, the money expenditure has been a very considerable item in the budget of Japan. But these are small matters in comparison with the magnificent sacrifices of our western allies. The government and the people of Japan have been the loyal allies of Great Britain and France and the friends of Russia and of the United States. It is not for me here to enter into a relation of what we have done in detail. It is sufficient to say that what has been given or spent and what has been lost in the cause for which the allies have fought and won have been contributed in a spirit of loyalty and sympathy, and that we are here now to assist in the work of building barricades against war and in forging links of friendship and understanding between the nations of the East and of the West.

The British View of Irish Nationalism.

Under the above caption there appears an article in the *London Spectator* in the course of which the writer observes :

Everyone with a faculty for argumentation must have despaired sometimes when he found himself opposed in a discussion to a person on whom logic had no effect, for whom syllogisms did not exist, and in whose mind a rationally presented series of connecting links in argument inspired nothing but some new and fantastic irrelevance. The man with the rational mind in such circumstances recognizes at length that all his rationality is of no avail, that every point of learning and dialectic on which he prided himself might just as

well not have been uttered, for he has all the time been following the futile occupation of punching a featherbed or kicking against a brick wall. Englishmen who read the reports of Irish debates in the House of Commons know something of that despair. We cannot go into the whole of the debate which took place in the House of Commons the other day, but let us, to illustrate our meaning, disentangle a few arguments from the mass. The Nationalists—and the same thing is true of what may be called the moderate Sinn Feiners, if there be such persons—base their claim for independence upon the rights of small nationalities, and upon what in the jargon of the day has come to be known as self-determination. Surely if these men had any glimmerings of statesmanship they would at once accept the offer that has been made to them over and over again that they may set up a Parliament in Ireland which will not control the Six Counties of Northeast Ulster where the population is predominantly Unionist and Protestant. Obviously, if the majority of the people in the South and West of Ireland have a right to determine their own political destiny, the local majority of the Six Counties have an exactly similar right. That is the merest logic. If the Dublin Parliament should succeed, there can be no doubt whatever that within three or four years the excluded part of Ulster would be begging and praying to come in. If we were Ulstermen, we should always be rubbing in the fact that the unwillingness of Irishmen in the South and West to set up a Parliament where they have a really homogeneous population is the most alarming fact in the situation. Within the area which is undoubtedly of their own way of thinking the Nationalists could carry on quite happily without being balked and tormented by all those tiresome Protestant or Unionist objectors from Ulster. We feel sure that if we were Home Rulers we should actually say: 'We would rather be without miserable anti-Irish Irishmen like you Northeast Ulster people.' Directly the Nationalists began to talk in that strain, and especially if they began to make an obvious success of their affairs, Ulster Unionists and Protestants would begin to hesitate, to ask themselves questions, and to wonder if, after all, there was any need to hold out longer.

The writer continues :

But the Nationalists seem to be by temperament or brain power quite incapable of appreciating this. History for them tells its stories in vain. Suppose that during the *risorgimento* of Italy, Garibaldi, Mazzini, and Cavour had said: 'We will have all or nothing. There shall be no partition. If we cannot include in our new State some city where the population is thoroughly pro-Austrian and full of anti-Italian patriots, then we will not create a New Italy at all!' Yet, if we can imagine the creators of New Italy being so mad, their madness would not have exceeded what is solemnly and eloquently asserted by Irish Nationalist Members in the House of Commons. Mr. Ronald Mac Neil in his excellent speech put the case extremely well. He pointed out that loyal Irishmen who had fought for the maintenance of the Union for generations were anxious not to be obstructive when war came, and they abandoned their insistence upon maintaining the Union. The answer of the Nationalists and Sinn Feiners to that was, as Mr. MacNeil put it, that they wanted 'self-determination for Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, coupled with

domination over those who are outside their own borders.' 'That,' he added, 'is the sort of self-determination which I do not think the Peace Conference is likely to support.'

Further runs the article :

This reference to the Peace Conference reminds us of the appeal which the Sinn Feiners have sent to Paris demanding independence for Ireland as being the right of a small nation. We do not ourselves think that there is any sense, justice, or safety in asking other nations to settle the affairs of our sovereign State, but as the Sinn Feiners, with their customary irresponsibility, have taken this action, it would surely be advisable for the Unionists of Ulster to deliver a counter-attack. Just as an admirable counterstatement was issued by the Ulster Unionists when the Lord Mayor of Dublin dispatched his glowing misstatement about Irish history to President Wilson, so might Ulster Unionists now tell the truth to the Peace Conference. They might invite the Peace Conference to rule that if small nations have the right of self-determination, a similar right shall be extended to any tract of territory, in a new small State not to be separated from the country to which it previously belonged if a majority of the inhabitants express that desire. Such a right is surely co-ordinate with the right of self-determination. Could there be a proposition more opposed to the principle of self-determination than that a nation has a right to wrench away from the allegiance it professes and loves some such district as that of Northeast Ulster? It might be said that the Unionists and Protestants of Northeast Ulster are really secured by the pledges of the Prime Minister, but it would be a fine thing, and a great thing, if, in spite of the fact that they felt reasonably secure, they asserted the right we have described for other small communities.

The following lines represent the penultimate paragraph of the article :

We wish we could do justice to Mr. Macpherson's speech, in which the contrast between the prosperity of Ireland and the intense cruelty of the shootings, persecutions, and oppressions being carried out by Sinn Feiners was sharply and ably drawn. But we must content ourselves with referring finally to the speech of Mr. Lynn—a maiden speech which was a real contribution to the debate. Mr. Lynn talked of the repetition by the Nationalist speakers of the 'ancient litany' of imaginary wrongs. Here he put his finger on one of the most ridiculous of Irish irrationalities. The argument that the British Government should now do something wrong and foolish in order to atone for the faults of Englishmen of past generations is a negation of all statesmanlike ideas. If the principle of such a demand is justifiable, why is it not applied to the Roman Church? If Protestant Englishmen must make amends for injustices or crimes said to have been committed generations ago, by what right do Roman Catholics demand to be free from the same obligation? On these terms the Roman Catholics owe reparation for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, for the two Irish massacres of the seventeenth century, and for the terrible Irish rebellion of '98. Why should the poor English race be the only one to which is applied the law that 'the sins of the fathers must be visited on the children'? The argument, of course, does

not bear looking into. Shakespeare as usual told the truth: 'Crimes like land are not inherited.'

The article concludes:—

We earnestly hope that Mr. Lynn will press his demand for information about the relations, before and during the war, between the Sinn Feiners and Germany. He traced those relations back to 1911, and stated explicitly that during the war secret wireless installations were established, German submarines were supplied with petrol and other necessities, large quantities of German arms were landed, and elaborate arrangements were made for a German occupation. The British public wants to know exactly where the Sinn Feiners stand. What is the truth of all these matters? If a Parliament is set up in Dublin, it will, of course, be a Sinn Fein Parliament. It is really utterly indefensible for the government to say in effect: 'We will not allow any information to be published about the character of these men to whom we may entrust the task of setting up a Parliament to rule the greater part of Ireland, and who will have license to make any trouble they please at your very doors.' Mr. Lynn has failed three times to get an answer, but we hope he will persist.

Immortality and Modern Science.

In the course of reviewing a book by Mr. Edward Clodd—*A Brief History and Examination of Modern Spiritualism*—, which is the latest of the works on the subject, Dr. Frank Ballard, D. D., in the recent issue of the *London Quarterly* quotes from Mr. Fiske's *Destiny of Man*:—

'The materialistic assumption that the life of the soul ends with the life of the body, is perhaps the most colossal instance of baseless assumption that is known to the history of philosophy.'

And then observes:—

And we may say to-day even more firmly than he did, that although upon these conclusions we cannot directly base an argument sustaining man's immortality, we certainly remove the only serious objection that has ever been alleged against it. Personality is at once the most certain and the greatest reality in the universe. And physical death can no more touch that in humanity, than a hammer can smash an idea, or the destruction of a violin necessitate the destruction of the player. Dr. Thomson's volume just mentioned deserves much more notice than it has received, for therein he gives abundant warrant for his avowal that 'a great personality may possibly make a great brain'—it is not always so—but no brain can make a great personality.' Hence it is far from enough to say that modern science just 'leaves unsolved' the great question of human immortality. It does much more. It deliberately affirms that there is nothing, either in its efforts or its findings, against the more hopeful answer to that question. In Dr. Fosdick's well-chosen words,

"When a man has canvassed all the standard objections to belief in personal permanence, he finds them manifestly inconclusive. So far as anything that science has discovered is concerned, immortality is as possible as it is significant."

Moreover, there is scientific proof, in undeniable facts,—for all who are not wilfully blind,—of the possibility of ultra-cerebral communing here, which points definitely in the direction of ultra-cerebral continuity hereafter. In their scorn for telepathy Mr. Clodd and his friends make much of Professor Sidgwick's attitude—almost indeed as if it was all-decisive. Let us then note what he himself says concerning telepathy—

"It is for this reason that I feel that a part of my grounds for believing in telepathy, depending as it does on personal knowledge, cannot be communicated, except in a weakened form, to the ordinary reader of the printed statements which represent the evidence that has convinced me. Indeed, I feel this so strongly that I have always made it my highest ambition as a Psychical Researcher, to produce evidence which will drive my opponents to doubt either my honesty or my veracity."

That should be strong enough, sceptical enough, even for Professor Armstrong. And on his own terms it sets us free to accept and estimate the significance of telepathy, as being certainly a definite and pregnant 'advance in knowledge.'

It is no part of our task here even to summarize the scientific as well as religious reasons for cherishing the hope and maintaining the conviction, that for human beings death does not end all. So far as Mr. Clodd's book tends to check untrained credulity, we heartily welcome and endorse it. But it does not show that Sir Oliver Lodge and his co-workers are ignorant dupes; nor that the S.P.R. is composed of credulous time-wasters; nor that modern science forecloses all psychical inquiry; still less that it shuts the door of latest knowledge against our immortal hope. That which Mr. Clodd accomplishes counts for nothing against that which he ignores. The breadth, and length, and depth, and height of human personality are not 'cribbed, cabined, and confined' within a few cerebral cells. Our 'advance in knowledge' throws more widely open than ever heretofore, the door of permission to accept and appreciate all those other than scientific reasons for hope beyond the grave, which come along the lines of Christian Theism.

At least we may be thankful that amid the chaotic upheavals of our time, and with all the heavy pall of numberless bereavements on our hearts, modern science does not force upon us the miserably blind despair of the old Persian pessimist which seems so satisfactory to Mr. Clodd. Rather does it leave the modern student free to say, with his eyes as wide open as his heart is full:—

My own dim life should teach me this,
That life shall live forevermore,
Else earth is darkness at the core,
And dust and ashes all that is.

Our real advance in knowledge, while not satisfying any more than the New Testament our curiosity as to the 'conditions of existence in any after life,' yet does not only permit but encourage us to turn to the God whom Jesus bids us ever think of as THE FATHER, with the humble yet confident trust—

Thou wilt not leave us in the dust ;
 Thou madest man, he knows not why,
 He thinks he was not made to die ;
 And Thou hast made him :—Thou art just.

A Way Out in India.

To the July number of the *Asiatic Review* (London) Dr. John Pollen contributes the following article under the above caption :—

"The progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." This is the declared policy which underlies the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms—and which constitutes the basis of the Bill now before Parliament.

India is to remain an integral part of the British Empire but to have a responsible Government or rather responsible Governments of its own—and the means to effect the end desired are declared to be :—

(I) The increasing association of Indians in every branch of the Administration and

(II) The gradual development of responsible Self-Government.

This phrase—"responsible Self-Government"—sounds well and his almost as blessed an expression as "Mesopotamia"—"Angle-of-Vision" "attitude" or "gesture"! It may convey different meanings to different ears or none at all to the indifferent. But the meaning evidently intended is that Indians should be responsible for governing themselves without interference on the part of Great Britain. In other words, elected Indian Representatives should be in a position to declare the lines on which the electorates in the various provinces desire to be governed—and should have the right to dictate the policy to be adopted or carried out by the Executive. This means, (as Sir Francis Younghusband has pointed out), "The gradual transference of power from the people of Great Britain to the peoples of India"—and the result will be that India will be responsible for governing itself just as Australia is responsible for governing itself. This is indeed the policy which all true well-wishers of India desire to see successful—if it can be made successful—and it is certainly the goal towards which faithful Administrators have been consciously or subconsciously working from the early days of the long ago! It was in this spirit that the late Mr. J. A. Nairn, of the Bombay Civil Service, wrote in the early seventies—

"Oh ! men O'the Western Islands fair
 Ringed white with the yeasty spume,
 Declare if the wit of your forbears lives
 In the tongues that fret and fume,
 Look back on the years that be dead and gone,
 Speed hence on the Wings of Time,
 When first your hand on the East was laid
 Like the grip of the Gods sublime !
 And say, when the spirit of England rose
 On the dust of a hundred thrones,
 If her wings were clipped by a fool loud-lipped
 'Mid the hustings' cheers and groans ?
 Not so : and now ye have given a voice,
 Where never was voice before ;
 Ye have laboured to teach the strength o'speech

From the springs of your Western lore—
 Ye have made the eyes of the blind to see.
 And be it for life or death
 Your ear must bend to the voice that speaks
 By the fire of your English breath.

Men of the Western Islands have long laboured to teach the Youth of India to use the political voice and to make repeated demand for self-government and we needs must listen now—for Reform is long overdue and (as Sir Bampfylde Fuller declares) "a democracy cannot expect to permanently dominate an alien Empire." But the 'Montford' proposals and the provisions in the Bill now before Parliament are so complicated, so confusing, and so elaborate that it is to be feared that the existing administrative machinery in India will never be able to perfect them or use them within reasonable time or in a satisfactory manner.

Thus a deadlock—or undue delay—is most certain to arise. The question, therefore, is—cannot some way out of the difficulty be found? Those who know Native States think it can and it seems clear. "The federal way adumbrated by the Aga Khan, is perhaps the best. His Highness has declared that 'the problem of a Free India within the Empire can only be solved by Federalism.'"

Now it is asserted that certain Indian principalities are admirably administered both to the satisfaction of the "politically-minded" classes and to the gratification of the masses of the people—and it is constantly proclaimed in the Native Press that the Rulers of these States have been able to give their subjects all the reform they desire—and many Rulers, like the Thakur Sahib of Limbdi, have protested that they are quite prepared to adopt in their States the particular changes and reforms proposed by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford for British India! Why not then extend the system of Indian Principalities throughout India? and permit Indian Administrators to carry out the proposed reforms on Indian lines in their own way? Why not, in short, establish "limited Monarchies," on "Montford" principles in the various Provinces of India?

It may be recalled that the Aga Khan has proposed that India should be divided into eight Major Provinces roughly equal in area—and each capable of developing a National Government and that Indians should preside over these Provinces side by side with Englishmen and that in certain cases Ruling Princes of proved administrative ability should be invited to leave their own territory for five years for the greater field of a provincial administration.

His Highness very justly holds that no Federal scheme for India would be complete which did not take into account Native States, for it is not too much to say that "the Indian Princes are the bulwarks of the Imperial connection—and of late years some of the best-known Princes have been cherishing the ideal of a constitutional and parliamentary basis for their administrators." These things being so—why not simplify and facilitate the introduction of the desired reforms into India by converting the Major Provinces into Indian Principalities under the control of Constitutional Chiefs? *The Bill now before Parliament should certainly contain a clause or clauses enabling this to be done.* Such a change would be welcomed by the masses of the Indian populations out of whose

life the dulness and sombreness of British administration and English unsympathetic restrictions have taken so much of the light and colour and pomp and pageantry which their souls love.

It is all very well to say airily—"the day of Autocracy or Benevolent Absolutism is dead." This is certainly not true in the East—but, even if it were, it is not proposed to raise the dead or revive the dust. All that is proposed is to set up Limited Monarchies in India—and allow the peoples to work out their own salvation in *their* own way and so shift the "white man's burden" which has certainly grown too heavy for the white staff in the India of to-day. A system of Provincial Parliaments in the Principalities with a Federal Parliament at Delhi would probably work satisfactorily.

It has been held that some of the leading Cities in India could not well be included in Provincial Principalities and that they, like Hamburg and some other great continental cities, should be allowed to manage their own affairs. There is much truth in this contention and such Cities could easily be

constituted "Free Cities",—and ultimately a League of such Cities might be established from Baghdad to Rangoon and included in the "Southern Asiatic Federation" foreseen by the Aga Khan. In the Peace Treaty now under discussion at Paris the constitution of "Free Cities" is being recognised and provided for—and in resettling India on Indian lines no great difficulty need be experienced in providing that great Indian Cities like Bombay, etc., should manage their own affairs independently of outside control very much as they practically do now.

At any rate the proposal to create Indian Principalities pledged to the adoption of the 'Montford' reforms—and the suggested recognition of Free Cities wherever advisable may be taken as indicating a possible way out of the diarchic labyrinthine maze in which Moderates and Extremists and well-wishers of India find themselves more or less lost and bewildered at the present moment.

Comments on the above would be quite superfluous!

THE KEEPSAKE

IT was not yet dawn, the eastern sky was just beginning to take on a greyish tint.

The back door of the house of Shambhucharan opened slowly and a young girl came out with quick light steps. She took the road to the river ghat, which was quite near. Her face and figure could not be clearly discerned in that half light, her white widow's dress and a mass of dark wavy hair alone being visible.

The river ghat was as yet entirely deserted. She sat down on one of the lower steps with her feet in the water. There was no sound to break the trend of her sad thoughts. The girl was named Uma and was the only daughter of Shambhucharan, one of the influential Brahmin residents of the village. She had been given in marriage to a man of fifty when she herself was nine. But she became a widow, the very year she was married. She had been living in her father's house ever since.

The eastern sky gradually changed from grey to rosy red. The old *Bairagee** of the village appeared on the lonely road, chanting his old songs. Uma got up

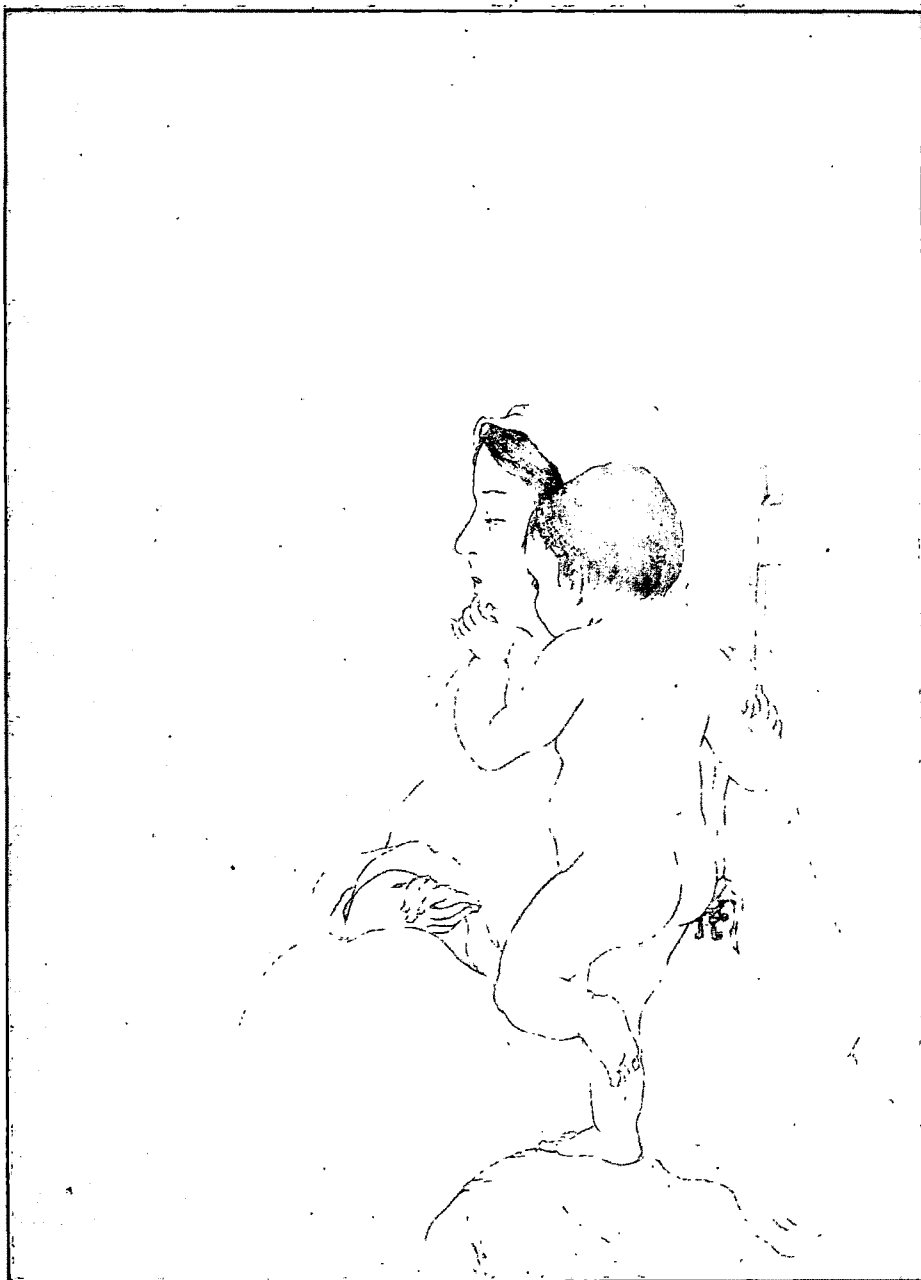
hurriedly and, after a few hasty dips in the river, she filled her brass pitcher and started homewards with it.

The inmates of the house seemed to be still asleep. Uma set down the pitcher in the kitchen, then went out and hung up her wet cloth in the yard. Then she began her cooking. She was in sole charge of this department, as her father was very strict as to the duties of Hindu widows. Uma had no opportunity of failing in any of those duties which the shastras have prescribed. She performed all the household duties and her small leisure was spent in listening to her father reading the scriptures or holding forth on the duties and conduct of a Hindu widow.

Bishnu, the younger brother of Uma, had planted a sheeli tree in front of the kitchen. It was now a mass of white-and-red flowers. The morning breeze caused the dew-laden flowers to drop down and cover the ground with a glorious carpet. Uma came out of the kitchen and began to gather the flowers in the end of her cloth.

A door opened with a harsh grating noise and a stout lady appeared in the doorway. She was looking about for some

* Mendicant.



THE CARESS.

From a Pencil Sketch by Asitkumar Haldar.
By the courtesy of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore.

one. Soon she caught sight of Uma and cried out in a hard voice, "So you have taken to child's play from the morning! What about the cooking, pray?"

Uma at once got up with a pained face. "Mother, I have already begun the cooking. The rice is boiling, so I came out for a bit." With that she re-entered the kitchen.

The lady returned to her bedroom. This was the second wife of Shambhucharan. Uma's mother had died shortly after her daughter's widowhood. The young widow needed a guardian, so Shambhucharan married his neighbour Narottam's grown-up daughter, shortly after his first wife's death. The lady came and took charge of Uma, and Uma in her turn had to take charge of the whole household. A young woman must not sit idle. She would at once take to reading novels in secret, which in their turn were sure to give rise to sinful thoughts. None except sufferers know how much anxiety a young widow causes. The only way of avoiding disaster is to keep her under strict surveillance.

Uma sat down in the kitchen with the flowers in her lap and tears streaming down her face. She had been listening to the stinging words of her stepmother ever since her own mother died. It must be quite eight years, but she had not yet grown accustomed to the venom.

The flowers soon shrivelled up in the hot kitchen, but Uma had no eyes for them. She herself seemed like a sister flower, as beautiful and as tortured by the heat of her surroundings.

She came out again at the call of the mistress of the house. No scolding this time. She merely told her to cook for one additional person. Uma nodded and went away.

Bishnu now appeared with his books under his arm and in a tearing hurry. He was a pupil of the local high school. He threw down his books and cried out, "Sister, I must have my meal instantly. Our new teacher is coming, so I must go earlier than usual."

Uma began to serve him and observed, "Must you go so soon? Nothing is ready yet. But is there a new teacher? When did he come?"

"Oh, don't you know even that?" ejaculated Bishnu contemptuously, with his mouth full; "he has arrived this very day and is going to stay in our house. He has brought a letter of introduction from the *Zamindar* to father." Bishnu began to swallow the hot rice as fast as he could in his eagerness to start for the school. He must not miss the opportunity of triumphing over his fellow-students by showing off his immense knowledge of the new teacher.

Soon after Shambhucharan himself appeared in the inner apartments for his midday meal. The new guest was with him. Uma had to serve, as her stepmother never was well enough to attend to any household work. She took a peep at the newcomer. He could not be more than twenty-five and did not resemble his predecessor old Harish in any way.

Shambhucharan noticed the young man's shyness and tried to put him at his ease with courteous and honeyed words. "No need to stand on ceremony with us, my dear boy; consider yourself as one of the family." He was not always so lavish with his courtesy and kindness; but this young fellow Biswanath being the nephew of his landlord was entitled to special consideration.

It might seem strange that a scion of such an aristocratic and wealthy family should take up the life of a school-master. But Biswanath was never able to hit it off with his wealthy relatives. He seemed like a vigorous weed in a colony of hot-house plants. He was totally out of place in the company of his well-fed and immaculate cousins. His tall and well-knit frame and a head of unruly and unkempt hair clearly marked him out as a plebeian. He never took any pleasure in his cousins' gentlemanly pastimes of cards and the glass, but took to running, wrestling and swimming like a veritable peasant. He hated tyranny and never submitted to it. His uncle did not know what to make of this eccentric nephew of his.

As soon as he had passed the M. A. examination, Biswanath gave out that henceforth he intended to earn his own living. Such a thing had never been heard of in this ancient and aristocratic house

Biswanath's mother took to bewailing her hard lot as soon as she heard of it. His uncle was quite upset at the mere thought of one of his relations actually working for a living. The other inmates of the great house could only gape and stare.

Biswanath was thoroughly disgusted with them all. He collected a large number of poor children, mostly belonging to the lowest castes, and took them to his own room, where he began to teach them to read and write. This had the desired effect. His uncle at once consented to his going out on service. Just at this juncture, a vacancy occurred in the Palashpur village school. With his uncle's help Biswanath at once secured the post and started for his future place of residence.

His uncle had arranged about his lodgings too. Shambhucharan was only too glad to oblige his influential patron.

Biswanath soon grew accustomed to his new surroundings. He liked them much more than his former ones. He began to live for the first time in his life.

Bishnu went nearly mad over the new school-master. His admiration and enthusiasm knew no bounds. Shambhucharan was no less delighted, though he held himself in check. Biswanath's uncle knew well the value of services done. Even the dignified mistress of the house condescended to speak kindly to the new inmate of their house.

Uma was at first indifferent, but Biswanath was so totally different from the other young men of the village that she could not help gradually becoming interested. He seemed like a dweller of another world. Uma scarcely knew any young man, but she had seen many, and what she had seen of them, had not called forth any feeling of admiration. They never seemed to have any higher ambition than to part their hair correctly and smoke cheap cigars, and they scarcely talked anything except scandal. But this stranger seemed to belong to another kind. From what she could see and hear of him, he appeared to spend his leisure reading or sharing the sports of his young pupils.

She saw Biswanath every day as he came in for his meals. Uma noticed the

fact that he paid but scant attention to his food. This neglect hurt Uma. She used to feel humiliated. She tried by every means in her power to make the meals more attractive, but without much success.

But suddenly one day Biswanath became conscious of her efforts and smiled in grateful acknowledgement. "It is very kind of you," he muttered shyly.

This was the first time he had spoken to her. Uma blushed all over and escaped to the kitchen. "What a man he is," she thought, "he should not have smiled so directly at me. As if it matters anything to me whether he eats much or less."

But the next day she did not relax her efforts. She wanted to make his exile from home as comfortable as possible. But her power was limited and what could she do but cook her best for him?

But now she had the joy of noticing that her efforts had met with grateful recognition.

In this unpoetic way they came to know each other. Shambhucharan had got entangled in a tiresome lawsuit, which left him no time to superintend his daughter's upbringing and manner of life. So after the male members of the house had gone out after their multifarious duties and her stepmother had begun her afternoon nap, she sat close by the open window with the old Ramayan on her knees. Not that she had any special liking for the epic, but because this happened to be the only book in her possession. Thus passed her afternoon.

But one day Bishnu smuggled in a novel. It was like a godsend to Uma. So engrossed had she become that nothing but the threatening voice of her stepmother served to rouse her.

The book belonged to Biswanath. He was searching for it when Bishnu came and said, "I have given it to sister." After this the old Ramayan had to retire permanently and somehow the whole collection of Biswanath's Bengali books found their way to the girl widow's room.

Biswanath was absent-minded by nature, but in some curious way he suddenly became fully conscious of the presence of one

human being. He began to pity this beautiful young girl who drudged for the entire household and had only stinging reproofs for her reward. As he was now considered quite one of the family, they had given up standing on ceremony with him and never troubled themselves about their manner in his presence.

Uma's stepmother frequently scolded and abused her before Biswanath. The poor girl tried her best to hide her tears and humiliation from this stranger's eyes, but it was hard to deceive him. His eyes used to become unusually penetrating whenever Uma was concerned and nothing escaped him. He used to get furious, but he knew well enough that his anger was futile and any steps taken in her defence would but increase her sufferings. But it was hard to sit still and witness such injustice. His pity for Uma knew no bounds.

But was it pity alone that he used to feel for this girl? His behaviour seemed to be actuated by some stronger feeling. He felt helpless to defend Uma and became enraged with the whole household. Bishnu and one of his younger brothers used to sleep in the same room with Biswanath. Uma had to make the beds. Biswanath had just returned from his school when he heard the grating voice of Shambhucharan's wife. "Uma, I wonder at your sense; can't you take a little more care of that room? You ought to be ashamed of yourself. Just look at the state it is in." Biswanath flared up all at once. He rushed into the room and with a jerk flung away the whole bedding, mattress and all, on the floor. Bishnu's bewildered stare recalled him to himself and he went out saying, "It is too warm to lie on that heavy bed."

Biswanath had gradually ceased to be a stranger to Uma. In a Hindu household there was but slight opportunity of talking to an unrelated young man, but in her heart of hearts she felt him very near to her, nearer by far than those whom society called her kindred. He seldom could help her, but she knew that he wanted to, and her grateful heart accepted the wish for the deed.

The youngest members of the household were Nanu and Toonu, Uma's stepbrother

and sister. They used to announce their awakening every morning by a prolonged howl for breakfast. Uma had fasted the whole of the previous day, as it was 'ekadashi', the eleventh day of the moon, on which Hindu widows must not touch food or drink. So when the demand for breakfast came in its accustomed manner she was not in a state to supply it. Her stepmother immediately stepped into the arena, with her most effective weapons. Uma tottered into the kitchen with her face streaming with tears. Biswanath glared at the whole scene from his bedroom window. He wanted to smash the ugly faces of the two shrieking children and the vixenish mother. Instead of doing that he went out and came back after thoroughly tiring himself out by a long walk.

Next 'ekadashi' came, but Uma had determined that it must not make any difference. She would be ready with everything in due time, even if she had to die for it. Nobody was up yet. Uma took up her pitcher and started for the river to fetch water. But as she came out, she heard Biswanath whispering by the bedroom window of the two children, "Nanu and Toonu, just come out and see what I have brought for you. Come quick and I shall pluck these red lotuses for you, which you wanted yesterday." The children rushed out in great glee, all thoughts of breakfast forgotten. Biswanath went off with them.

Uma went back to her room and flinging herself on the cold floor, wept her heart out. She had been regarded as a machine ever since her mother died, and left her in this cruel loveless world. But the mother had not forgotten, she had sent this man to her sorrowing daughter. Uma bowed down to the earth in salutation, she knew not to whom.

She was late coming back from the river, with the water. Biswanath was striding along the road,—he was on his way to the river for his customary swim. Uma's eyes filled with tears as soon as she caught sight of him. There seemed to be a tempest raging in her heart, roused by that touch of heavenly pity. She wanted to bow down

and take the dust of the feet of this man. But shyness held her back and she stepped aside out of the way to let him pass. But he did not pass, he came and stood by her and asked, "Why have you come out so early? You certainly have not broken your fast yet?"

"Your meals must be ready before school-time," answered Uma evasively.

"I am not in the habit of killing people for my own convenience," said Biswanath sharply as he walked off. "Besides I am feeling a bit feverish. I don't think I shall take anything to-day."

Uma returned home quickly. She understood well this sudden fever of Biswanath.

Sorrow brought them together; joy would have kept them apart.

(2)

"Do you hear, Uma, you must be pleased to be a bit quicker to-day with your work, as my brother and sister are coming. I hope they will be able to have some refreshments when they arrive."

Uma was sitting lost in a reverie in her own room. Her stepmother's voice brought her back to the earth. She rose and went to attend to her duties:

Biswanath, on his return from the school, was rather astonished to see a man sitting on his bed and calmly smoking. His fashionable dress and carefully arranged hair clearly denoted a beau of the town. Biswanath went out after a casual glance. The young man asked Bishnu, "Is this your new schoolmaster? Seems rather high and mighty for his position. Didn't condescend more than one glance at my direction." This person was named Suresh. He was the younger brother of the mistress of the house.

He was in the habit of returning home very late for various reasons. His visit made no change in his manner of life. After the children had had their supper, Uma was ordered to put the supper of the guest in his sister's bedroom and retire. After a thought, her stepmother added, "Biswanath's supper too you can keep here. I think they would like each other's company."

Uma did as she was told, and then sat

down to her own frugal meal of puffed rice and treacle. It was nearing eleven when Suresh came back, and after a stealthy glance around, he approached the open door of Uma's room. Uma looked up startled, whereupon the fashionable young man advanced with a broad grin and said, "My dear, you don't seem to recognise me, please be a little kind".

Uma's eyes blazed. Without a word she got up and shut the door in his face with a bang. The discomfited gallant was obliged to retire, though with a very bad grace. He was not long in retaliating. He found every fault imaginable with his supper and began to complain loudly of his own ill health and the scant attention paid towards his comforts by his own family. The widowed sister, who had accompanied him, loyally backed him.

The mistress of the house was rather in a fix. It was too late to prepare anything new, but her darling brother refused to be content with what had been prepared. She was feeling a bit ashamed too of the ill manners of her own people in her husband's house and before the eyes of Biswanath, who was an aristocrat born.

But Suresh was not the person to give up. The contest ended in calling Uma out and scolding her heartily for her neglect of her duties. She should have seen that a guest of the house had what he wanted. Suresh smiled in triumph as Uma went to prepare new dishes for him at that hour of the night with her own supper unfinished.

"What a temper she seems to be in! Widows should not put on such airs. We too have to work from morning till night, but nobody can say that of us," remarked the widowed sister.

Biswanath had been hitherto sitting in amazed silence at this display of good breeding. He had been asked to take supper with Suresh and had found no way out of it. He had scarcely taken anything. Suddenly he got up and quickly went out. Suresh finished his supper alone.

Biswanath spent a sleepless night tossing from side to side. Then getting up he went out. It was already beginning to clear, so he took the road to the river. He

had hoped to find the river ghat deserted, but somebody was already there, sitting on the steps. The keen breeze of the early dawn was shaking the folds of her white dress and a mass of black hair sweeping over the stone steps. Biswanath approached silently, then called out, "Uma."

Uma had been sitting there like a statue carved of stone, but at his call she broke down utterly and flung herself down shaking with inarticulate sobs. Biswanath sat silently by her; he knew no words with which to comfort her. But Uma felt his tears on her loose hair.

After a while he called again, "Uma." But still no answer. Suddenly a shiver went through Uma's whole frame. Whose touch was this on her hair? An electric wave seemed to sweep over her.

Biswanath did not remove his hand, he kept it where it was, and said, "Uma, this torture cannot go on. It is beyond me to sit still and witness it. Come with me, I am not rich, but as my wife you may find something greater than riches."

For one instant Uma's senses seemed to desert her; next moment she sprang up and with a panic-stricken glance at Biswanath she vanished like a streak of lightning. She reached her room and fell down in a swoon.

She recovered after a while. A withering sense of shame and guilt seemed to choke her. Shame on her, the wayward and false woman, to what had she brought herself? Was this then the result of all the austerities which her father had made her practise ever since her widowhood? So weak was she, so palpably weak that a man could propose marriage to her. To her, the daughter of a Bramhin and the widow of a Bramhin, to her, to whom even the thought of marriage should have been an abomination. Why had not she died before she heard such words? And what was he, who can insult her so shamefully?

Uma called up all her anger and detestation to her aid and tried to harden her heart against that transgressor. But alas for the insulted conventional ideal of a woman! Whom was she trying to judge and punish? She knew well that she had no power to punish him even in her heart,

however much he might sin. How could she turn her heart away from the only person whose eyes had shed tears for her? She saw that she was weak, and this made her all the more bitter against herself. She had not tried hard enough to conceal her sorrows, and her negligence had given rise to this shocking evil. She alone was to blame, and may all punishment fall on her.

Suddenly she saw Biswanath standing by her open window with a world of pain and love in his eyes. Uma sat up and panted out, "Go away, go away, don't drag me towards sin any more."

Biswanath turned away with a white and quivering face. Another person who had been watching them closely, himself unseen, took himself off then, as his task was done.

The eldest sister of Suresh had just left her bed and was about to sit down to her morning devotionals when her darling brother appeared before her with a broad grin. "What is the matter?" asked the lady.

"Matter enough and to spare. I used to think that I alone was a scoundrel, but I see now that there are many in the same boat."

The lady forgot everything about her morning prayers and asked eagerly, "But what has happened?"

"You may well ask that. Now that saintly schoolmaster of yours...." Suresh settled himself down comfortably for half an hour's refreshing talk.

(3)

It was a dark and still evening. The sky was covered with dense clouds and threatening an outburst every instant. The gloom was reflected on the face of every person in the house. Everyone was engaged in his or her own work, but none talked. But for all the silence, a strong undercurrent of perturbation was plainly discernible. The two children were seated in the yard, making mud hovels with great care.

Uma's stepmother was in whispered consultation with her sister. After a while the elder one said, "Then this is settled?"

The other answered, "Of course; what

alternative is there? We must consider everything." She went out and dragged away her children forcibly from their play.

The storm suddenly burst with all its accumulated fury. All the windows and doors of the house were closed instantly, only Uma left her door open and gazed awestruck at the mad dance of the elements.

The storm howled and raged outside. It was as if some demented demon was indulging in a revel. She came and stood under the black and lowering sky. It was more friendly than the faces of her relations.

A maid servant came and said, "The mistress is calling you."

Uma went in and found the two sisters sitting with solemn faces. As soon as she entered, her step-mother cried out, "Pack all your things, you are to start by to-morrow's train."

Uma stood rooted to the spot. After a while she asked, "Why are you sending me away, mother, what have I done?"

"Now don't try to put on the airs of an innocent, my girl, it is too late for that," put in the widowed sister; "let me tell you that you have been found out. I am going to Prayag to have a bath at the sacred confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. After that I shall start for Benares. You are to come with me and expiate your sins. What more can a Hindu widow desire? Don't glare at me in that fashion, please. I won't put up with any impertinence. I am doing this at your father's request, not that I have any special liking for the company of such a virtuous girl as you."

Uma came back to her room; the rain was streaming in through the open window, but she did not notice that. So she was to go away; to go away from everything she had ever loved. But she was a widow and had no right to grieve over parting from anything or anybody. It was a sin, but she could not help it, which but increased her sorrow.

Suddenly a clamour broke out somewhere in the house. Shambhucharan rushed into the inner apartments. Uma heard her stepmother's voice asking, "What is the matter?"

"A bad business, a very bad business, I don't know what I shall say to his uncle," said her father; "have any of you seen Biswanath?"

"O dear no," answered his wife; "why, has anything happened to him? He was to have started for his home to-day; perhaps he had done so."

"Go home indeed, how can he go home in this weather?" almost shouted Shambhucharan, "he must have taken a boat to do that. If so, it is all up with him. I have just heard that a boat has foundered with all aboard."

Uma had no tears now, she, who used to weep at a slight rebuke from her step-mother. She sat still like a graven image. The night came down, but the storm did not abate. It was nearing midnight, when Bishnu rushed into the room and sobbed out in a choking voice, "sister, Biswanath *dada* is drowned. I heard it from Bhola. I went to the river side to enquire, everybody says so. He had come up after the boat foundered, but went down again as he was trying to save a little girl." Bishnu rolled about on the wet floor in a paroxysm of wild grief, but his sister did not move.

Suresh and his elder sister were to start on their journey at the break of day. It was still dark, when they went to seek Uma, but found Bishnu sleeping on the damp floor; Uma was not there. After anxiously looking all over the house, Shambhucharan's wife went and roused him from his heavy slumber.

Everybody woke up now and joined in the search. At last a maid-servant gave the information that she had heard the back door being opened a short while ago, but had taken no notice of it, thinking it to be the cat.

Shambhucharan took up a hurricane lantern and said, "I am going to find her, but don't any of you come with me." As he went out, Bishnu slipped out behind him in the sheltering darkness.

Shambhucharan searched all the thickets and bushes near his house, then started for the river ghat. Something white was visible on the steps. Shambhucharan came down, it was Uma. The dark roaring river was rushing below her feet like a

torrent of death, the clouds still shut out all light except that of lightning, the stormy winds were howling all around. She seemed like the sad evening star, torn from her orbit by the mad storm.

Shambhucharan called sternly "Uma, come away, it is time to start."

Uma got up and without a word followed her father. Bishnu rushed to her and cried eagerly, "Sister, where have you been so long?"

His father pushed him away roughly, saying, "Don't talk to your sister, go away."

Soon after Uma left the village where she was born and started for the unknown world. The small female compartment of the train was crowded, there was no room to sit down. Uma stood near the door and watched the village vanish from her sight. The other lady passengers went on feeding their children and talking among themselves about household affairs. Uma's lady companion spent her time waging a battle royal with the other occupants of the compartment because they were not polite enough to offer her a seat.

(4)

It was already evening. The waters of the two rivers Ganges and Jumna mingled and rolled away together to the ocean. Pilgrims had thronged all the bathing places during the day, but now the ghats were gradually becoming deserted. Three women came and stood near one of the ghats. All wore the white garb of widowhood. The first woman was plainly and visibly a maid-servant, the second was a stoutish lady with a severe and solemn face. The third was a young girl, her eyes were fixed in a bewildered stare.

The stout lady cried out in a vexed tone, "Where has that good-for-nothing *Panda** gone? He has been gone over an hour to

seek for a barber; when shall we return home, I wonder."

But just at that moment the *Panda* appeared accompanied by one of those barbers who swarm in this place, as it is considered that great merit can be acquired by shaving one's head at the confluence of the sacred rivers Ganges and Jumna.

The barber sat down and opening his bag began to take out the implements of his labour. The elderly lady glanced at the girl and said, "Now be quick, girl, we are very late, as it is."

The girl was gazing intently at the spot where the blue waves of the Jumna threw themselves joyously on the white bosom of the Ganges. Receiving no reply to her call, the older woman advanced and dragged her roughly to the spot where the barber was sitting.

The barber took his scissors in one hand and with the other he gathered up the mass of loose hair which was trailing on the ground. The young woman trembled violently and pulled away her hair from his hand, crying, "Don't touch my hair." That which had been made sacred by the touch of Biswanath's hand, she could not either part with or allow to be desecrated by the touch of any other person. The face of her companion nearly turned black in anger, she seemed to be deprived of the power of speech. The *Panda* looked at her infuriated face, then advanced towards the girl.

The girl's eyes became suddenly frantic and panic-stricken like those of a doe brought to bay by cruel hunters. She gazed around, but nothing met her eyes except cruel and pitiless looks. There was no mercy left anywhere for her.

The *Panda* was about to seize the girl when a piercing shriek shattered the silence. The girl shot past him like a meteor and sprang into the water. Once only was her face seen in the fast waning evening light, floating like a white lotus on the blue waves. Next moment the dark waters closed over her head.

* Priests in Hindu places of pilgrimage in Northern India are called *Pandas*. They serve also as guides.

THE TRIAL OF THE HORSE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

BRAHMĀ, the creator, was very near the end of his task of creation when a new idea struck him.

He sent for the Store-keeper and said: "O keeper of the stores, bring to my factory a quantity of each of the five elements. For I am ready to create another creature." "Lord of the universe," the store-keeper replied, "when in the first flush of creative extravagance you began to turn out such exaggerations as elephants and whales and pythons and tigers, you took no count of the stock. Now, all the elements that have density and force are nearly used up. The supply of earth and water and fire has become inconveniently scanty, while of air and ether there is as much as is good for us and a good deal more."

The four-headed deity looked perplexed and pulled at his four pairs of moustaches. At last he said, "The limitedness of material gives all the more scope to originality. Send me whatever you have left."

This time Brahmā was excessively sparing with the earth, water and fire. The new creature was not given either horns or claws, and his teeth were only meant for chewing, not for biting. The prudent care with which fire was used in his formation made him necessary in war without making him warlike.

This animal was the Horse.

The reckless expenditure of air and ether, which went into his composition, was amazing. And in consequence he perpetually struggled to outreach the wind, to outrun space itself. The other animals run only when they have a reason, but the horse would run for nothing whatever, as if to run out of his own skin. He had no desire to chase, or to kill, but only to fly on and on till he dwindled into a dot, melted into a swoon, blurred into a shadow, and vanished into vacancy.

The Creator was glad. He had given for

his other creatures' habitations,—to some the forests, to others the caves. But in his enjoyment of the disinterested spirit of speed in the Horse, he gave him an open meadow under the very eye of heaven.

By the side of this meadow lived Man.

Man has his delight in pillaging and piling things up. And he is never happy till these grow into a burden. So, when he saw this new creature pursuing the wind and kicking at the sky, he said to himself: "If only I can bind and secure this Horse, I can use his broad back for carrying my loads."

So one day he caught the Horse.

Then man put a saddle on the Horse's back and a spiky bit in his mouth. He regularly had hard rubbing and scrubbing to keep him fit, and there were the whip and spurs to remind him that it was wrong to have his own will.

Man also put high walls round the Horse, lest if left at large in the open the creature might escape him. So it came to pass, that while the Tiger who had his forest remained in the forest, the Lion who had his cave remained in the cave, the Horse who once had his open meadow came to spend his days in a stable. Air and ether had roused in the horse longings for deliverance, but they swiftly delivered him into bondage.

When he felt that bondage did not suit him, the Horse kicked at the stable walls.

But this hurt his hoofs much more than it hurt the wall. Still some of the plaster came off and the wall lost its beauty.

Man felt aggrieved.

"What ingratitude!" he cried. "Do I not give him food and drink? Do I not keep highly-paid men-servants to watch over him day and night? Indeed he is hard to please."

In their desperate attempts to please the Horse, the men-servants fell upon him

and so vigorously applied all their winning methods that he lost his power to kick and a great deal more besides.

Then Man called his friends and neighbours together, and said to them exultingly,—“Friends, did you ever see so devoted a steed as mine?”

“Never!” they replied. “He seems as still as ditch water and as mild as the religion you profess.”

The Horse, as is well known, had no horns, no claws, nor adequate teeth, at his birth. And, when on the top of this, all kicking at the walls and even into emptiness had been stopped, the only way to give vent to his feelings was to neigh.

But that disturbed Man’s sleep.

Moreover, this neighing was not likely to impress the neighbours as a pæan of devotion and thankfulness. So Man invented devices to shut the Horse’s mouth.

But the voice cannot be altogether suppressed so long as the mistake is made of leaving any breath in the body. Therefore a spasmodic sound of moaning came from his throat now and then.

One day this noise reached Brahmā’s ears.

The Creator woke up from his meditation. It gave him a start when he glanced at the meadow and saw no sign of the Horse.

“This is all your doing,” cried Brahmā, in anger to Yama, the God of death. “You have taken away the Horse!”

“Lord of all creatures!” Death replied: “All your worst suspicions you keep only for me. But most of the calamities in your beautiful world will be explained if you turn your eyes in the direction of Man.”

Brahmā looked below. He saw a small enclosure, walled in, from which the

dolorous moaning of his Horse came fitfully.

Brahmā frowned in anger.

“Unless you set free my Horse”, said he, “I shall take care that he grows teeth and claws like the Tiger.”

“That would be ungodly”, cried man, “to encourage ferocity. All the same, if I may speak plain truth about a creature of your own make, this Horse is not fit to be set free. It was for his eternal good that I built him this stable—this marvel of architecture.”

Brahmā remained obdurate.

“I bow to your wisdom,” said Man, “but if, after seven days, you still think that your meadow is better for him than my stable, I will humbly own defeat.”

After this Man set to work.

He made the Horse go free, but hobbled his front legs. The result was so vastly diverting that it was enough to make even a frog burst his sides with laughter.

Brahmā, from the height of his heaven, could see the comic gait of his Horse, but not the tragic rope which hobbled him. He was mortified to find his own creature openly exposing its divine maker to ridicule.

“It was an absurd blunder of mine”, he cried, “closely touching the sublime.”

“Grandsire,” said Man with a pathetic show of sympathy, “what can I do for this unfortunate creature? If there is a meadow in your heaven, I am willing to take trouble to transport him thither.”

“Take him back to your stable!” cried Brahmā in dismay.

“Merciful God!” cried Man, “what a great burden it will be for mankind!”

“It is the burden of humanity,” muttered Brahmā.

RESURRECTION OF MOTHERHOOD AND FATHERHOOD

FROM time immemorial motherhood has been regarded in this country as the highest function of female life. So much so that God has been represented

as having taken birth as a human babe to taste a mother’s love.

“Nandah kimakarod brahman

Sreya eham mahodayam

Yasodā bā mahābhāgā

Papau yasyā stanam harih".

Srimat Bhāgbat, Śkandha 10,

Chapter 8, verse 36,

King Parikshit wondering asked Sukadeva "O Brahman, what good work Nanda and lucky Yasodā did so that God sucked her breast?"

"Nemam Birinchi na Bhabo

Na Srirapyangasansrayā

Prasādam bebhire gopi

Yattat prāpa bimukti dāt"

Ibid, Chapter 9, verse 15.

The favour which Yasodā received from the Savior was never obtained by Brahmā, Siva or even Lakshmi.

Sukadeva said :

"Drono basunām prabaro

Dharayā bhāryayā saha

Karishyamāna adeshān

Brahmanastamubācha ha

Jātayornau Mahādebe

Bhubi Bisvesvare Harau

Bhaktihsyāt paramā loko

Yayānjo durgatim taret"

Ibid, chapter 8, verse 38.

The chief of the Basus Drona in order to obey Brahmā in company with his wife Dharā said: "Grant us that favour by which we, after being born as human beings may attain that love for God by which man gets salvation"

Brahmā said "very well", and that Drona and Dharā became Nanda and Yasodā in Brindāban. Such is the dignity of motherhood or *bātsalya* which next to *mādhurya* or wifehood, is the highest form of devotion extolled by poets and saints alike. Those who have no child of their own, try to realise motherhood or fatherhood by showering their love on an artificial baby Gopāl. They feed, dress and play with it as if it were their living child. This reminds me of the training the Americans are giving to the boarding girls to prepare themselves for future motherhood. At first they provided each girl with a doll with instruction to feed, dress and rear them as living babes. This method failed as every method without reality or religious enthusiasm behind it must fail. Now they are trying to teach the

girls motherhood by putting them in charge of some baby brought from hospitals or some such institutions. In this way they are making an attempt at the revival of dead motherhood or resurrection of motherhood, if I may say so.

At a meeting of the American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality, Mrs. William Lowell Putnam in her Presidential address observed :

"Into few businesses in life are people expected to enter with such a complete lack of training as that of motherhood—perhaps the most complicated occupation that exists. Men have evolved colleges and elaborated them into universities to give themselves the training which they need for their various forms of work, and women in entering the learned professions, have very properly taken this education to fit themselves for their practice. Nurses are given a very careful and prolonged training. But when it comes to motherhood, what training have we—we on whom the whole future depends of those lives which come into being through us? Nothing at all. We do not even give our girls training for the common calling of home-maker, which happily falls to the lot of most women—for really a woman has to make a home wherever she is, and I have an idea that only a woman can make it.....I am not advocating doing away with the higher education of woman—far from it—I believe in all the education we get. I want not less but more of it, but if we must omit some things to make room for home-making I would cut out some of the things that are more remote from the children's daily life."

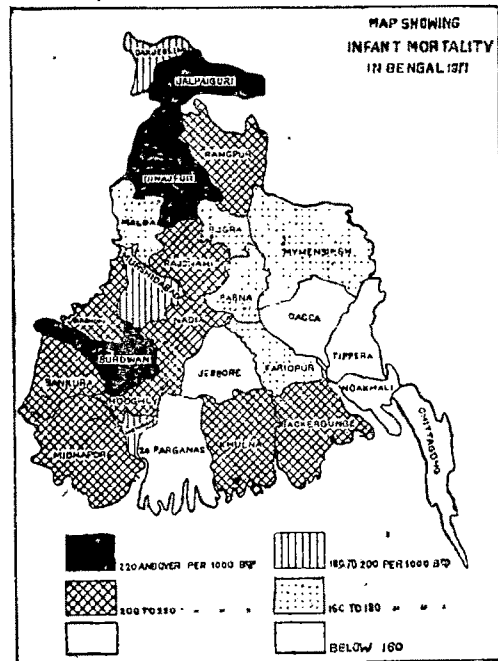
As a result of this unpreparedness for motherhood many preventable diseases play havoc among mothers and their babies. Realisation of the difficulties of rearing children has led many a modern woman in the west to avoid motherhood by artificial means, and their example, I am afraid, is being imitated in the East as well. They play into the hands of those who carry on the insidious propaganda of "birth control". This propaganda, consists, according to Mrs. Putnam, of saying to people: "Do what you like and as much of it as you like and I'll show you how to get away with it." It is undermining the morals of men and women. It is more than doubtful whether the poor women with large families whom the advocates of "birth control" pretend to protect are benefited by this propaganda,

as the pernicious literature does not as a rule reach them. But the more intelligent among the unmarried as well as the married quite fully understand and are led into license. The other day a canvasser of a book entitled "limitation of family" which is largely advertised had the hardihood to consult me about the best chemicals to be used for this purpose. He came in the garb of a *sannyasi* and with an audacity more marked than his intelligence told me that His Excellency the Governor patronized this movement. The methods advocated by these mischief-makers very often fail and plunge their victims into a whirlpool of distress.

Thanks to the teaching of the *Sastras*, the generality of our women are always anxious to become mothers. Like many of our Western mothers (I will not say *sisters*, for *mother* is the one dignified name intended for them by providence and which, once uttered, dispells all impure thoughts) they do not fight shy of motherhood but undergo with great pleasure any treatment or operation for the cure of sterility. But unfortunately they become mothers without the preparatory training for this responsible function. As a result they lose in terribly large numbers those whom they covet most. Most of them lose their dear ones either before or after they see the light, mourn and get distracted, but are soon quieted by their elders with the old adage current among the Bengali ladies, "*Katak Jharti Katak Parti*", that is to say, some you must, as a matter of course, lose. This dulls their sense of responsible motherhood, which can easily be resurrected if only we have a resurrection of fatherhood as well. Bring home to our women the fact how preventible diseases collect a heavy toll on infant life every year and the day of the resurrection of motherhood and the protection of childhood would be within a measurable distance.

In the whole of Bengal every year more than three lacs of children die within a year of their birth. This excludes stillbirths the number of which is considerable. In 1917 there were 16,27,873 births. According to the American authorities a third of the pregnant women abort. So

there must have been a loss of nearly five lacs and a half of potential lives that year in addition to the three lacs already mentioned. What a wanton waste of human life which may be prevented if we know the way! In New Zealand they have brought down the rate of infantile mortality to 50 per thousand, while we who boast of an ancient civilization stand aloof, unmoved and unconcerned, although in our premier city, Calcutta, the rate is nearly 250 per thousand. The energetic Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal, Dr. Bentley, whose name in connection with sanitary reform will soon be a household word in this province has sketched a map of Infantile mortality to evoke the responsibility of the citizens of the districts most affected.



Map showing Infant Mortality in Bengal in 1917, the black showing the most affected parts.

Jalpaigurree, Rangpore, Dinajpore, Burdwan, Khulna and Calcutta among others, should try to find out the special cause of this high rate of mortality. The Bengal Government has appointed a Child Welfare Committee with Sir Nilratan Sircar as the president. Let there be

Branch Committees in every District to co-operate with the Central Committee and suggest means for the prevention of infantile mortality. Will not the cry for help raised every year by sixteen lacs of babes born and five lacs and a half of babes un-

born raise the dead irresponsible motherhood and fatherhood from their grave of lethargy and set them to work for the preservation of these national assets?

SUNDARIMOHAN DAS, M.B.

THE RIGHT CURE FOR AGRICULTURAL POVERTY

A PRACTICAL Scheme of Agricultural Organisation and Rural Reconstruction in Bengal" is the title of a pamphlet published by the Bengal Cooperative Organisation, 6, Dacre's Lane, Calcutta. It contains a lecture delivered by Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., Magistrate and Collector of Birbhum, at a meeting of the Calcutta University Institute held on the 28th March last under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Cumming, Member of the Executive Council. The pamphlet deserves to be widely circulated and we desire to bring it prominently to the notice of the public. While the Press is kept constantly occupied with the sad and depressing events of the Indian political world, and has scarcely any time to notice the slow march of progress in the everyday life of the people, thanks to the guiding hand of an Indian Collector, inspired by true patriotic enthusiasm, things seem to be moving in a quiet corner of the western marches of Bengal in a direction full of the richest potentialities for bringing prosperity back among the half-starved masses of our rural agriculturists.

Mr. Dutt makes certain observations on the working of the Co-operative Credit Societies, in the success of which, we know, Government takes a keen interest, which are far from reassuring, and considering his high official position, and the still higher auspices under which the lecture was delivered, they are indeed remarkable. "As the result of the working of the Credit Societies over a number of years, it is found that instead of a reduction in the indebtedness of the agriculturists there has been an actual increase." He quotes the *Pioneer* in support of 'this somewhat unpopular, but none the less true, estimate of the situation', and is emphatically of opinion that the true remedy lies, not in this direction, but in increasing the productive capacity of the cultivator by the organisation of a network of Branch Agricultural Associations affiliated to the District Agricultural Association under the guidance of the special expert officers of the Government Agricultural and Veterinary Departments. These Associations will grapple with such questions as the distribution of the selected seeds in-

troductio of suitable implements, utilisation of farm-yard manure, measures for dealing with insect-pests and diseases, the eradiction or utilisation of the water-hyacinth, cattle-food, cattle-diseases, cattle-breeding, crop-rotations, sericulture, fisheries, drainage and cultivation of marsh lands and the introduction of suitable crops for dry uplands, etc.—The smaller the area to be served by each Branch Association the better, and the aim should be ultimately to have one Branch Association for every large village. The more compact these Associations, the greater is the amount of corporate and educative work that may be done by them. Mr. Dutt then proceeds to describe the phenomenal success attained by agricultural organisation on this system in several European countries, such as Denmark, Servia, Holland, Belgium and Italy, and also in America and Japan, where the movement was started so late as in 1900, but already every village in the Land of the Rising Sun has its Branch Agricultural Association and the enormous cumulative effect of their various activities on the national life can be readily understood. Their system of consolidating small holdings by mutual co-operation and exchange in order to save time, space and labour in cultivation is specially instructive to us. In all these countries, the condition of the agriculturists was very miserable before the movement was started, but now everywhere they are in a prosperous and flourishing condition. Besides increasing the productivity of the land, such an organisation provides the agriculturists with a valuable training in combined work, and by interesting farmers in their economic development, gradually interests them in their social and political welfare and by generating a "community consciousness" in the villages, leads to a natural process of rural reconstruction in the country.

The Birbhum District Agricultural Association was started about a year ago. At first one Branch Association was formed for the area of each Thana or Police station. This was found too large, and Associations are now being formed on a much smaller territorial basis, there being a steady increase in the demand. During the four

months ending in March last the number of Branch Associations increased from 16 to 30, and there will soon be a further increase. Each Branch Association has at present 50 to 100 members with a President and a Secretary. The annual subscription payable by each member is one rupee only. "The members of some of the Branch Associations range from graduates and pleaders to the illiterate cultivator.... The opportunity of common discussion and mutual observation thus afforded brings the most ignorant and illiterate member up to the level of those who, by virtue of education or enterprise, have shown themselves most receptive of new ideas." An ably-conducted quarterly agricultural journal, the *Bhumi-Lakshmi*, is already finding subscribers outside the district.

The remarkable hold which the movement has taken on the agricultural population of the district will appear from the following extract:—

"I may mention here that as a result of this activity, ground-nut, a crop which a few years ago was practically unknown in this province but which is a very valuable crop for the high sandy soils of the western districts of Bengal, now covers 1000 bighas in Birbhum and a further expansion is expected shortly. Progress has also been made in the cultivation of cotton, and in the process of home-extraction of ground-nut oil by a simple machine. In 1918, the Branch Associations, through the Agricultural Department, indented new manures, seeds of superior varieties of paddy and wheat and of ground-nut and other crops as well as improved varieties of

sugar-cane cuttings &c., worth about Rs. 8,000. In the present year, the indents to be made through the Department are expected to be about Rs. 14,000 in value. Besides this a large amount of ground-nut seeds and sugarcane cuttings of superior varieties will be available from members' own plots for seed purposes. For a small district of only 1,700 square miles these are no mean figures for the first year's work."

We have space only for one more quotation:

"An organism, instinct with the vital force of nation-building and national reconstruction, which, born in Europe, has nourished and raised nation after nation from the depths of despair to the height of prosperity within the short space of thirty years—the seedling whence, transplanted in Japan only 15 years ago, has furnished the Japanese with the material wherewith to build up the inner tissues of their great national life,—that very organism, gentlemen, has, as if bidden by Nature to give Bengal her turn, now taken its birth and fructified in a quiet and neglected corner of Bengal; and it now invites you to sow its seeds broadcast in your land. Sons of Bengal, will you, or will you not, accept this invitation? Sentiments of patriotism and philanthropy alone will not avail. What is needed is ceaseless and untiring effort for several years to come. The task is no easy one. It will take the best men in Bengal to fulfil this mission, but I trust the best men in Bengal are there—ready to shoulder the work—and that it will be done."

X.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

THE TWO RINGS AND RADHARANI by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, translated from Bengali by Dakshina Charan Roy, Students' Library, Calcutta and Dacca, published by B. M. Dutt, 67, College Street, Calcutta. Nicely printed and handsomely bound. Price Re. 1.

This is really a fascinating rendering into English of two of the most fascinating novelettes in Bengali, acknowledgedly the most developed of the Indian vernaculars, of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, who was in the course of a controversy in the early eighties of the last century, characterised by the late Principal Hastie of the General Assembly's Institution (now the Scottish Churches College), Calcutta, himself a stanch Scotchman, as the Walter Scott of Bengal. The translators into English of the Bengali books of notable Bengali authors are entitled to our thanks and grateful appreciation, for they do

thereby, indeed, an immense service to the country and its people by bringing forward its literature before the world at large; for literature, according to the celebrated Dr. William Ellery Channing of America, constitutes "the expression of the superior mind of the nation in writing" and it is, in the words of the Sage of Chelsea, "the Thought of thinking Souls." And if in the West to-day the opinion as regards Indians whom they hitherto on most occasions looked down upon as a semi-civilised people at their best is somewhat changed and modified for the better, is it not largely, if not solely, due to the translation into English of the "Expressions of the Superior mind of" our "nation" and "the Thought of" our "Thinking Souls" such as that of Rabindranath Tagore? Mr. Dakshina Charan Roy, the translator of the books under notice, therefore, deserves not only our heart-felt thanks but also every encouragement from us all who have every

reason to be proud of the great performances of our great authors and master minds whose writings have done so much in raising us in the estimation of the present day civilised world.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—AN HISTORICAL ARGUMENT, by Dr. Pollard. Printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, & published by the Oxford University Press, Elphinstone Circle, Bombay. Pp. 68, paper cover. Price Re. 1.

Since the promulgation of President Wilson's famous "Fourteen Points" about a year or so ago many things, *pro* and *con*, have been said and written, here, there and everywhere, all the world over, by enthusiasts and pessimists alike about the proposed League of Nations, initiated by him. All the same, although we have, willy-nilly, been impelled to swallow a great deal of these voluminous writings of diverse writers bearing upon this by no means unimportant subject from the view point of the world's welfare, we feel bound to say, in bare justice, that the brochure under review contains a great deal that we have not found elsewhere and it is, indeed, highly readable on that account. Mr. Pollard, though not exactly a pessimist as to the welfare of the world arising from the League of Nations does not appear to us either over-enthusiastic about its outcome and results. For instance, he writes in a qualifying tone: "A simple League of Nations for defence would not, however, provide an immediate means of solving problems which peace will leave unsettled and the future will produce. It would not directly guarantee liberty for subject nationalities nor good government for any State, and it would not provide for the settlement of a single international dispute. The bare prevention of war may thus seem a poor substitute for justice..." Again: "The simplest form of a League of Nations will require from all of us a self-restraint and sacrifice of nationalistic pride which will tax our moral qualities to the utmost it is prudent to demand."

R. MUKERJEE.

A MANUAL OF DISTRICT BOARD WORK. Part I, Water Supply, by L. C. Sen Gupta, B. E., District Engineer, Berhampur. Thacker Spink & Co. Pages 76 and 6 plates. Price Rs. 3-8.

This book, dealing with all the circulars and author's experiences on the important question of rural water supply, will prove an interesting reading to District Board Members and new District Engineers. The author has confined his discussions to wells of 4' and 6' diameter, but our experience shows, that a 5' diameter well, is the most suitable and economical and is freely used by both the Hindus and the Mohamadans. In the standard plan for tanks (plate No. 5) neither the side slopes nor the depths have been noted. Hence it is quite useless. An outward slope of 1 in 10 in spoil banks is too costly in places where the land is comparatively

dear. The population should be taken into consideration while determining the number and size of tanks or wells in a particular village. In a treatise like this, intended for laymen, a table showing the size of a tank or well for a population varying from 100 to 2000, and a chapter on the practical difficulties in sinking wells, would have been very useful. The author's patent Ami-Water-lift, with slight modifications, will render a well free from any pollution, and so is strongly recommended. The author has stated nothing as regards construction of wells and tanks in rocky soils. Hence the book may be more appropriately named a Manual of District Board work in Bengal. The price appears to be high.

INDUSHEKHAR BHATTACHARYA.

MOULTED FEATHERS, by J. H. Cousins. Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras.

Mr. Cousins has given to the world his songs, during the present year, with a lavishness that he has never displayed before. India, whose heart he has sought and found, has made him sing; and the dedication of this slender volume to Harindranath Chattopadhyaya may perhaps tell of a personal factor in Mr. Cousins' new-found inspiration.

In a poem, with a very curious title—"The Poet to his Alter Ego"—there is a touch of something which takes one back for a parallel to the group of Crashaw, Donne, Vaughan and Treharne, in the Seventeenth Century,—the Welsh mystical poets who play such a strange part in English Literature,—

Yet, if you the fire would find
You must pay the price in kind,
Since Life's Tree must hold in dower
Wood for Crucifixion's hour,
Ere the skyward stair is made
For the Soul's high escalade;
And the thorny circlet blows
To the Spirit's living Prose....

It is difficult to refrain from continuing the quotation, but I must leave the beautiful, mystical end of the poem to be read in the book itself. The sonnets on the Taj have, I think, appeared already in the *Modern Review*. They do not move me in the same way (this may be a purely individual thing and in no way representative) as the poem from which I have just quoted, or as the following lines have done,—

His eyes with fresh creation shone.
Before him new-made beauty lay.
Deep wonder-eyed
In art's first smarting joy, he cried:
'I did not think I could have done
So much with such rough clay!'

Master! when our crude lives have won
The stamp that doth Thy hand display,
Perhaps Thou too wilt cry

(Thou, even Thou, Artist of earth and sky)
I did not think I could have done
So much with such rough clay !

There seems to me very little doubt that Mr. J. H. Cousins' period of inspiration lies before him and not behind. There has come something into his verse,—with the new life of the East,—which here and there breaks forth with distinction. It is some truth, if I am not mistaken, that has not yet been fully revealed even to himself. Perhaps his new voyage of adventure to Japan, where he has gone for a short time as Professor of English literature, will reveal it.

C. F. A.

I. THE PHILOSOPHY OF ACTION OF B. G. TILAK'S GITARAHASYA: by V. Mangalvedkar. *Indian Literature Publishers : Madras. 1919. Price Rs. 2. Pp. 305. Neatly printed and bound.*

Madras is to be congratulated upon its publishing houses and printing presses. Neither Calcutta nor Bombay can approach it in this respect. Lokamanya Tilak wrote his Gitarahasya to prove that the object of the Gita is to teach the philosophy of action. His book had a phenomenal sale in Maharashtra, and it has been translated into Bengali by the worthy brother of the great poet, Babu Jyotirindranath Tagore. The book under review purports to be a *resume* of Mr. Tilak's book. Not having read the original, we cannot say how far the author has succeeded in his attempt. To rouse India from her age-long torpor, and teach her that retirement from the world is not the *summum bonum*, but a life of self-sacrificing activity is the goal of human endeavour, is the highest benefit that can be conferred on her. Nobody will deny that Mr. Tilak is one of the most outstanding figures in the ranks of orthodox Hinduism. His great learning has been acknowledged by western scholars. That he should have crossed the seas at the call of duty should sound the death-knell of the anti-sea-voyage movement. In this, and in suffering repeated incarcerations for the sake of what he conceived to be the truth, he has shown that he is an ideal Karma-Yogin. The book under review is wordy, verbose, and its English is peculiar. The author would have done well to deliver his message in his mother-tongue.

II. RIGHTS OF CITIZENS:—by S. Satyamurthi, B.A., B.L. *Ganesh & Co., Madras. The Cambridge Press. 130 pages.*

The Right to Personal Freedom, Freedom of Judicial Trial, Freedom of the Press, the Right of Public Meeting, Freedom to bear Arms, and to serve in the Army and Navy, Freedom to Enter the Public Services—these are the subjects discussed in the book. There is a chapter on the Rowlatt Bills, and an Introduction and Appendices. In the foreword it is truly said "The rights dealt with in this book are of far greater importance than any privileges which may be

exercised by the people's representatives in the reformed councils and in transferred departments of the administration. Whatever small instalment of self-government we may obtain immediately, if these elementary citizen-rights can be secured, we shall have freedom of movement for national development and can work our own progress without them, the most attractive schemes of reform cannot take us near to that fulfilment of national right which is our birth-right." In Appendix B we have the Declaration of Rights of the Indian National Congress, and Appendix A gives extracts from a High-Court and a Privy Council judgement showing the utter helplessness of the Indian Press before the whims of an irresponsible executive. It is because India does not possess certain elementary rights of citizens, that the spectacle is seen in India of an Indian High Court Judge, who hobnobs with Governors of provinces, being insulted by a common Tommy in a railway train, or an Indian barrister and leader of public opinion and occupying the highest position in Indian society being sentenced to a long term of hard labour or transportation for life for what the people consider no offence at all. We recommend this highly useful and timely publication to all who desire to have a clear grasp of the disabilities from which we suffer.

III. FOOTSTEPS TO FREEDOM: ESSAYS —by James H. Cousins. Pp. 181. *Neatly printed and bound. Madras, Ganesh & Co. 1919.*

These are short essays on a variety of subjects, literary and otherwise. They possess the author's characteristic distinction of style, but some of the essays are too sketchy for publication in book form. The following extract will seem apposite to many readers who have followed recent events in the Punjab: "On November 28, 1918, when the "poor [Irish] actor" had served two months out of his two years' imprisonment for singing two Irish songs (one song—one year), Robert Bridges, in celebration of the ending of the Great War, sang :

The good God bless this day,
And we for ever and aye
Keep our love living;
Till all men 'neath heaven's dome
Sing Freedom's Harvest-home
In one thanksgiving !

To which every lover of freedom will say "Amen" and yet wonder whether the poet-laureate to the Government that puts an actor to gaol for singing songs of his native land, has felt the pressure of the true Footsteps of Freedom; or whether the Freedom of which he sings is capable of the paraphrase—"I grant you perfect Freedom to do what I allow you to do." But the Footsteps of Freedom move on."

IX. IS INDIA CIVILISED? by Sir John Woodroffe. *Second edition. Ganesh & Co., Madras. 1919. Price Rs. 2-8-0 pp. 355.*

The first edition of the book was published towards the end of last year, and the demand for a second edition within six months of the publication of the first proves how greatly the book has been appreciated in India. We can only hope that this ready appreciation is not due to the fact, to which attention has been drawn by an Indian reviewer quoted in the Foreword, that the book has proved "in the hands of the unscrupulously and obtusely orthodox a weapon of offence and defence, against the attacks of reason and commonsense"—We doubt whether a volume of recent essays by Rabindranath Tagore, in which the reeking bloodthirstiness and inhuman greed of Western nationalism and the inhuman social abuses and practical materialism and worship of Power in Indian society have come in for equally strong reprobation, would prove half as palatable to Indian readers as Sir John Woodroffe's book. The time has indeed come when we should not be put out by Western misjudgment and abuse, or unduly elated by Western flattery. We should be strong enough to be able to judge ourselves as well as others with sobriety and truth, and this we can do only when we have found ourselves, and have definitely taken our stand on the side of progress and development on right lines. Sir John's book should furnish the necessary corrective to Western misjudgment, and should prove more useful to Western readers than to ourselves. But as it is, we fear few Englishmen will care to go through the book, whereas its popularity in India has proved to be exceptional. In the Foreword Sir John explains:—"The character however of Indian civilisation is distinctly and predominantly religious. But as to its present manifestation, the distinguished Bengali scientist Sir P. C. Ray has recently written *apropos* of those writers who are ever holding up the Europeans as mere worshippers of mammon, that "they forget that the Hindu society as it is is thoroughly permeated with materialism..... I was referring to the ideal, not to present facts, which as I have over and over pointed out, are inconsistent with it. I wish to insist on this point, for I should indeed be sorry if anything that I had said was understood as countenancing any of the abuses into which, through a descending scale of degeneracy, Hindu society had fallen."

The bulk of the present edition exceeds the first by nearly 75 pages, and the letter-press and binding leave nothing to be desired. The matter has also been thoroughly revised, and some of the criticisms on the first edition of the book have been attempted to be met in the body of the book, and all quotations have been acknowledged.

X.

THE KING'S WIFE—by James H. Cousins.
Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1919.

Mr. James H. Cousins has given us, in this new drama, a further exhibition of the great

versatility of his powers as an artist in word and song. The drama is of the ideal type, in which historical dates and facts may be left behind and the soul-tragedy alone is regarded. How far such liberties can be taken with success in drama is doubtful, and in this new work of the poet there is to me, an Englishman, something of unreality in the close association of Queen Mira with the Emperor Akbar which is hard to overcome. But the beauty of the language of the drama is unmistakable, and again and again I have come across passages like this, which have haunted me with their cadence:—

Oh! she has brought strange quiet on the world
The exquisite sadness of things beautiful
That is more sweet than laughter. She has made
The heart's pure conquest lightly as a breath,
Because her hands are eloquent with love;
While power, that thunders on the stubborn will,
Smites the response,—that leaps to her in joy.

I cannot refrain from quoting another passage which appeared to me among the greatest in the book:—

Ah! me, to have lived
Through love's pure greenness, when the
happy rains
Made life a full glad river: to have lived
Into the dry and shrivelled after time,
That were indeed poor ending to our song—
Were it the end; but past our little reach
I hear invisible compassionate lips
Laugh softly, and in comprehending eyes
Catch a far meaning to the shadow dance
Of children who have hurt themselves in play,
And shall have sleep, and waken, and forget.

This pure form of blank verse (that hardest of all metres) is sustained throughout the whole play, and the words carry music with them as they flow on. I have wondered if the drama could not have been stronger for some roughnesses by way of contrast,—some prose, for instance, when citizens are talking together,—some humour broad and strong, to take away the strain of the sustained idealism. But the dramatist himself knew best and his play has taken an almost lyrical note throughout.

C. F. A.

SIR SANKARAN NAIR'S MINUTES OF DISSENT, WITH CHAMPARAN AND KAIRA APPENDIX. *Ganesh & Co. Madras. As. 8. Pp. 73+55.*

Sir C. Sankaran Nair's well-argued, well-informed, truthful and courageous minutes of dissent have won him the sincere respect of not only all Indians who know anything of politics and love their country, but of some Englishmen also. Messrs. Ganesh and Co. have done well to bring out these minutes in a handy book form. The book-buying public ought to encourage them. There are some misprints in the book; e. g., p. 2, "transaction" for "transition;" p. 3, "Roy's" for "Rhys;" p. 4, "legal" for "regal," "Diadoross" for "Diodoros."

R. C.

INDIAN HOME RULE. By M. K. Gandhi. Second Edition. Ganesh & Co. Madras. Reprinted with a new foreword by the Author, and a Note by C. Rajagopalachar, Pp. 136+viii+8. Re. 1.

This is a thought-provoking book. Even where the reader would be disposed to disagree with the author, he would on further reflection find some kernel of truth in the views of the great Satyagrahi. We are ourselves unable to endorse certain things that he says, e.g., on education, but we must say that we have derived much profit from the book by reading it from cover to cover.

The book is in the form of a dialogue between Reader and Editor, Editor being the Author himself. It is natural in the circumstances that Reader is not so acute a controversialist as Editor.

In reply to Reader's question, "When and how did the real awakening take place?" Editor says in part: "what you call the real awakening took place after the Partition of Bengal. For this we have to be thankful to Lord Curzon. At the time of the Partition, the people of Bengal reasoned with Lord Curzon, but, in the pride of power, he disregarded all their prayers—he took it for granted that Indians could only prattle, that they could never take any effective steps. He used insulting language, and, in the teeth of all opposition, partitioned Bengal. That day may be considered to be the day of the partition of the British Empire. The shock that the British power received through the Partition has never been equalled by any other act."

Mr. Gandhi does not see real peace in "the Pax Britannica"; he holds that "the present peace is only nominal, for by it we have become emasculated and cowardly". He thinks that alone to be real peace which is brought about and maintained by the people of a country themselves.

Mr. Gandhi holds that "we were one nation before they [the English] came to India. One thought inspired us. Our mode of life was the same. It was because we were one nation that they were able to establish one kingdom. Subsequently they divided us."

Regarding the need of a third neutral party to decide our quarrels, he observes: "The fact is that we have become enslaved, and, therefore, quarrel and like to have our quarrels decided by a third party."

Anent cow-killing, he very pertinently asks: "Who protects the cow from destruction by Hindus when they cruelly ill-treat her? Who ever reasons with the Hindus when they mercilessly belabour the progeny of the cow with their sticks? But this has not prevented us from remaining one nation."

Lawyers would do well to see themselves as Mr. Gandhi, himself a barrister at law, sees them.

The book should be read by all who can think for themselves.

F. C.

HINDI.

VANITA-VILASA, by Mahavira Prasad Dwivedi. Published by the Commercial Press of Cawnpore. Pages 83. Price 5 annas.

This little book is the second of the series which the Commercial Press of Cawnpore have published with the commendable intention of making the inaccessible writings of this prince of Hindi writers, whose name is so closely connected with the premier Hindi monthly, *The Saraswati*, easily available to the public. The present volume is a collection of ten essays written at different periods of time from January 1903 to April 1913 in the form of short sketches of the lives of ten famous women, of whom seven are Indian and three British. The language is simple and the book can be safely recommended for both boys and girls.

MANUSHYA KE KARTAVYA, by Krishnanarayan Laghate, B.A., LL.B. Published by Narayana-prasad Aroda, B. A., Patkapur, Cawnpore. (To be had of the publisher, and also of the author at Hewett Road, Allahabad). Pp. 128. Price 6 annas.

This is a Hindi translation of Mazzini's *Duties of Man*. It is only the first part of the book, once published in 1909, and the second part is promised soon. The original is well known in this country. The translation is good and the only pity is that the publishers have not brought out the complete book at one time.

HINDI LINGA VICHARA, by Jagannath Prasad Chaturvedi. (To be had of Chaturvedi Bhola Nath Sarma, 5 Mukhtaram Row, Calcutta; and The Hindi Books Agency, 126 Harrison Road, Calcutta). Pp. 18. Price 3 annas.

This paper was read at the ninth session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at Bombay (1913). It deals with the genders of Hindi words and contains many points which deserve the attention of Hindi writers. As the author has pointed out, much of the confusion which prevails at present in Hindi in the matter of treating certain words as masculine or feminine would disappear, if proper attention were paid to the rules of grammar and the authority of old writers were duly respected. But when he asks us to use such words as कठोरता, सदनशीलता and हृदयता as masculine, he is counting too much upon the credulity of his readers.

"MULA-DEVA."

GUJARATI.

SMARANJALI (स्मरणजलि) by Jayasukhnai P. Joshipara, printed at the Sayaji Vijaya Press, Baroda. Cloth bound, pp. 34. Price Re. 1-0 (1919).

The subject matter of this little poem and the occasion of its composition are so sorrowful that one does not feel oneself at liberty to say all he has to say about it. The death of the writer's wife, in memory of whose last days spent by the husband and their children together, in a bungalow at Visnagar, has prompted him to pour out his feelings in verse, and description of the innocent babble of the young ones, is one of the best portions of the book. To express the sense of the word "topheavy" in Gujarati, we say that the turban is larger than the head. Something like this has happened in this case. The bare text, printed on about 14 to 15 pages, is hedged round with a preface, an **उद्घाटन**, and a **द्योतिका**, where two other writers, have in the spirit in which they have carried the high-sounding headings of their performances, expatiated on the different aspects of a composition, which is cast in no unusual or extraordinary mould. They try to put a factitious importance, and serve more to overload some of the feeling and simple verses, than lift them up to the gaze of the reader. The best portions should be read as they are.

PRASANG RANG (प्रसंगरंग) by Dr. Natwarlal Fakirbhai Sheth, M.B., B.S., Touring Medical Officer, Dohad. Printed at the Jaina Printing Press, Surat. Paper cover. Pp. 41. (1919). Unpriced.

There are about 28 small sections in this book, consisting of Gazals (verses) addressed by a pining lover to his Beloved. We find nothing in them, which would take them out of the ordinary rut of such emotional outpourings. Perhaps growing age would mellow the feelings of the youthful composer.

(1) CORBETT NO UPADESH, (कोर्बेट नो उपदेश) by Chhaganlal Hari'val Pandia, B.A., Educational Officer, Junagadh, printed at the Arya Sudharak Press, Baroda. Cloth bound. Pp. 180. Price Re. 0-15-0 (1919).

(2) KAROLIA, करोलीया by Bhanusukhram, N. Mehta, B.A., printed at the Ar, a Sudharak Press, Baroda. Cloth bound. Pp. 156 + 4. Price Re. 0-15-0 (1919).

(3) GIRDHAR, by Jagjivandas D. Mody. Printed at the Jagrati Press, Baroda. Cloth bound. Pp. 126. Price Re 0-15-0 (1919).

These three books are further additions to the Sayaji Sahitya Mala, whose managers do not seem to be taking any rest at all, since addition after addition is being promptly made to its existing numbers. Mr. Bhanusukhram seems to be a *facile princeps* at the work, because not a batch of books sent to us passes without his having a name in it. This time he has selected "Spiders" (2) (Karolia : करोलीया). We fail to understand why his choice has alighted on that

little creature which is always inviting unsuspecting flies to walk into its parlor, in preference to frogs, or beetles, or bats, for the matter of that, as they are all equally useful (?) members of creation. Of course, this is not his own composition: it is a translation of Warburton's "Spiders", which he has embellished with his own notes and observations. We only hope the reading public would betray as much enthusiasm in reading it as the translator betrays in translating it. Frankly, is the magnificent amount of two lacs meant to be frittered away on such treatises, and or is it meant for a better purpose? Corbett's advice to young men (1) is translated by Mr. Pandia, and it would be presumptuous on our part to find fault with the execution thereof. But what a role for the gifted translator of the inimitable *Kadambari* to play? It is said that if Bana had written his unique work in Gujarati, he would have done it as well as Mr. Pandia's translation. For that gifted scholar, now to descend to translate Corbett, or write short stories, fit for juveniles, is something like misapplication of energy and intelligence. Precedents are not wanting. Sir Conan Doyle has also taken to Magazine story writing for children. But surely, looking to the dearth we have in our literature of sound writers and scholars, Mr. Pandia should have been selected for some more sound and intelligent work than translating Corbett. The third book is the biography of an old Gujarati poet Girdhar. There was room for just such a book, and though not an ideal work, still it is sure to be useful. The writer Mr. Mody seems to have a quaint idea. He thinks he has got poetic faculty, and that he traces to a poet, who flourished 200 to 300 years ago, simply because he belonged to his caste and his native place! The book betrays signs of labor and assiduity and is written by one who takes great interest in its subject matter.

K. M. J.

MARATHI.

1. NITISHASTRA PRAVESH OR INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF ETHICS by Mr. V. M. Joshi, M. A., Professor, Indian Women's University at Higne, Poona. Published by the author. Pages 15 + 527. Price Rupees Four.

The present is an original work, expounding the several theories on the subject, closely examining them by the scientific method of criticism and establishing certain principles which guide or ought to guide the conduct of an individual as an individual and also as a member of society. The book is divided into 16 chapters, which comprise such valuable and much-discussed subjects as the relation subsisting between religion and morality, Free Will, Conscience, Intuity, influence of Heredity, theory of happiness, Immortality of the soul, etc. The author has dealt with these subjects in a fairly impartial and critical

manner and has, by means of familiar illustrations, succeeded in carrying home to his readers, several truths, which, when thoroughly imbibed, ought to make him pause and reflect before judging. The special merit of the book is that it is not a mere compendium of Western thought on the subject. The author has taken pains to compare with it, Indian thought embodied in Sanskrit works, and this feature of the work greatly enhances its value. His exposition of the subject of Morals is quite upto-date and leaves nothing to be desired, except that in some places the work of condensation is carried to excess, thus leaving his reader rather bewildered. But I can very well understand the difficulty of the author. To attempt to expound and discuss innumerable theories of thinkers in a volume like this is undoubtedly a difficult task, and I have to congratulate the author on the measure of success he has achieved.

It is a pity that such an important and bulky volume on a subject, which associates with itself hundreds of names of writers, and a fairly large number of divisions, should go without an exhaustive index. When will Marathi writers realise its value and usefulness and make it a necessary adjunct of their works?

Poona.

V. G. APTE.

THE PRESENT ABNORMAL DEATH RATE IN POONA
by Shankar Ramachandra Bhagawat, L.C.E. Published
by S. B. Sahasrabuddhe, Budhwar Peth. Poona City.
Pp. 20; price annas 12, 919.

This is an address delivered by Mr. Bhagawat at Poona. It is now published in book form with maps, diagrams and charts. The author has taken for the basis of his observation a period of 18 years from 1901 to 1919. During the first half of this period, the death rate in Poona was lower and in the second half higher than that of other cities in the Bombay Presidency. During the first half of this period only in two years the number of annual deaths in Poona was higher than 4000 and during the second half only in two years was it lower than 4000. Then the author considers the sanitary conditions obtaining in Poona before and after 1910. He admits that poverty and consequent low vitality is one of the principal causes of this abnormal death rate but as it is common to the whole country he does not consider it at great length. So far as Poona is concerned there is no marked change in the conditions necessary for the maintenance of the city's health except in drainage. It is the defects in the construction of drainage that have brought about this abnormal increase in the death rate. It must be noted that the work of the construction of new subsoil drainage was begun in 1910 and completed at the end of 1915. Many extracts are given from the opinions of experts to the effect that ordinary gutters are better than ill-constructed subsoil drainage. The reader's attention is drawn to the fact that from

1865 to 1910 (45 years) 8 or 10 different schemes were brought forward for approval and the Municipality spent fifty thousand rupees on them. The total amount spent on the construction of new drainage is rupees eighteen lacs and fifty thousand and with the result that the death rate before the construction of the new drainage was 34 per 1000 and after the construction it came to 40. The author suggests the ways and means of remedying the defects in the new drainage. His estimates for this improvement vary from Rs 70,000 to five lacs according to its nature, permanency and extent.

The book is brimful of useful information. The charts, maps, etc., in the absence of fuller explanation will not be understood by ordinary readers. A more detailed treatment of the subject is highly desirable. Many misprints have remained undetected. The price is a little too high.

G. K. WALVEKAR.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS (Nos 109 to 111; July to September 1918). Vol xxii. Part i. *Studies in the First Six Upanishads; and the Isa and Kena Upanishads with the commentary of Sankara, by the late Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vidyaratna and published by Babu Sudhindranath Vasu at the Panini office, Bahadurganja, Allahabad. Pp 152. Price Rs. 4. Annual subscription Rs. 12 as. 12. (Foreign £1. 4s.).*

Of all the classical Upanishads, the *Isa* is the most difficult to understand. The *Anandasrama* edition contains seven commentaries and the views of some of them are diametrically opposite. The interpretation of Sankara and his followers is most unsatisfactory. The book under review gives the translation of the text according to Sankara and Ananta with their commentaries in English. The author has also given the summary of the doctrines of the Upanishad as interpreted by the Advaita School of Sankara, the Visistadvaita School of Ramanuja and the Dvaita School of Madhva.

In the notes given by the author, the meaning of all the important words has been discussed.

The book is indispensable to those who cannot read the different commentaries on this Upanishad.

It contains also the translation of the *Kena* Upanishad and of Sankara's commentary. The views of the schools of Ramanuja and Madhva have also been given.

The studies in other Upanishads (*Katha*, *Prasna*, *Mundaka*, and *Mandukya*) are brief but useful.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS (Nos. 112 to 114; Oct. to Dec. 1918). Vol. xxii. Part ii. *Studies in the Vedanta Sutras by the late Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vidyaratna. Published by Babu Sudhindranath Vasu, at the Panini*

office, Bahadurganja, Allahabad. Pp. iii+124. Price Rs. 3. Annual subscription Rs. 12-12as. (Foreign £1. 4s.).

In this part, the author has given the translation of 27 Sutras of the 1st Pada, the meaning of all the words of the Sutras and an independent commentary.

It contains also the interpretations of Sankara, Ramanuja, Madhva, Srikantha, Ballavacharya and Nimbarka.

It is a valuable production.

TRUTH REVEALED OR PROBLEMS OF LIFE AND DEATH AND MOKSHA, by Syamananda Brahmachary, Benares. Published by Govindachandra Mukhopadhyaya, B.A. Munshigunja, Loan office, Dacca. Pp. vii 278+2. Price Re. 1-4. Disappointing.

MAHESCHANDRA GHOSH.

Acknowledgments.

(1) AGRICULTURAL JOURNAL OF INDIA, VOL. XIV, PART III.

(2) INDIAN EDUCATION IN 1917-18. Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 8, Hastings Street, Calcutta, Price 12 as. or 1s.

(3) ADDRESS OF THE DEWAN OF TREVANCORE TO THE SRI MULAM POPULAR ASSEMBLY. FIFTEENTH SESSION, 1904.

(4) ANNUAL REPORT ON THE CONDITION AND MANAGEMENT OF THE JAILS IN THE UNITED PROVINCES FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER 1918.

(5) THE REPORTS ON THE WORKING OF MUNICIPALITIES IN BENGAL FOR THE YEAR 1917-18.

(6) REPORTS ON THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION IN CENTRAL PROVINCES DURING THE YEAR 1917-18.

(7) THE SOCIAL SERVICE QUARTERLY REVIEW FOR APRIL 1919.

(8) THE INDO-PORTUGUESE REVIEW-1919.

(9) CEYLON SOCIAL SERVICE, LEAGUE Annual Report, 1918-19.

(10) THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY Annual Report for 1918-19.

(11) THE PRELIMINARY NOTE ON THE RESEARCH WORK FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS DRUGS OF THE GWALIOR STATE 1918, by Professor M. J. Gajjar, M.A., F.C.S., M.S.C.I.—Really an interesting booklet worth the study of all interested in the subject.

(12) SOME REFLECTIONS TO SUPPORT THE HON. MR. PATEL'S HINDU MARRIAGES (VALIDITY) BILL, by K. R. Daphtary.

(13) A SCHEME OF INDUSTRIAL FELLOWSHIPS FOR INDIA, by M. J. Gajjar, Bombay, 1918.—A highly interesting brochure which will repay a careful reading.

(14) PERPETUAL A.D. CALENDAR, by Ramlal Jiwaram, Accountant, Engineering Department, B. B. & C. I. Ry.; Bandikui, Price As. 4.—This is, as its name implies, a useful publication and should be, for reference, kept on every office table.

(15) IN DEFENCE OF HINDUISM, by Annie Besant,—a booklet written for Hindu boys.

(16) "THE ROWLATT ACT"—ITS ORIGIN AND SCOPE, published by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Elphinstone Circle, Bombay, Price As. 2.—It is a defence of the Rowlatt Act, which, however, has given rise to a much controversy throughout the length and breadth of the country.

(17) ANNUAL REPORT ON THE POLICE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TOWN OF CALCUTTA AND ITS SUBURBS, FOR THE YEAR 1918.

(18) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CIVIL HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES OF THE UNITED PROVINCES for the Year ending 31st December, 1918.

THE HISTORIAN SPEAKETH*

"INDIA has done much for me, and now, before my working days come to an end, I should like to do something for India"—these are the words with which Mr. Vincent Smith ushers this little book into the world. One should have

supposed that the scholar who has dwelt so much among the past glories of this ancient land would, like Max Muller and others, have discharged his debt to India, which he acknowledges with such apparent sincerity, in the only honourable sense in which the expression is usually understood. But Max Muller did not 'eat the salt' of India and was not a member of the Heaven-born service; so in the name of 'hard facts' and 'a candid statement of realities' he did not treat us, in the words

* *Indian Constitutional Reform viewed in the light of history*: by Vincent A. Smith, I. C. S. (Retired), author of 'The Early History of India' and 'The Oxford History of India,' &c. Oxford University Press, 1916. Price 3s 6d. Pp. 118.

of Shakespere, to "the equivocation of the friend that lies like truth." The object of Mr. Vincent Smith's book is not the pursuit of truth for its own sake, as befits an eminent historian, but he acts here as the faithful henchman of Lord Sydenham, whose 'powerful support' is often invoked in support of his views, and as the literary champion of the Indian Civil Service, which he extols to the skies, and is never tired of calling a *corps d'elite*, whose 'very existence is threatened' by the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of Reforms (*vide* the last paragraph of the book). We have read of learned German professors who were not ashamed to prostitute their talents in the service of a godless militarism. It was left to the historian of Ancient India to play a similar role in the cause of bureaucratic rule in India. While unable to deny the existence of popular assemblies in Vedic India which elected kings and 'of nations in Northern India who enjoyed forms of republican government' up to the fifth century A.D., and while admitting that 'the conception of the king as servant of the State was one of the basic principles of political thought in Ancient India', the author lays down that 'the autocracy which even Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford desire to preserve for the Government of India has already a long history' and that "All parties are agreed that nothing like 'responsible government' now exists or ever has existed in India". Mr. E. B. Havell, whose historical insight far surpasses that of Mr. Vincent Smith, shows everywhere in his recently published *History of Aryan Rule in India* how thoroughly false is this view of Indian history. In his very Introduction he says:

"It will be a surprise to many readers to discover that the Mother of the Western Parliaments had an Aryan relative in India, showing a strong family likeness, before the sixth century B. C., and that her descendants were a great power in the state at the time of the Norman Conquest."

And in the concluding paragraph of his book he speaks of "the Ancient Aryan system of self-government upon which the economic strength and political greatness of India stood firm longer than has been

the case with any other empire in the world." Mr. Havell had no axe of his own to grind, no vested interests to serve, nor any *corps d'elite* to save from threatened extinction, and so his truth differs as the poles asunder from Mr. Vincent Smith's brand of the same article. Indeed, Mr. Smith is even prepared to show that 'even in Western communities responsible government has not been an invariable success', 'but', as he puts it, 'there is no need to go into the question'. In this he is certainly wise, for Western communities would make short shrift of our learned historian's arguments, and deal rather unceremoniously with his pretensions, if he were to make the attempt. It was necessary, in the interests of his clientele, to put a most sinister interpretation upon religious differences in British India,—they are seldom heard of in the Native States—and so, in spite of the admission that 'the sentiment striving for political unification...undoubtedly is a living and potent force', and that 'most indigenous rulers have shown statesmanlike tolerance for all creeds', Hindu-Moslem riots must needs be dragged out of the limbo of oblivion and ancient history ransacked to furnish one or two instances of petty persecution or religious strife. That a countryman of Buckle and Lecky and Sir Hiram Maxim (*vide Li Hung Chung's Scrap-Book*) and one speaking the same language as Draper and Motley, did not feel ashamed to talk of the religious persecution of Indians, which pales into utter insignificance in the presence of the appalling atrocities perpetrated throughout Europe in the name of religion for centuries, is a fair indication of the temper which our historian of ancient India brought to bear on the discussion of his subject. And yet Mr. Vincent Smith does not hesitate to take the authors of the Report to task for having 'shown little regard to the lessons of history'! We do not favour the caste system, and regard it as inequitable and unjust. But when Mr. Smith trots out the bogey of caste and in his anxiety to 'visualise the magnitude of the institution' includes the majority of Muhammadars among the followers of the caste system,

we cannot help raising a note of protest, in the interests of the same truth to which Mr. Smith appeals. This truthful historian quotes Manu as if his injunctions have now the binding force of the Penal Code, and speaks of the majority of Indians as being 'under the heel of a tyrannous Brahmin oligarchy'. Europeans *professing* Christianity do not follow the social laws and ceremonial rules laid down in the Old Testament, though it is a part of their scriptures. But these same Europeans seem unable to imagine or conceive that among vast multitudes of Hindus in extensive regions of India, the caste rules laid down by Manu and other law-givers are in great part not observed even now, and that even those rules which are now followed are gradually losing their hold. Anglo-Indians also pretend tacitly to believe that caste rules are as rigid in the Punjab, for instance, as they are in Madras. The innocent hope of the authors of the Report—a hope which, in the case of the depressed classes, shows every sign of realisation—that those incidents of it [the caste system] which lead to the permanent degradation and ostracism of the lowest castes will tend to disappear, is, according to Mr. Vincent Smith, characterised by 'stupendous rashness', and 'a perilous delusion' which 'disfigures' the Report, for, 'when caste distinctions give way Hinduism will perish.' Reading the passages where the learned historian has been at pains to prove the necessity of the caste system for Hinduism to exist at all—a doctrine which, at any rate in the present rigid form of that institution, is denied by a large section of enlightened Hindus—it would almost seem that Mr. Smith is rather nervous lest the hold of caste on the mass of the Hindus should relax in any way; and he seeks to clinch his argument by laying down two propositions, *viz.*, that 'so long as Hindus continue to be Hindus, caste cannot be destroyed or even materially modified,' and that 'its tyranny,' in the words of Mr. William Archer, 'will have to be broken before India can become a nation among modern nations'; but he very generously leaves us to draw the conclusion he so ardently desires from his

major and minor premises, to wit, that India will never be a nation. It is wonderful to think of the amount of research work in reactionary literature which the historian has gone through, for he displays an admirable command over the speeches and writings of men like Dr. Nair, Mr. Archer, Sir Harry Stephen, Lord Sydenham, *et hoc genus omne*, and of newspapers like the London *Spectator*, and so acute is his observation that he does not even forget the little affair about the disenfranchisement of the Burdwan Municipality in far-off Bengal, and draws conclusions, so entirely satisfactory to his bureaucratic imagination, from it.

At the very outset Mr. Vincent Smith falls foul of Mr. Montagu for describing the pronouncement of August 20, 1917, 'in grandiose style,' as 'the most momentous utterance ever made in India's chequered history', and he is careful to point out that it has no pontifical character, and 'aroused no interest in the British public and remained practically unnoticed in England'; that the 'Report binds nobody,' that 'Parliament and the public should not be juggled out of their rights to free, unfettered discussion of both principles and details.' Mr. Smith's discussion is no doubt unfettered, for he has made the most liberal use of the vocabulary of vituperation, as well as free, in the sense of being totally untrammelled by justice, equity and good conscience, and, like all fossilised Civilians, in spite of his reputation as a historian, he shows an absolute lack of reason and a grasp of the true lessons that history has to teach on reactionary Governments. To take one instance: According to Mr. Vincent Smith, among passages filled with 'platitudinous exhortation or impracticable idealism' in the Report is one where its authors say that in deliberately disturbing the contentment of the masses they were working for their highest good, and that only by suffering will a people learn the faculty of self-help. 'It is difficult,' says Mr. Smith, 'to comment with restraint on such a dangerous doctrine'. And why? Because 'The Prime Minister's ideal of a happy, a prosperous, and a contented people' is the true one for

India as for England. To borrow Mr. Smith's own language, it is difficult to comment with restraint on such intellectual dishonesty, if not blindness, and transparent subterfuge. In speaking of the placid, pathetic contentment of the masses as the soil on which Indian nationhood will not grow, Mr. Montagu, it is hardly necessary to point out, was not referring to the kind of contentment to which the Prime Minister had alluded as an ideal to be aimed at. The one is the contentment of the lower order of animals who do not even know why and when they suffer, and are totally helpless in the presence of antagonistic forces; their contentment, such as it is, is indistinguishable from apathy or indifference, a certain callousness to the buffets of fortune to which they are accustomed, and proceeds from downright ignorance and sheer despair, being diametrically opposed to the contentment of the full-grown man in complete possession of his inheritance. If Mr. Vincent Smith does not see the difference, it shows that even the most intellectually distinguished members of the Indian Civil Service are innocent of the A B C of political philosophy. And mark the *suggestio falsi* of the quotation from the Prime Minister, as if the present order of things in India makes for 'a happy, a prosperous, and a contented people.' Mr. Montagu, as an astute politician, must have perceived that the isolation of the Indian village community, and the peaceful rural organisation which, all historians tell us, 'let the legions thunder past' and left the Indian peasant unaffected to pursue the even tenour of his ways, had, as a matter of fact, been rudely disturbed by the impact of Western civilisation, and that the villages of India were being more and more drawn into the vortex of world-forces, political and economical; prices had gone up, the villages were feeling the pinch as much as the towns; the schoolmaster was abroad, and vernacular newspapers, in spite of the Press laws, and modern ideas along with them, were slowly forcing their way into the villages, and consequently the ryot was beginning to get discontented with his lot, and to reason, in his own

instinctive, blundering way, about the why and wherefore of things. Mr. Montagu, therefore, deemed it wise to take him in hand, educate him, and guide and control his activities, so that he might not burrow underground and bring about a disastrous explosion. It was not in the interest of the Indians alone that Mr. Montagu wrote his Report. He made too much of the difficulties in the way, and with a view to conciliate reactionary opinion at home and in India, subscribed only too readily to illiberal and pessimistic views on the extent to which reform was feasible, so as to draw upon himself and Lord Cheimsford the criticism of the Sydenhamites quoted by Mr. Smith, that "they absolutely admit the most striking facts opposed to their notions, and then ignore them when they come to make concrete proposals."

Mr. Smith is full of contemptuous irony for the 'vain visions' 'in the nature of a dream or mirage' by which the authors of the Report are said to be misled, and their 'fantastic expectations,' 'impracticable idealism,' 'the faith that is in them.' Yet, when it suits his purpose, he does not hesitate to say that 'the magic power of sentiment has been too often ignored by unimaginative statesmen.' He entirely approves of His Highness the Aga Khan's suggestion that the Viceroy should be appointed from among the members of the royal family, in order 'to utilise ['exploit' would be the more appropriate word] the fervent Indian sentiment of loyalty to His Majesty's person;' 'its adoption would go a long way towards abating the natural dislike for foreign rule.' And in this connection—and this only—Mr. Smith says that 'the fact that the heart of India is passionately set on self-expression as a nation should be recognised.' While English constitutional writers like Walter Bagehot may describe the King as a 'ornamental figurehead,' and a popular writer like Mr. Wells in his latest novel, *Joan and Peter*, may preach the most violent anti-monarchical sentiments while the Tsar of all the Russias may be foully done to death and the Kaiser may be sclemnly arraigned before a London tribunal, 'the traditional Indian loyalty to a person

'should be sedulously kept open' and 'should not be quenched by the cold water of democratic theory.' The King, as the visible symbol of the unity of the Empire and a sobering influence in politics enjoys a unique position, and while professing sincere allegiance to his Majesty, we decidedly object to the humiliating use sought to be made by the bureaucracy of our personal sentiment in the matter with a view to keep us contented with our chains. Lord Hugh Cecil, in his little book on *Conservatism* in the Home University Library, advocating the participation of the King in party politics, observes as follows :—

"..... if over a long series of years the sovereign takes no share in public quarrels, his office may decline into something purely ceremonial, the splendid centre of all national pageants, but exciting only the temperate interest and half-respectful pleasure which men feel for a stately show.....but though less obvious, the dangers of the monarchy becoming discredited as an inoperative ornament and sinking slowly from being the centre of loyalty to be received, first with good-natured toleration and finally with impatient contempt, is perhaps now the more real menace."

There is little chance of the King's intervention in party politics, as advocated by Lord Hulse Cecil, but knowing the little we do of his Majesty's views on India and its people from his public utterances, we have no reason to fear that we should be losers if he did. But Mr. Vincent Smith the historian forgets that in ancient India the sentiment of loyalty was not a hot-house growth and was not artificially fostered by royal portraits and biographies, for the circulation of which 'systematic arrangements' are urged by Mr. Smith, but it was universally recognised that loyalty was the spontaneous expression of the gratitude of a prosperous and contented people for whose sake the greatest of Indian Kings did not hesitate to banish the dearest and noblest of queens that ever lived.

Mr. Smith is glad to note that "All reformers, including Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, are agreed that the minute control now exercised by the India Office should be materially relaxed, and that the Government of India, however

constituted, should be given greater freedom of action than it now enjoys.' He does not even hesitate to call this 'self-government or autonomy in a limited sense,' and has the effrontery to add : 'That kind of 'self-government' is absolutely independent of the internal form of the Government of India, and could be granted if every member of the Government was an Englishman, and if the powers of the Government were autocratic in the strictest sense.' That would indeed be self-government with a vengeance—self-government for the bureaucracy to misgovern the people as they liked. Unfortunately, there is a fly in the ointment and Mr. Smith naively complains : "But such relaxation would not satisfy the demand for 'self-government,' which is understood to imply the Government of India by Indians, so far as may be." How unreasonable and exacting these Indians are, to be sure ! In the same vein is Mr. Smith's truculent opposition to the suggestion for the appointment of periodic parliamentary commissions, as an undertaking of that kind 'tends to unsettle men's minds and to stimulate pernicious agitation.'

'Everybody being agreed that changes in the direction of self-government within certain limits must be brought into operation, it is the bounden duty of all true friends of India (God save the mark !) to give what help may be in their power to the high authorities vested with the responsibility of decision.' But "anything like 'responsible Government' in the English parliamentary sense is unthinkable within any period that can now be foreseen." 'The necessity for extensive change in the old fashioned method of governing India is admitted,' but 'the limits of practicable change are narrowly fixed by the barrier of hard facts ;' 'the direction of policy and administration by born Indians.....is subject to many limitations, and is difficult of attainment'—chiefly because, we suppose, it would tread to some extent on the toes of the Civil Service. The role of the candid friend hardly conceals the note of special pleading throughout the book, and the concessions 'within certain limits' which this impartial critic is prepared to make

with one hand are immediately withdrawn with the other, just as in the Reform Bill introduced in the House of Commons, the exceptions take away the pith and the marrow from the spirit of the rules which look so generous and liberal without the proviso by which they are 'cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd.'

'If the English nation deliberately makes up its mind to grant to India the utmost practicable measure of 'self-government' or 'self-determination', to use a still more fashionable phrase [so the word, so much in requisition among British statesmen during the most trying period of the War, is already being sneered at, though the ink of the peace treaty is hardly yet dry], it is not easy to see how fiscal autonomy can be refused'. This sentence, we suppose, was indited for the special behoof of the Labour members of the Parliament, whom such a prospect may be trusted to scare away from the programme of Indian Home Rule to which they have given their general adherence. Our Muhammadan brethren are sought to be weaned by trotting out the bogey of prohibition of cow-killing—'the boon which', according to this truthful historian, 'Hindus would value above any conceivable reform in political institutions'. (When did the Hindus make Mr. Vincent Smith the keeper of their conscience that he should dogmatise in such cock-sure fashion on their wishes and aspirations?)

But to proceed: 'If India could and should be governed under the conditions of ordinary democracy, which vest supreme power in the majority, it is unquestionable that the prohibition in question would be promulgated at the earliest possible opportunity.'

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is well known as an orthodox Brahmin. He is so impressed with the vital importance of Hindu-Moslem unity that, as President of the last Delhi session of the Indian National Congress, in the course of his impromptu closing address, he expressed his preparedness, for the sake of such unity, to witness cow-killing, however great the pain it would cause him as an orthodox Hindu. This speech was listened to without a single note of dissent by a vast audience which

was preponderantly Hindu. The occurrence of cow-killing riots in a few towns and villages in India annually is generally made too much of. Ordinarily such riots do not occur even in half a dozen places in the vast Indian empire, and even in the case of the notorious Arrah riots perhaps only 50 or 100 villages at the utmost were affected. Considering that India contains 722,495 villages and towns, even a hundred or two are insignificant numbers, not to speak of the half-a-dozen or so places where cow-killing disturbances usually occur. Though the author has not failed to note and record so recent an event as the disfranchisement of the Burdwan Municipality, he seems not to have heard of any recent Hindu-Moslem rapprochement.

Everywhere the appeal is for a strong and powerful executive, 'swift and decisive in action'—an executive after the heart of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, whose 'successful' administration of the Punjab will leave an impression in the minds of the people placed under his benign rule not to be forgotten for generations to come.

'The important British community... rightly demands adequate recognition of itself as... carrying weight in the national councils far greater than that indicated by its mere numbers.' If the same argument were advanced on behalf of the educated Indians, who are of the people, Mr. Smith would, we suppose, be the first to protest on behalf of the silent masses of India. 'India badly wants the Service with its high standard of ability, its expert training, and its noble tradition' and so forth. But does it really? '...the appalling backwardness of India in education, sanitation, public health, scientific development, and in fact, in almost everything'; 'three hundred millions of Asiatic people, mostly ignorant, superstitious, fanatical, and intensely suspicious'; these are the author's own words, who boasts that his 'whole adult life of fifty years has been dedicated to India': do they look as if they justify his self-confident assertion, that India badly wants the Service? Does it not strike him that India could not very well be worse off without the Service, if after more than a century of Civilian rule, and the expenditure

of quite a mint of Indian money in pay and pensions, this is all the result that India has got to show? And is it so inconceivable that without the foreign bureaucracy at the top of every department of the administration, the Indians might perhaps by this time have developed sufficient initiative and power of organisation and acquired the necessary experience to play the game entirely off their own bats? But perhaps this is precisely the result which Mr. Smith wants to avoid at all costs, and it is not difficult to read through his observations what is really at the back of his mind, as we shall presently see.

Reforms in the Civil Service are looked upon by our author entirely from the viewpoint of the Service, and not in the least from that of the people, though a learned Oxford historian need not be told that in a matter like this it is the latter alone that count, if officials are to be regarded as the servants, and not the masters of the public. Hitherto, and so long as the door to the Civil Service was practically shut against Indians, Mr. Smith's conscience did not feel any qualms whatsoever; but now that the door is about to be partially opened to them, he is quick to invoke the aid of section 87 of the Charter Act 1833 against racial discrimination in any form in the public service to the disadvantage of Europeans or persons of European descent. The attractions of the Service are said to have lessened considerably 'and first-class men believe that they can do better in other professions.' In fact, 'The difficulties of recruitment have been enhanced immensely by the war, and there is grave reason to fear that the quality of the men engaged has deteriorated.' If that be so, the only reasonable solution, as contended by Justice Sir Abdur Rahim in his dissentient minute in the Public Services Commission Report, is to replace third-rate Englishmen by first-rate Indians, and not to impose fresh burdens on the poverty-stricken masses of India for whom the Civil Service professes to be so solicitous by increasing the fat salaries and allowances already enjoyed by it.

The specialisation involved in the separation of the Judicial from the Executive

functions is admitted to be the normal practice in Europe, but it 'certainly would be disliked intensely by the great mass of the people.' This appeal to mass-opinion, we know, is the flimsiest of clap-traps, for the masses suffer most from this unholy combination of functions. The actual reasons for opposing the reform are however soon manifest. 'The existing arrangements provide congenial careers for men of diverse tastes.' If the educated Indians succeed in forcing the change, 'the post of District Officer, which many members of the Service consider the most interesting that a man can hold, will no longer possess any charm.' Similarly, if the recommendation urged by many reformers 'that all judicial appointments should be made from the legal profession as in England' be adopted, 'the attractions of the Service will be very materially diminished, and the judicial type of man will no longer compete for an appointment.' (It may be worth while to note here that Sir Robert Fulton, a former Judge of the Calcutta High Court, once wrote that the Judicial Branch is reserved for 'the slack and the incompetent' members of the Civil Service). It is thus quite clear that it is the prospects of the Civil Service and not the welfare of the people, that Mr. Vincent Smith has all along in mind, in discussing the proposed reforms.

Mr. Smith heartily approves of Mr. Archer's plan of a revived, enlarged, and modernised Haileybury for the training of the probationers for the Indian Civil Service, because 'At the Universities India is regarded as a subject devoid of general interest, and the young men destined for the Indian services who pursue their special studies at a University never learn to feel that India should have the first place in their thoughts. The whole atmosphere of their surroundings discourages such a sentiment, and in fact prevents its birth.' Thus the truth is out at last, and all the gush about the Civilian's care for the masses of India is proved to be pure nonsense.

'The purely technical branches of the public service, such as Telegraph, Forests, Public Works, &c., present easier problems [than the Civil Service], which can be solved by strict

attention to the principles of fair play without racial discrimination in any form, of selection of the best men, and of offering such material advantages as will attract really good officers, whatever may be their colour.'

In other words, in departments requiring expert knowledge, the best men should be selected, without racial discrimination in any form, and though the emoluments are moderate in comparison with those of the Civil Service, the material advantages offered are sufficient to attract really good officers, whatever may be their colour; but in the Indian Civil Service, which does not require any special knowledge of any kind to start with, the problem is not so easy of solution, that is to say, the above principles of fairplay without racial discrimination and of selection of the best men, do not apply. No greater perversion of reasoning could be imagined, nor could such an argument be advanced by an Oxford historian not trained in the devious ways of the Indian Civil Service and bound by loyalty to the traditions of the Service to defend it against all encroachments on the part of qualified Indians.

But there is balm in Gilead, and Mr. Vincent Smith rightly says of the concrete proposals of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford (as distinguished from mere pious enunciation of liberal principles in which the Report abounds) that they 'are certain to be largely modified.' The event has shown the correctness of this forecast. Evidently Mr. Smith knows his kidney better than we do, for members of the Civil Service voted solid against the introduction of any substantial concrete reforms, as the Government of India despatch shows. He is also perhaps right when he says that "the 'responsibility to constituents' invented by the authors of the Report obviously is unreal, a mere piece of lip-service to a formula." Mr. Smith is sanguine that

'the almost universally condemned and wholly unworkable Diarchy' must be dropped. In this, too, he may be right; at any rate having regard to the humiliating position assigned to the Indian Minister in the Reform Bill, the introduction of the diarchical principle would be absolutely harmless from Mr. Smith's point of view—it will rather help his cause by proving a failure. And Indians know very well indeed that "If statesmen come to the conclusion that such government, whatever be its merits elsewhere, cannot be fitted to India, and they decline accordingly to force it upon the land, their decision will be readily accepted both by the rank and file of the members of Parliament and by the constituencies, who will not hesitate to follow the guidance on a difficult and unfamiliar subject offered by trusted leaders." But would Mr. Smith assure his readers of such ready compliance if his sweetly-worded invitation stood little chance of acceptance and instead of being cut down as they have been, the Reform proposal were likely to be further enlarged by the 'trusted leaders' of the nation? The dulcestrain, we know, would at once be replaced by bitter wailing and gnashing of teeth and the guidance of the trusted leaders would be unceremoniously brushed aside. But even if the worst comes to the worst Mr. Vincent Smith need not feel sorely troubled, for the Bill leaves the rule-making power entirely in the hands of the Government of India, where bureaucracy sits safely enthroned, and so good a historian as Mr. Vincent Smith knows quite well how the bureaucracy has, not once or twice in India's inglorious history, but often and invariably, ever since the chequered days of Lord Ripon, succeeded in making the Indians keep to their place with the aid of this powerful weapon of legislation by rules.

July 7, 1919.

X.

THE PRESS ACT AFTER THE BESANT APPEALS

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH.

I have been discussing with some legal friends the effect that the judgment of the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council delivered on May 13th in Mrs. Besant's appeals will have upon the administration of the Press Act in India. They all agree that while that case did not give the opportunity of testing the constitutionality of the Act, it is bound to strengthen and to consolidate the position of the magistrates in India who may be called upon to administer the Act; and of the High Courts in India to which appeals may be preferred against orders made by the magistrates.

Mrs. Besant's solicitor, Major David Graham-Pole, who is a member of the Ancient Society of Solicitors in the Supreme Court of Scotland (incorporated by Royal Charter in 1779), and who has large practice in the House of Lords and Privy Council, must have wished to raise the constitutional issue, for one of the "leaders" whom he briefed was Mr. J. Robertson Christie, K. C., one of the best-known constitutional lawyers. A considerable portion of the case handed in by him to the Privy Council dealt with that aspect of the question.

Mr. William Ingram, the Junior Counsel for Mrs. Besant, who, I believe, has the largest privately owned Indian law library in Scotland and who, in conjunction with Major Graham-Pole, spent nearly two years in working up the case, told me shortly after the appeals had been filed that the Act had been so very loosely drawn up that its provisos practically destroyed the privileges granted. As it stood, it threw the onus entirely upon the person against whom officials chose to proceed, no matter how honest the intentions and how blameless the character of the writer. Indeed so very wide was the wording of Section 4 of the Act that the highest tribunal

in India could not afford a writer relief, even though what he wrote was free from taint of sedition, and though it might be too tame to appear in the most Tory of Tory newspapers in Britain.

The special Counsel retained in behalf of Mrs. Besant to deal with the constitutional issue was not, however, given the opportunity of raising that issue. Their Lordships of the Privy Council sat under the Act, and, therefore, they could not consider whether or not it was *ultra vires*.

Had a different course been followed, it might have been possible to test the legality of the measure. A suit might have been filed in Madras by Mrs. Besant against the Magistrate who ordered the seizure of her security, for the recovery of the sum seized. In that case, however, it might have been difficult to take the matter right up to the privy council, which, as a rule, does not entertain appeals involving amounts below Rs. 10,000, while the security confiscated was only Rs. 2,000.

Major Graham-Pole had, however, engaged Mr. W. H. Upjohn, K. C., one of the ablest and most independent leaders at the British Bar, who had taken the trouble to become thoroughly conversant with every detail of the case, and who was able to make the utmost use of every possible opportunity that presented itself. In an argument that lasted several days, he submitted to their Lordships of the Privy Council that grave injustice had been done to Mr. Besant, when, on May 28, 1916 the Magistrate in Madras had thought fit to withdraw the dispensation originally granted to her on Dec. 2, 1914, absolving her from the necessity of depositing security under Section 3 of the Press Act, and required her to deposit Rs. 2,000 as security which she did under protest, and later, on August 28, 1916, declared that the security deposited by her had been forfeited, and

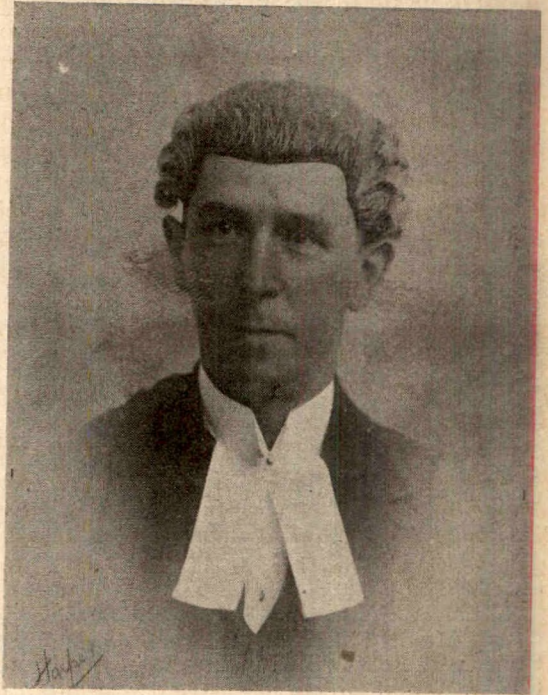
that all copies of her paper, "New India", containing certain articles declared by the Governor-in-Council to contain objectionable passages, were forfeit to the crown. He further submitted that her petitions and applications made to his Majesty's High Court of Judicature at Madras had been wrongfully dismissed. He contended that the act of the Magistrate in cancelling the dispensation without giving her a hearing was "judicially bad".

The last point was really one of the most important raised by Counsel—important not merely for Mrs. Besant, but for the cause of liberty of the Press in India, for which Mrs. Besant was fighting first and last, and not for herself. But unfortunately their Lordships of the Privy Council held that, in the last analysis, the act of the Magistrate was only the "withdrawal of a privilege which need never have been granted." It was not like "a condemnation, in which case justice requires that the person to be condemned should be first heard." It "would have been, however, more discreet, and it would have removed an occasion for comment and complaint, if the magistrate had given the appellant some opportunity for making her observations before the privilege was withdrawn; it might have been a wiser discharge of his duty as an officer." Their Lordships, having said this, declared their inability to go any further.

Time alone can tell whether or not the Magistrates will take the very broad hint thrown out by their Lordships as to the wisdom of giving some opportunity for making observations before the withdrawal of that privilege. But even a layman can see that the expression by the highest tribunal to which Indian cases can be taken of the opinion that it is not incumbent upon a magistrate to give a hearing to such a person confirms and consolidates the powers enjoyed by the Magistrates in India under the Press Act.

In yet another way the judgment confirms and consolidates the powers enjoyed under the Press Act. Their Lordships were confronted with the puzzle offered by the Press Act as to whether or not an article containing comments upon

a measure passed by the Government, or an administrative or other action of Government, or upon the manner of the administration of justice, was made without bringing or attempting to bring Government into contempt, and brought the press owner within the wide net of the law.



Mr. William Ingram, who has one of the largest "junior" practices at the Scottish Bar. In conjunction with Major Graham-Pole and others, he devoted more than two years to working up Mrs. Besant's case for the Privy Council.

On behalf of the Crown, the India Office Counsel had urged that in considering whether or not an article or a passage from an article made the press owner liable under the Act, it was necessary to consider: (1) the want of education in India, (2) the existence of numerous vernaculars, (3) that the Government was foreign, (4) that the rulers had no direct responsibility (or even relation) towards the governed, and (5) the resulting difficulty that fault could not be found with a Government so established without making it both hated and contemptible to the immense population that it controlled. He argued that what may be innocent in Britain may be highly



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Major David Graham-Pole, Mrs. Besant's solicitor. Major Pole is a member of the Ancient Society of Solicitors in the Supreme Court of Scotland, and practices in the House of Lords and Privy Council.

seditions in India, because the Indian mind was not developed, and because the requirements of the Government of India were peculiar.

Their Lordships of the Privy Council, while refraining from directly expressing any opinion in regard to these contentions, definitely affirmed that they could not interfere with the conclusion arrived at by the Court in India in regard to the construction to be placed upon the natural tendency of the printed passages complained of by the Government. Their reason for doing so was that "the Judges in India with a far closer knowledge of the character of the people likely to read the articles, have better means of judging than their Lordships in England."

Any one can realize that this is a highly important pronouncement.

When it is remembered that the Press Act is very loosely drawn up, that the judicial has not yet been separated from the executive function in India, that the orders made by the Magistrates under the Press Act are now declared to be made in their executive and not in their judicial capacity, and that the judgment passed by a local Government in regard to the character or intention of a certain article or set of articles carries with it a great measure of prestige, the importance of the judgment delivered by their Lordships of the Privy Council will be realized. We Indians have always believed that in carrying a case from India to Britain, we were able to secure an independent judgment that, in the existing circumstances, could not be expected in India. The meaning of the Privy Council judgment in the Besant Case, unless my lay mind is incapable of comprehending it, is that we shall have to be contented with what we can get in India.

There are, in my opinion, two ways of looking at this matter. One of them is to feel unhappy at the restriction of an opportunity greatly prized by us. The other is to feel that the more India is allowed to be self-contained in regard to her purely domestic affairs, the better it will be for her, at any rate, in the long run.

The reader may, of course, urge that the Government of India is not responsible to Indians, and that, for years to come, there is very little likelihood of its being made responsible to the sons of the soil. That may be true.

But is not that an argument in favour of the organization of the movement to secure full Dominionhood for India with as little delay as possible? We must insist, that, as subjects of the British Crown, we must be given an unambiguously worded charter of liberties, that the anomaly of the combined judicial and executive functions be removed, and that Indians shall have a voice in the appointment and control of the judiciary in precisely the same way that the British have such voice and control. That, I think, must be our goal, and we must press forward to it with firm faith in our destiny, and the British goodwill.

GLEANINGS

Another step toward the "Talking Movie."

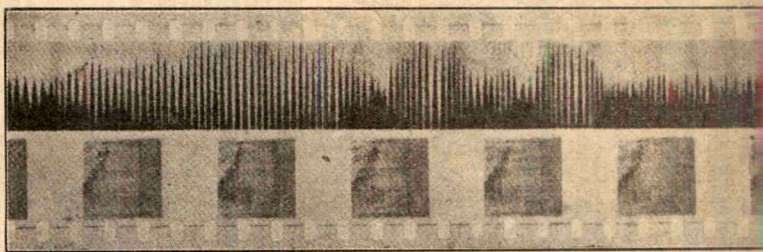
Many thousand inventors, noting that the phonograph and the moving picture have both reached a high degree of perfection, have asked why they can not be combined so that our moving pictures may talk as well as move, and many of them have patented devices to make movies talk. Talking pictures have even held the stage for considerable periods, and have been interesting, if not convincing. But up to date nothing of the kind has been good enough to achieve commercial success. The trouble is in synchronization—making the phonograph-record and the picture register so exactly that one shall never get the least bit ahead of the other or lag behind. The difficulty about this has been that the phonograph-record and the moving picture film are essentially different things, secured by different machinery and exhibited in a different way. A step toward a solution of the problem has been made by Eugene Lauste, a French inventor, who played an early part in the development of the moving picture. Lauste has devised a method of photographing a sound-record directly on the moving-picture film, so that the actor's voice and his movements can not help synchronizing. If this invention reaches the commercial stage, we may have the talking movie in a form where it will be worth while. Says a writer in *The Scientific American* (New York, December 22) :

"The problem, simple as it appears at first, is a most difficult one ; for one thing, there is the question of evolving suitable means of synchronizing the pictures and the sounds, for it is obvious that they must be kept in step. And even if this question is satisfactorily answered, the amplified sounds from the conventional phonograph are far from realistic. Lastly, how is one going to secure a continuous record for a film 1,000, 2,000, or even 5,000 feet long ?...

"The Lauste talking-picture system replaces the usual phonograph with a photographic method of recording sound, and a selenium cell and telephone system for getting the sounds from the photographic record. No stylus of any kind is used ; in fact, there are no mechanical movements used in reproducing the sound other than the constant moving of the film in front of the selenium cell. The sound-waves are said

to be reproduced with utmost fidelity ; and since they are placed on the same film as their corresponding images, the synchronism between the two is absolute and rigid. Furthermore, the sound-records can be made in any length, just as motion-picture films can be made in practically any length.

"In making a talking picture of a scene by the Lauste method the players are not obliged to talk into a horn, as is customary when phonographs are employed. Sensitive microphones are distributed about the scene, either out of range of the camera or suitably camouflaged, to record the sounds ; and the players, not being constantly reminded by huge horns that they are



A STRIP ON NEGATIVE TALKING-PICTURE FILM.

With the sound-record above the picture images.

being 'registered' for utterances as well as for actions, are naturally better able to do full justice to the respective roles.

"The sound-waves, impinging on the microphones, are transferred to a circuit which includes a storage-battery and a highly sensitive string galvanometer. The string or wire of the galvanometer is suspended in the field of powerful electromagnets, and the slightest fluctuation in the current passing through it causes considerable distortion. A beam of light from a powerful arc-lamp rigidly mounted at the rear of the camera passes through the galvanometer and, in a greatly magnified form, throws a shadow of the wire on the steadily moving film behind a narrow horizontal slot. The wire being so arranged that one side of the exposed film is always in the shadow, the developed film shows a straight edge and a series of 'peaks,' quite suggestive of a profile map of a mountain range."

The camera for talking pictures is large and complicated, for it must record both the pictures and the sound. The front is devoted to the usual mechanism, while the rear includes the arc-lamp and the galvanometer. The movement

of the film is intermittent, at the rate of twenty images per second, while through the sound-recorder it is continuous. It is not feasible, therefore, to reproduce images and sound-records side by side. Mr. Lauste hastens to assure us that this is no disadvantage, and that even splices in the film do not noticeably affect the result. The writer goes on:

"The galvanometer is the heart of the sound-recorder, hence the inventor has given considerable attention to its design. In the earlier form he used a single wire...[but] in a more recent

principle which the inventor can not make public at present, receives a current of constantly varying strength from a second circuit. This current is converted into sound-waves, which, in an amplified form, are propagated throughout a large theater.

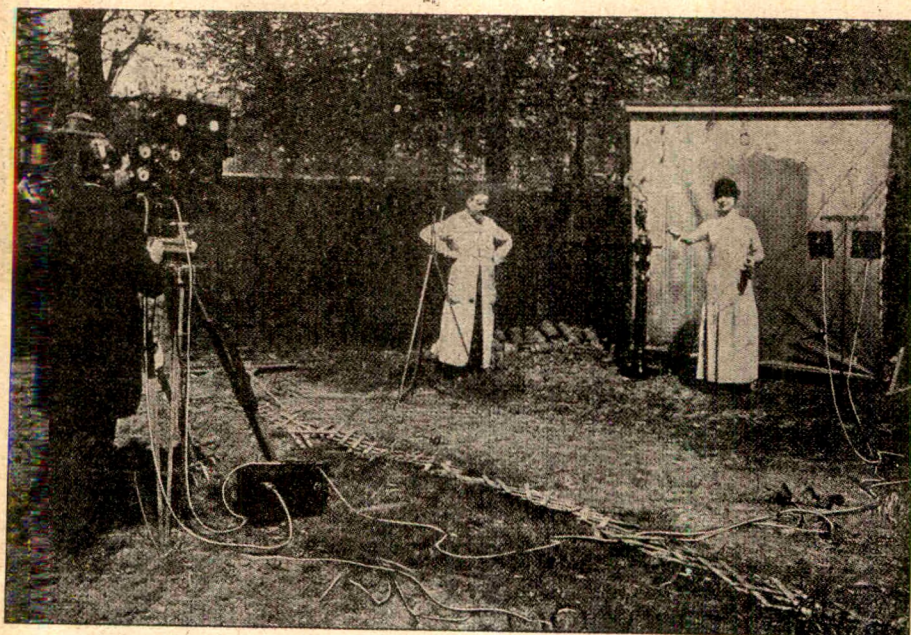
"Public exhibitions of the new talking pictures were given in England at various times during the past few years, and even the most exacting of English critics have credited Mr. Lauste with a marvelous system of recording sounds. At the present moment the inventor is busily engaged

in repairing his equipment, which have been rather badly handled in the journey to America, so that exhibitions are not possible as yet.

"While in its present state of development the talking-picture system just described is claimed to be ready for the public, Mr. Lauste is the first to admit that many refinements remain to be made to bring the system still closer to the ideal. Indeed he has developed an ingenious system of flickerless cinematography which...employs no shutter, yet blends one picture into the next. ...Together with the sound-recorder, these two contributions appear to be

a big step toward the ultimate goal of motion-pictures."

—The Literary Digest.



Illustrations with this article by courtesy of "The Scientific American," New York.

MAKING A "TALKING MOVIE."

Note the microphones placed about and the receivers worn by the camera-man enabling him to "listen in."

form two wires are used....The resulting sound-record is a double row of 'peaks.'...

"A strong source of light is gathered into a sharp beam and projected through the sound-bearing section of the film and upon a selenium cell... As the film is rapidly moved in front of the selenium cell, the resistance of an electric current passing through it is altered in proportion to the amount of light falling on the sensitive material, which, as is well known, has the property of changing its resistance according to the degree of illumination.... By using two rows of sound 'peaks,' the inventor uses a larger area of the selenium cell, resulting in much better results.

"The rest of the reproducing process is simple. A sensitive relay is used in circuit with the selenium cell, while a loud-speaking telephone of special design, and operating on a pneumatic

A Crop that makes its Own Weedkiller.

The use of waste material to assist production in the very industry that cast it aside is an interesting feature of sugar-growing in Hawaii. The first stage of this development was the discovery that sugar-cane will push its way through paper of sufficient thickness to choke down weeds. The second was the utilization of the fibrous waste from the crushed cane to make paper for this purpose. In the tropical countries where sugar-cane flourishes, weeds spring up overnight in numbers and strength that will choke off any crop with ease. The expense of keeping them down is by no



Cane grown in the natural way.



Cane grown with the aid of paper.

SUGAR-CANE FOUR AND A HALF MONTHS OLD, SHOWING HOW THE PAPER INCREASES THE GROWTH.

In each case the man stands at same distance from the camera.

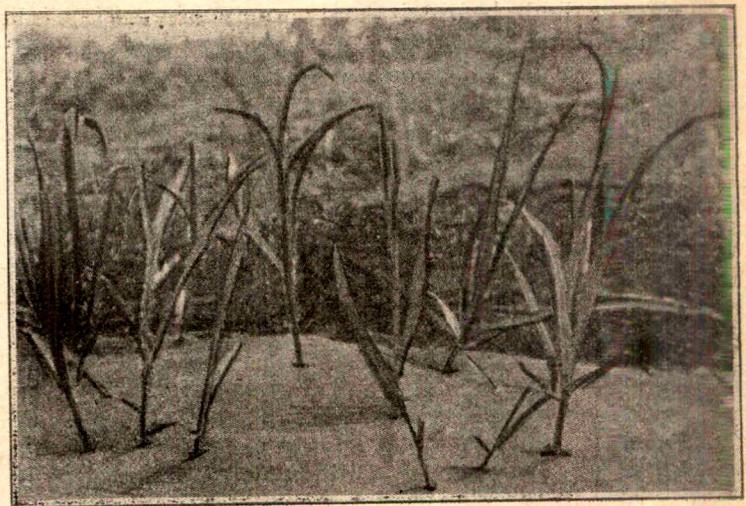
means the smallest item of the cost of production, and their presence or absence often makes the difference between a profitable and an unprofitable year. Mr. C. F. Eckart, of a Hawaiian sugar company, therefore, began experiments looking to weed-control.

"Weeds between the cane rows could be controlled by spraying, after which followed a demonstration that the weeds could be smothered by strips of paper, asphalt impregnated to withstand weather and handling.

"Knowing that cane shoots are tightly rolled up, sharp-pointed and spear-like, Mr. Eckart conceived the idea of using paper over the cane rows, being careful to have the paper of the proper construction to hold the weeds beneath, while the cane, by gentle pressure, could puncture the covering. Considerable acreages have been under experiment and several interesting developments have taken place.

"The paper in yard widths is placed over the rows and kept there by bamboo pegs, stones, and field litter. As the cane shoots come up, those

striking the paper at or near right angles puncture the covering and grow vigorously. The other shoots make tentlike elevations, at which points paper is slit after five or six weeks, during which time the cane does not suffer, altho the less hardy weeds are exterminated.



Illustrations by courtesy of "The Scientific American," New York.

THE PAPER SUPPRESSES WEEDS WHILE THE CANE SPROUTS THROUGH.

And the paper is made from the waste fibers of the cane itself.

"Beneath the paper moisture is conserved and the temperature is from 3° to 5° Fahrenheit warmer than above it, so that under such humid conditions the cane growth is abnormally rapid, while at the same time all weed seeds germinate. The weeds spring up, blanched in the dark, only to smother, since their soft tops provide no means for breaking through the paper. By the time the paper must be slit, the weeds are no more, and as the paper disintegrates the cane is so far advanced as to command the situation.

"This method effects a labor-saving of from 50 per cent. to 70 per cent. and an increase of some ten tons of cane per acre equivalent to more than a ton of raw sugar.

"There is a second chapter to this story affording an unusual example of waste utilization. The paper required in row-mulching, as the use of paper on cane rows is called, had to be brought long distances, while a fibrous material, bagasse, or the cane from which the

sugar has been pressed, is produced on the spot in excess of fuel requirements. To make a suitable paper from this bagasse presented a new problem; for while many good papers have been made from this raw material, none has had the characteristics required for this special use.

"The problem has been solved by an American chemical research company and a mill is being erected in the Hawaiian plantation which now supplies the paper, exactly suited to the requirements, from the bagasse. This is accomplished with a saving exceeding 50 per cent. of the cost of the paper previously used.

"Summed up, the achievement is the utilization of a wasted material to found a new industry, the product of which reduces the cost of growing sugar-cane and at the same time produces an additional ton of raw sugar on each acre of the plantation in question."

—*The Literary Digest.*

NOTES

To Be and To Have.

In different climes and ages men have had before them two objects or ideals,—to be good and wise, and to have much. History does not show that any nation in any age had before it only one of these ideals to the utter exclusion of the other. But it is equally plain that in different climes or in different ages, very much greater stress has been laid on the one than on the other. It is this difference of stress which characterises the differing civilizations of the East and the West. For it cannot be denied that no country or nation can be said to be without those who value the riches of the spirit above all earthly possessions or those who value worldly greatness and possessions more than the treasures of the spirit.

Plain Living and High Thinking.

Wordsworth's phrase "plain living and high thinking" expresses the essence of the ideal of Indian civilisation. But plain living is not equivalent to extreme poverty. A state of indigence in which no thinking

is possible except as to what a man shall eat, is not generally compatible with high thinking. This is very well illustrated by the following paragraph taken from the *Indian Witness* :—

There is little thinking of any kind possible to those who are half-starved, save thoughts of the physical, thoughts of something to satisfy their hunger and sustain their strength. Journalists, professional men, and great intellectuals of many walks in life, confessed that while starving in German war prisons their whole thought and conversation from morning to night was of something to eat. If you would get men to think of the eternal and spiritual things, you must see to it that they are relieved of the dire necessity of thinking continually of temporal things. Recently a preacher in a famine area was greeted by his audience with the statement that they wanted nothing but food.

In India there are millions of men who have not got to go to German war prisons to realise what it is to think and talk from morning to night of only something to eat. With them the process is lifelong. In order, therefore, that we may be able to make the ideal of plain living and high thinking a reality, the material condition of the country must be greatly improved. But while

engaged in this work of economic improvement, we should never allow ourselves to forget that material progress is only a means to an end. The goal to be placed before the country is that every one should have such food, clothing and housing accommodation as would enable him to lead a healthy and moral life and such means and leisure as would enable him to educate himself and his children and to taste of the pleasures of the intellect and the joys of the spirit.

India's Poverty.

Many Indians and many foreigners have spoken of the poverty of India. Specially convincing must be the testimony of those who, while not taking up the other cries of the politically aspiring Indian *intelligentsia*, agree with them in believing that India is poor. We shall quote two such recent testimonies.

General Sir O'Moore Creagh's recently published work, entitled *Indian Studies*, is not a pro-Indian book. Such a book contains the following paragraph relating to the poverty of the Indian people :—

It is idle to talk of education or other measures of social reform when whole families in those parts of India I know have to work day and night to eke out a bare existence. Even in normal years the grain disappears before the harvest is over, and then the fight with hunger and the illness it causes commences. There are millions who, even in good years, fail to get a full meal, and they would die in droves if a bad one were it not for public relief. The peasant digs, sows and reaps, the rain falls, and the crops prosper and are reaped; but no sooner is the harvest ours than the crop is divided. The landlord, be he government or a great landlord, takes the lion's share, the village shop-keeper and the village servants are paid from what remains, when the producer has nothing left. He again gets credit for his food and seed for the next crop from the village shop-keeper, which costs him dear, and he goes home to plough, sow, and live in hopes of better times, which never come. When, after years of toil and favourable crops, he may have got clear of the village shop-keeper, the settlement officer pounces on him, and skins off all profit by taxing him on a rigidly defined standard, which throws him into the hands of the village shop-keeper once more.

The Indian Witness is an organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Its politics

are the politics of Anglo-Indians. And missionaries can, if they choose, see the real life of the people of India much more than Anglo-Indian officials or Anglo-Indian men of business. For these reasons what this paper says about the poverty of India should carry conviction. It says :

How poor is India? Those who are fond of statistics will be most impressed with the statements that India's average daily earning per person is between an anna and an anna and one half, and that the average wealth of India per capita is about ninety rupees. We know that there are many people in India who earn much more than an anna and one half a day, so there must be a great many others who do not earn so much. We also know that there are many in India who possess much more than rupees ninety, so there must be many others who possess much less, otherwise the average of ninety would not be possible. Mark Twain was certainly seeing straight when he characterized India as being "the land of dreams and romance, of fabulous wealth and fabulous poverty, of splendor and rags, of palaces and hovels, of famine and pestilence." The only difficulty is that the fabulously wealthy are comparatively few.

How poor is India? It will do little good to compare the average earnings of her people and their per capita wealth with the earnings and wealth of the peoples of other nations. "Comparisons are odious." The real meaning of the anna and one half average daily earning and of the rupees ninety average wealth is best understood when they are considered in the light of their purchasing power. The anna and one half will purchase very little more in India to-day than it will anywhere else in the world, and less than it will in many places. Wheat for food and cotton for clothing are just as expensive in India as in prosperous America. Milk in India is as expensive as it is in many other countries that are far more able to buy milk. How many babies will die in India this year because there is no proper food for them! We know of one wee baby in India whose milk diet costs five or six annas every day. How far will the anna and one half go?

How poor is India? Her great infant mortality, and mortality that is not infant, her millions of barefooted people, millions of half naked people, millions of people who have but one meal or less, of the coarsest food, per day; and her millions in famine relief camps, or suffering without the camps, all bear testimony to the insufficiency of the anna and one half for daily needs, and of the rupees-ninety as a fortification against the day of famine, to say nothing of providing capital for productive industry.

The question is then asked, "Why is India so poor?"

The one big reason for her poverty is that she produces so little. We have been talking of her average wealth and average earning; we may also speak of her average productivity. The average individual in India produces less than the average individual in almost any country on the face of the earth. Why is this so? First, because those who are producers use such primitive methods of production. Here a man uses his centuries old wooden plough and his slow-going oxen and cultivates a few bighas of land, at the most. In Australia and Canada a man will take his modern machinery and thoroughly till his 40, 80, or perhaps 160 acres of ground. Second, because there are so many people in India who are absolutely unproductive. There are millions of mendicants, religious and otherwise; millions of personal and house servants; hundreds of thousands of those who because of physical defects are unproductive; and there is a great host of the idle rich who live off of the toil of the real producer.

Some complain that India is so poor because she has to pay such heavy taxes. We do not know whether her taxes are any heavier than those of other countries or not. We would like to have the word of some expert political economist on that subject. But whether taxed or not, it is safe to say that India will be the poorest of the poor so long as her productivity is so little in comparison with that of other nations; and wealth and poverty are always comparative terms, it must be remembered.

Should any religious movement concern itself with such a thing as poverty? It certainly should. The Master indicated that it was to be taken for granted that men should have adequate food, clothing, and shelter. He had no quarrel with wealth; only with the love of it. Plain living and high thinking are fine things, but there is a great distinction between plain living and plain starvation. There are multitudes in India who would be glad to indulge in the high thinking, if only they could be assured of the plain living.

Increasing our Productivity,

How to increase our productivity? It is a big question, and cannot be answered within the compass of a brief note.

It has to be considered what things we require to produce. First comes food. A strictly scientific enquiry should be made to ascertain whether India produces sufficient food to maintain her population in normal health and strength, leaving a sufficient margin for export. If she does, why are millions of her children lifelong starvelings? If she does not, it is plainly the duty of the people and the Government to increase her food production by the

adoption and use of the best seeds, manures, implements and methods. The questions of agricultural holdings and of the fragmentation of holdings as it affects the introduction of agricultural improvements should be considered in this connection. These questions are dealt with in two papers published in the current (July) number of the *Agricultural Journal of India*.

All questions of reform and improvement are interdependent. No wonder then that agricultural improvement should depend on the possession of political power. More than any other government department, the agricultural department has or ought to have to do with the illiterate peasantry. Most of those agriculturists who are literate are literate only in their vernaculars. Those of their countrymen who have received agricultural education should be in a better position to advise, guide and help the agriculturists than foreigners; and it is only the selfishness of exploiters which can deny that Indian agricultural experts are more interested in the agricultural improvement of India and in helping the tillers of the soil than foreigners. But it is foreigners who rule the roost in the agricultural as in other departments. This state of things can be remedied only by Indians acquiring political power.

It is not denied that even illiterate peasants may be made somewhat better agriculturists without being made literate. But it is equally plain that no great improvement is possible unless there is universal free elementary education, were it to be imparted only as a means of giving agricultural education. The official attitude in this matter has always been clear and was made quite clear by the fate of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill. The Primary Education Acts recently passed in some provinces, for the most part as the result of non-official zeal, provide, in the majority of cases, for the extension of primary education in urban areas. A great national education Act, giving every child, born in urban or rural areas, opportunity to develop to the full what capacity it brings into the world, has still to be ushered into existence.

Sufficient money will never be spent for

agriculture and education until the Indian Government is nationalised.

The Choice of Crops.

Those who take interest in such questions know that, as far as that is practicable, influence and pressure are brought to bear on peasants and farmers to grow more of crops which are required for the advantage of exploiters and foreign countries than those which India requires for her own advantage and use. This can be remedied only by the possession of political power by Indians. Our notes on "Mobilization of Indian's Agricultural Resources", pp. 641-643, *M. R.* for December, 1918 and pp. 94-95, *M. R.* for January, 1919, may be re-read to clearly understand what we mean.

Areas under Cultivation.

The figures supplied by the Director of Statistics, showing the total area, area cultivated and uncultivated, area under irrigation, area under different crops, &c., in British India in the agricultural year 1917-18, give food for thought.

The total area sown in the year 1917-18 was 265 million acres (including 37 million acres cropped more than once), the same as in 1916-17. This total area may be classified under the two main heads, food crops (219 million acres) and non-food crops (46 million acres). Of the food-crops, the area under wheat increased by nearly one and a half million acres in 1917-18, that under gram by one million acres, and that under barley by half a million acres. The decreases are mainly under bajra (2½ million acres), jawar (¼ million acres), rice (one-third million acres), and other food grains (one million acres). Among the non-food crops the main increases are under cotton (1½ million acres), linseed (¼ million acres) and rape and mustard (one-third million acres), while the area under sesamum decreased by about two-third million acres and groundnut by one-third million acres. The total area irrigated decreased by 2 million acres, as compared with that of 1916-17. As compared with the pre-war year, the area under food crops at the end of the last agricultural year, June, 1918, was 8 per cent more than in the pre-war year owing to the increase on account of war demands for wheat and gram. In regard to non-food crops the increase in the same period was 5 per cent, chiefly on account of the demand for oilseeds, indigo, and fodder crops. The per capita acreage of foreign countries is also of interest. The figures for the United States of America, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany before

the War were as follows: United States of America 2·97, Canada 5·98, United Kingdom 0·39, France 1·49, Germany 0·94. The figures for India before and at the end of the War were 1·02 and 1·10 respectively.

Every country should in the first place produce what it requires for its own consumption, and then produce, if possible, what other countries require for their consumption. And out of what a country produces, only the surplus after reserving its estimated consumption should be allowed to be exported. But in India both the production of particular kinds of crops and their export are controlled with greater regard for the requirements of foreigners than is just and humane, the consequences being scarcity, famine, malnutrition, wide-spread disease, and ignorance. Only self-rule can remedy these evils.

One of the economic causes of our inability to keep in the country a sufficiency of the food we produce, is our want of money. Foreign manufacturing peoples have more money and can pay higher prices for food-grains than we can. Unless, therefore, we develop manufacturing industries, we shall never have enough food, though we may produce enough. But manufacturing industries can, in the circumstances of India, be developed on an adequate scale only if we have self-rule.

The Question of Export.

In normal times, and in abnormal times, too, like the present, of high prices and of famines, food is allowed to be exported out of India, *without attention being paid to what Indians think of India's requirements*. It is pretended or believed that we do not even understand whether we are hungry or how hungry we are;—and, of course, we do not understand how the export and import of food should be controlled! A recent letter contributed to the *Bengalee* by an official incidentally placed the public for the first time in possession of the information that Great Britain had undertaken to supply Sweden with large quantities of Indian wheat! Was not the War fought for making the world (minus India, Egypt, etc.?) safe for democracy, and was not this undertaking, given without the

knowledge and consent of the producing country, in right democratic style?

The remedy lies in self-rule.

Production of articles other than food.

In addition to food, India should produce also her clothing, and all other things which are necessary for leading healthy, beautiful and enlightened lives. No doubt, no country can produce every thing which its inhabitants may require; but India is so large a country and possesses such a large variety of climates, fauna, flora and physical features that it is possible for us to produce almost everything we require. And our productive activity should have this wide range not only to remove our poverty, not only to add to our wealth, but in order also that we may be better and more perfect men by developing all our capacities and in order that we may acquire and keep up that feeling of self-respect which economic independence and interdependence-on-equal-terms with other countries can produce.

Without manufacturing industries we cannot even conserve our stock of food. So long as wealthy manufacturing countries can pay higher prices for the food we produce than we can pay and so long as we are obliged to sell part of our food stock for the money wherewith to purchase foreign cloth and other necessities, the food we produce must in great part find its way to foreign countries, leaving us hungry. These considerations prove that we can not do without the Swadeshi movement.

Flourishing manufacturing industries presuppose technical and industrial education, control over customs duties, tariffs, railway freight, &c., state encouragement, banking facilities, and organisation of capital. Most or all of these conditions depend for their fulfilment on the possession of self-government.

Mysore Iron Scheme.

We are glad to learn that the work in connection with the Mysore iron scheme is being pushed through at Benkipur. The sites for the location of the workmen's quarters, offices, factories, etc., have been

selected under the guidance of Mr. Perin, the American expert. An informal conference of the Mining Engineer, the special officer of the Iron scheme, the Conservator of Forests in Mysore, and the District Forest Officers of Kadur and Shimoga and one or two others, is now threshing out at Bangalore the problem of the fuel supply required for the works. This problem of the fuel supply will be understood from what appeared in our last December number, p. 641. There we gave an extract which said that an interesting experiment was being tried in Mysore, and that the government of that progressive state had decided to erect a charcoal blast furnace and appointed Mr. Perin as their consulting engineer. It was further stated:

"He has placed orders for the equipment in America, and the undertaking is to be constructed and managed by the Tata Iron and Steel Company. It is proposed to fell and transport timber from the vast forests of Kadur and Shimoga, and convert it into charcoal at Benkipur. Iron ore will be mined at a distance of twenty-five miles, and a high-grade charcoal iron produced. It is also intended that acetate of lime, alcohol and other by-products be extracted. Calcium carbide may also be manufactured, with the breeze or such portions of the charcoal as cannot be used in the furnaces."

There will thus be considerable wood distillation industries.

The Mysore Durbar has provided more than Rs. 21,00,000 for this scheme during the current year.

Industries in Gwalior.

The Leader publishes an article on 'Industrial Gwalior,' which is a memoir on the economic position of the Gwalior State and a description of the principal industries carried on there, prepared by the inspector-general of commerce and industry under commands of His Highness.

During the short period that the industry and commerce department has been in existence efforts have been made to prove the commercial possibilities of the dry distillation of wood, thymol manufacture, extraction of turpentine and resin and commercial utilization of indigenous drugs. To the credit of the department we have as many as 115 factories, although, in the beginning strenuous efforts were needed,—'years of hard labour' to quote the official in charge—to popularize ginning factories, presses and cotton

mills. The success of the Gwalior workshops and leather factory is a record of persevering work carried on, unmindful of expense, with the sole object of establishing an 'example industry' in Gwalior. Workmen were imported from Agra and Cawnpore and paid big advances, and systematic training of the local people was undertaken, with the result that they have now nearly one thousand workmen, all of the state, working in all branches of saddlery, harness, and boot-making. The average annual profit of the concern is represented by half a lakh of rupees. As yet no systematic efforts seem to have been made in starting, on any large scale, the iron and steel industry which is the coming industry of India. Gwalior had, at one time, iron foundries capable of turning out wonderful works like the 24 feet long gun which can now be seen in the Jai Vilas Palace. This gun is described as a magnificent piece of welded metal, made in 1602, and was used in the reduction of the Gwalior fort by the Marathas under their Scindia leaders, and is called Falesh Lashkar. The rocks of the Vindhyan series contain iron in the form of hematite and magnetite. A State with the resources of Gwalior ought to be able to lead the way even for the Tatas at Jamshedpur.

Other activities have also been summarised.

It is a credit to the industrial activities of Gwalior, such as they are, that when during the war, the call came from the munitions department for bolts, nuts and rivets, the Gwalior workshop undertook their manufacture; draught poles, telescopic stands and other articles were also executed. Large supplies of pack mules, saddlery, harness, boots and shoes and other leather goods were supplied by the leather factory. The chemical laboratory in Gwalior, started to analyse and classify the raw and manufactured products of the State, is doing splendid work, laying the groundwork for new chemical manufactures. The results so far attained fully justify the keen foresight and affectionate regard for the well-being of the subjects by his Highness, who realized the potential greatness and value of chemical and technical research for the growth of industries. Two research scholarships have been sanctioned by the Darbar for the investigation of indigenous drugs. The statistical department, which is a useful handmaid to the industrial department, is rapidly rising in efficiency. Forest industries, which all over India have obtained a great impetus during the war and as a result of the activities of the munitions department, have come in for particular attention. Turpentine on a commercial scale, could be made, as also lac; tanin extracts, rubber, aloe, silkworm rearing, rosa oil, these and other industries await the serious handling of the Government. Sylviculture, in itself, is a vast subject, and the Gwalior State is about to associate a forest economist

with the conservator of forests. Reclamation of land ravines, brought into existence by the destructive inroads of rivers, is seriously taken in hand; the areas covered by ravines constitute excellent agricultural lands. Raw materials for the manufacture of cement occur in various parts of the State, and now that the war is over, the State might take up the work.

Aid is given to small industries also.

Korea's Declaration of Independence.

Korea came under the yoke of Japan ten years ago. Ever since that time, she has been ruled by the Japanese military governors with severity. The dawn of peace, however, gave her a new gleam of justice and roused her with the principle of self-determination. So that, imbued with the new idealism of liberty, she drafted her declaration of independence, of which the following is a translation :

"We, the people of Korea, hereby declare the Independence of Korea before all nations, assuming that this would be generally recognised by them.

"We declare this with a united voice of twenty million people in the name of justice and humanity. We are no mean people, having the long history of a distinct and self-governing nation through the course of forty-three centuries. It is a most solemn duty of us to secure the right of free and perpetual development of our own national character and ability, adapting ourselves to the principles of the reconstruction of the world.

"It is nearly ten years since we were for the first time in our history put under the yoke of another nation and made a victim of the cursed militaristic imperialism of the world. Since then, how much our spiritual development has been hampered; our national dignity injured; and how many opportunities have been lost to make a contribution to the civilisation of the world.

"Oh, fellow-citizens! The most urgent and the greatest duty for us is to secure our national independence, in order to wipe off the injuries, to get rid of the present sufferings, to remove the future threatenings, to stir up the national spirit and vitality so long suppressed under the unjust regime of Japan, and to leave our children an eternal freedom and perfect happiness instead of a bitter and shameful inheritance. We shall fight to the last drop of our blood in the great cause of Liberty.

What the Koreans next proceed to say, shows that they were not in a revengeful mood when they made their declaration of independence.

"We do not blame Japan for breaking treaties in which she so often solemnly promised to

guarantee the independence of Korea. Nor do we complain of her for calling our land a colony and treating us as slaves. Because it is unnecessary for us to find faults in others, but in ourselves. We do not mean to take such measures as to avenge ourselves upon Japan. All we desire to do is to right wrongs done to us not by the Japanese nation, but by the few of her statesmen who were led by the "old" aggressive policy.

The results of the Japanese annexation of Korea are thus described :—

"See the actual outcome of the annexation which was made in 1910 without free consent of the peoples concerned ! A bitter and unreconcilable animosity is growing deeper and deeper between these two peoples, though it has been glossed over with a tranquil appearance caused only by heavy pressure and with series of statistics, most of which have nothing to do with our concerns. It is clear to see that the two nations must and ought to enter into a new relation of good friendship so that they would enjoy a permanent happiness and to avoid further perils on both sides. Moreover, in view of maintaining the peace of the Far East, the independence of Korea is not without a deep significance. It is not only because the unjustly subdued twenty million people of Korea may prove a source of incessant alarm, but any longer occupation of Korea by Japan is likely to provoke more suspicion and fear against Japan in the mind of the four hundred million people of China, whereas the true friendly relation between the peoples is the basis upon which any eternal peace of the East will possibly be established. Could any international peace be expected without the perfect harmony of the eastern nations ?

Babu Bhagwan Das on The Hindu University.

Babu Bhagwan Das, M. A., of Sevashram, Benares, has published two articles on the Hindu University in *New India*, July 7th and 8th, from which we quote below. He is a gentleman of high culture, with as profound a knowledge of Sanskrit philosophy as of modern thought and learning,—an accomplished writer, a deep thinker, and a sane judge of men and manners. A gentleman of independent means, and a student by taste and temperament, he long served the Hindu University in its chrysalis stage of the old Central Hindu College, and has been elected to several of the academic and administrative bodies of the new Hindu University since its foundation in 1906. He has also been twice chosen as Honorary University Professor. He has no axe of his own to grind. The opinion

of such a man on the present condition of the Hindu University must have great weight. It strikes one that, though the items dwelt upon by Babu Bhagwan Das and "Inside View" are not the same in every detail, the impression produced by the articles of the two writers is substantially the same.

Babu Bhagwan Das first of all proves that "all is not right with the Benares Hindu University." Indeed, he goes so far as to say that "it is not an ideal fraternity of philanthropists requiring only quiet and steady work,...but sodden with intrigues and party politics."

Those who are, in his opinion, responsible for this state of things, have not, he appears to think, forgotten to employ the usual methods for preventing even the attempt at reform. As he plainly puts it :

Indeed, it would be almost truer to say that there has been "a conspiracy of silence" in the Press, as regards the affairs of the B. H. U. I could not get some letters, signed by me in full, published in the U. P. in January, 1918, and had to send them to other provinces, where they were published by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *New India*, and the *Bombay Chronicle*. Apparently there was in the U. P. a strong notion that any 'criticism' of the B. H. U. is 'sedition' and 'disloyalty', and that nobody can wish well to the B. H. U. unless he wholeheartedly praises its existing management. Things must have become very bad indeed when even the Press of the U. P. thinks fit to give space to even anonymous 'criticisms' of that management.

Among the *root causes of the mischief* he gives the first place to Mr. Malaviya's manner of doing things—or, more correctly, of leaving them undone and practically, though he does not say or suggest intentionally, standing in the way of others doing them.

It stands to reason, and even to "common-sense," that a "residential" University should have a residential head ; and much more so a residential University in the making, in its earliest feeble infancy, liable to many infantile troubles. But the B. H. U. has dispensed with any and every such thing so far. The first Vice-Chancellor lived a hundred miles away. The second fifteen hundred. He gave clear and fair warning, before election, that he could not give more than a part of the year to Benares, and he did better than his promise. But he failed to make any impression upon the root mischiefs, partly because even the time that he did give

was not enough, and largely because Pandit M. M. Malaviya could not time his visits to Benares concurrently with the Vice-Chancellor, and could not develop another and even more necessary kind of concurrence, i.e., of views, and of mutual trust, between himself and the latter. As "Inside View" has pointed out with facts and figures, the present Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Pandit M. M. Malaviya himself, is able to give very little time to Benares. He seldom exceeds, seldom even works up to the traditional pilgrim's limit of "three nights at a place", in his visits, and these take place at intervals of weeks. And now that he is the Acting Vice-Chancellor also, since the resignation of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar, the consequences to the work are so much the more perplexing, for he is not stationary even at Allahabad, his home, (so that work could go to him if he could not come to the work), but is ubiquitous—all over India. No blame to him at all—on the contrary, he is bearing an Atlas burden on his shoulders—but all the blame to our luckless and most miserable Motherland which cannot produce another being fit to be trusted by him to really share and lighten his mighty labours!

Out of the lack of a residential head, then, all the other mischiefs arise.

As regards the imagination and the plans of Mr. Malaviya, Babu Bhagwan Das writes:—

Our guiding spirit, our presiding deity, or at least genius, the soul of the whole concern and its master as its solitary bread winner and holder of the purse-strings, has an exceedingly rich and vivid imagination, which pounces and fastens upon a new idea almost every day and rapidly develops it into a glorious structure of sunset clouds, but then his ardour cools and the idea shrinks back into its inherent diminutiveness and is put aside. It is, no doubt, this very vivacity of imagination which has infected the country with the idea of the Hindu University and made its foundation possible. But the excess of it now is a hindrance. What is wanted now is steady continuous sober plodding on a level, much below that of the bright imagination, let us grant readily and sincerely, but equally indispensable in the total scheme of the universe. If the prime founder of the business would only realise his limitation as well as his capacities, distinguish between what or rather how much he can do (as indeed no other can, at the moment) and what he cannot do, though he insists on doing it (as others realise painfully, though few venture to express their minds frankly to him), then the B. H. U. would progress better, and more quickly.

Babu Bhagwan Das gives direct evidence that Dr. Ganganath Jha's resignation of the membership of the various University bodies was not due to diff-

erences with Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar, as has been asserted by some apologists of the present regime. "The statement is wholly wrong, as I know firsthand; it was due to the general condition of affairs which made it impossible for him to be of any use, and for which Malaviyaji's absence from the scene of work combined with his disinclination to let anything at all important be...done in his absence is the main cause."

The following passage from his article gives one the impression that the various university bodies have made the University a sort of talking machine hall.

At present many are the meetings of many of the B. H. U. bodies which, after three or four hours of industrious talking, simply end in postponements of most, sometimes all of the agenda items. Things are half-discussed and dropped and taken up again and dropped again indefinitely. The shirking of one full and conclusive discussion in the beginning entails a perpetual recurrent waste of time afterwards. See the minute books and the files of notices of meetings and agenda papers.

An illustration is given from the meeting of the Executive Council on the 22nd June, which was adjourned after an 'addled egg' meeting on the 14th.

After three hours—from 5 p.m. to 8 p.m. and more—of preliminary talking, part of it relating to a matter not on the agenda at all, it was decided that as copies of the budget had been placed in the members' hands at that meeting itself and no time allowed for previous consideration (—it appeared that a week was required by the rules—) the whole thing was postponed to the 12th July. So it goes on. An important question of principle, whose continued mismanagement is likely to aggravate the corruption of spirit from which the B.H.U. is suffering is being shirked in this fashion. And travelling expenses are paid to outside members attending these meetings. One court meeting is estimated to cost about three thousand rupees; and a Council or a faculty meeting may cost hundreds.

Legal quibbles, hair-splittings of words, catch phrases invented by men engaged in executive office or forensic law or party-politics, for such their own special purposes, are often heard at meetings of the administrative bodies of the educational institution, where the whole atmosphere should be that of the patriarchal joint family, the guru-kula, the Teacher's family-home. At a recent court meeting, a member "pointed out", with reference to an objection raised by another, that the latter's remedy lay in a suit in the law-courts.

Want of space forbids us to give more.

extracts from Prof. Bhagwan Das's exposition of the situation. We shall only quote some of his paragraph-headings to indicate his diagnosis of the case :—

"Haphazard our principle and Drift our policy."
 "Our lack of proper head and heart."
 "Our ignorance of what we want to do."
 "Our safe policy of non-committal."
 "Our keeping the public out."
 "Our wish to repress criticism."
 "Much talk and little work."
 "Our waste of public money."
 "Our slighting of the missionary spirit."
 "Our Red-tapism."
 "Our insistence on blind faith and caste nepotism."
 "Our penny-wise and pound-foolish finance."
 "Our worst symptom—the unrighteous spirit."
 "Manipulation of procedure at will."

Our own Impressions.

We have no first-hand knowledge of the affairs of the Benares Hindu University. And it is not possible for us to constitute ourselves into a committee or commission of enquiry. At the same time it is also not possible for us to dismiss as unreliable the statements of men who have been long known as honourable and truth-loving. We can judge of the state of things at the Benares University only from what has appeared in the Press, from what has been brought to our notice and from the results of our inquiry on the few definite and specific points mentioned below.

(a) Have the morning periods of work at the C. H. C. been invariably of 40 minutes each and the day periods of 48 minutes each, or were they on some days changed to 45 minutes or any other duration?

(b) Was the starting point of the College work changed during the last year only from season to season and not from time to time as detailed by "Inside view"? Was the starting point changed oftener than seasonal changes would necessitate?

(c) Was sufficiently early notice given to every member of the teaching staff of the changes in the starting point?

(d) Did any member of the staff complain of the conditions of his work under the shift system?

These were questions the answers to which would not be affected by personal equation, because these would be mere state-

ments of fact. We have no desire to enter into details, nor to quote in full the replies we have received. Suffice it to say that on these points, the replies confirm the statements of "Inside View." On other matters we leave the reader to decide for himself.

The Modern Review was, we believe, the first among Indian journals to describe and advocate the Gary plan of teaching two sets of students by shifts. But our support of the plan was conditional. We laid down the condition that neither the staff nor the students were to be overworked or inconvenienced in any way. We have evidence to show that some professors really were inconvenienced by the shift system as adopted by the Hindu University. We have evidence also to show that science students have been placed at a disadvantage by it. The reasons can be guessed from what Prof. N. C. Nag has written in his letter to the *Searchlight* :—

Oftentimes Chemistry students have to carry on an experiment from one day to another and they have to leave their apparatus, etc., on their table. The coming in of a new batch of students in their place is not possible in the practical class. There must be separate accommodation for the science students in the practical class.

We have independent evidence to show that on account of the lack of this separate accommodation for each science student, unfinished experiments have had to be started anew. This is a real disadvantage. A piece of writing becomes interesting if the writer throws some personal feeling into it. We have tried to write on the affairs of the Hindu University in as cold and therefore uninteresting a manner as we can. For we regret to observe that party feelings and prejudices generally divide those who have or have had anything to do with this University, though we presume there must be some who have been able to keep up a neutral judicial attitude. For this reason, we wish to avoid even the appearance of belonging to any party.

In a new institution, which is also a new experiment, some degree of slowness of progress is inevitable,—it may even be desirable. We cannot say whether the slowness of the Hindu University has exceeded this limit.

Ideals and their concrete realisation cannot, there is no harm in bearing in mind, always be made to keep pace with each other. The Peace Treaty falls far short of the idealism of so great a man as President Wilson.

A Noble Gift to the Indian Women's University.

tive. They have, however, nobly come forward to accept the terms of the will and have executed a release deed relinquishing all their rights over and above what has been left to them in the will. The Trustees of the Indian Women's University are Dr. Lande's Trustees in India. The African Trustees were required to send all the proceeds of the Estate there to the Indian Trustees and Rs. 39000 have been received from them. Indian dues have yet to be recovered. About Rs. 8000 are to be given to four different institutions and after giving to the widows and the mother what is left to them, the Women's University is likely to get Rs. 15000 now and about Rs. 15000 later on. This last sum is to be invested and the allowance of Rs. 30 a month to each of his widows is to be given out of the interest thereon.

Hingne Budruk, D. K. Karve,
Poona City. Organiser, Indian Women's
University.

The Press Association of India has sent the following cable to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India and Lord Sinha, Under-Secretary of State for India:—

"Since 1917 the Act has been even more rigorously administered. Leading influential Indian English journals like the "Amrita Bazar Patrika," the "Bombay Chronicle," the "Hindu," the "Independent," the "Tribune," the "Punjabee," and leading Vernacular papers like the "Basumati," the "Swadeshmitran," the

"Vijaya," the "Hindvasi," the "Bharat-mitra," have been subjected to its rigours. Several Indian newspapers are arbitrarily barred from the different provinces. On the other hand violent provocative writings in the Anglo-Indian Press are entirely immune. Government refused last September an open inquiry into the operation of the Press Act urged by Indian members in the Imperial Council. Legitimate criticism on the Rowlatt Act, the Punjab Martial Law and other grievances, is crippled by executive action. Influential journals are disappearing because of the existing Act and its administration. The unventilated expression of public opinion is bound to drive discontent and unrest underground. The extreme and unjustifiable severity to which journalists are subjected is painfully evidenced by the arbitrary deportation of Mr. Horniman, Editor, "The Bombay Chronicle," and President of this Association. The Association presses for the repeal of the Press Act urgently."

The Press Act Supremely Reasonable.

The following telegram has appeared in the daily papers :—

Bombay, July 18.

At the Esplanade Police Court, Bombay, before the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Mr. Mahadeo N. Desai appeared to make a declaration as publisher of "Young India." When asked by His Worship to deposit a security of Rs. 1,000 Mr. Desai submitted the following statement :—"I have been advised not to give any security apart from what has already been taken from the keeper of "Young India", as in the opinion of those, including myself, who are responsible for conducting the journal, extraordinary endeavour has been made to keep its columns pure and undefiled by any seditious or even hostile taint. Every endeavour has been made to serve both the Government and the public fearlessly but with due regard to every interest. I can only express my very deep regret that Government has been unable to appreciate the service that "Young India" has rendered to it during critical periods and has been so ill advised as to ask for any security being given by the publisher." After reading the statement, His Worship said no security was taken from the printers. Mr. Desai said he meant the keeper of the press.

The Magistrate :—You say the keeper of the press has deposited Rs. 1,000.

Mr. Desai :—Yes.

The Magistrate then ordered that Rs. 1,000 should be deposited subject to the proviso of Section 8 (1) of Act I of 1910. *His Worship further ordered that if a change in the place of printing were made he would have to deposit a further sum of Rs. 1,000.*

Mr. Desai's truthful and courageous statement extorts respect.

The last sentence in the above extract, which we have italicised, shows conclusively how supremely reasonable the Press Act is. The Magistrate says in advance that "if a change in the place of printing were made," the publisher "would have to deposit a further sum of Rs. 1000." It is taken for granted that a mere change in the place of printing would make *Young India* more seditiously inclined than it already is in the opinion of the Magistrate! How absurd and ludicrous! And this is Law!

Indian Women's University.

A FEW FACTS AND FIGURES.

1. This University was formally inaugurated on 3rd June 1916 at the first meeting of its Senate in the Fergusson College at Poona.

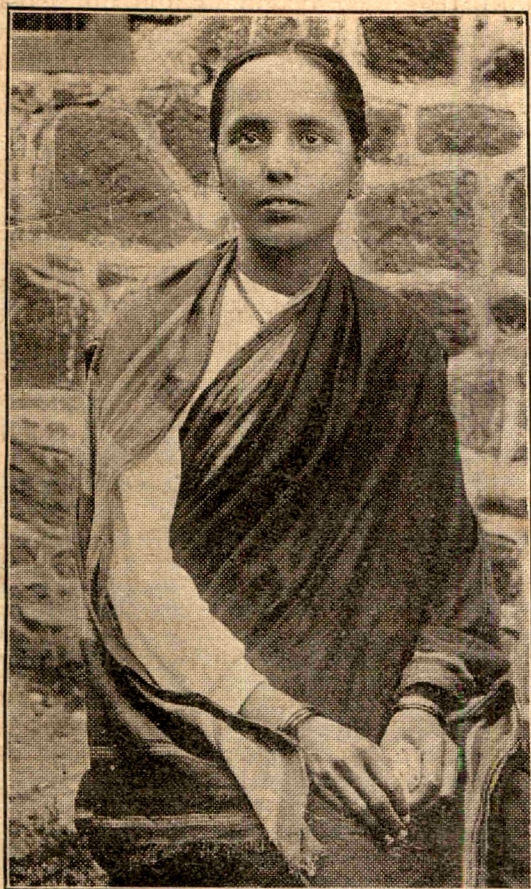
2. Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Principal R. P. Paranjpye are its Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, respectively.

3. The Mahila Pathashala (Women's College) and the Mahilashram (Girls' High School), both of Poona, are the only institutions working under the guidance of the University.

4. There are sixteen students in the college and one hundred in the school. The staff of those institutions contains four M.A.'s and 4 B.A.'s of the Bombay University.

5. The first convocation of this University was held on 15th June last, at which Mrs. Barubai Shevade, the first graduate of the University, received her degree of "G.A." (Graduate in Arts) at the hands of the Chancellor Dr. Bhandarkar. This lady has joined the staff of the above-mentioned institutions.

6. The Senate of the University consists of 60 Fellows who are representatives of six electorates. Affiliated schools and colleges elect 15, patrons elect 10, members of Graduates' Electorate elect 15, members



Mrs. Barubai Shevade,
First Graduate, Indian Women's University.

of the Educated Ladies' Electorate elect 10, members of the General Electorate elect 5 and the Senate co-opts 5, making in all 60. Twelve Fellows retire every year automatically and their places are filled up by new elections, retiring members being eligible for re-election.

7. The present Senate contains 6 ladies and 54 gentlemen. According to places 28 belong to Poona, 11 to Bombay, 2 to Gujarat, 2 to Baroda State, 2 to Sind, 1 to Punjab, 2 to Central India, 1 to Bhopal State, 1 to Bengal, 3 to Madras Presidency, 2 to Mysore State, 1 to Carnatic, and 4 to Deccan. According to professions 24 were or are professors of colleges, 13 Head Masters and Inspectors, 8 pleaders, 8 doctors and 7 others.

8. It is a national university. All

authority is centred in the Senate which is made up of the representatives of the people. Any graduate can become a member of the Graduates' Electorate by contributing Rs. 10 annually and any person can become a member of the General Electorate by contributing Rs. 5 annually. The list of eligible voters prepared for the election in last April contained 2000 names nearly. People from different parts of India have got themselves enrolled as members.

9. Indian vernaculars are given the first place in the scheme of studies and English is made a compulsory second language.

10. The movement is supported mostly by the educated middle class. The permanent fund of the University consists of 3½ per cent. Government Promissory notes of the face value of Rs. 1,15,000, Annual subscriptions come to Rs. 10,000.

11. Although there is only one high school and one college working under the guidance of the University at present, it is hoped that more institutions will spring up later on. Similarly though Marathi is the only vernacular which has been made the medium of instruction, it is hoped that provinces with other vernaculars will take up the idea. One lady from Gwalior passed the Entrance Examination of this University in April 1918 with Hindi as her medium of examination. Prof. Karve, the Organiser of the Indian Women's University, has expressed his readiness to exert himself to organise a school and college that would give instruction through the medium of Hindi, if no workers in Hindi-speaking provinces come forward either to start an independent Women's University or to found an institution to work under the guidance of this University in the next few years.

Poona, 14th July 1919. A Maratha.

The more truly independent educational institutions of the type of the Indian Women's University we have in our midst, the more hopeful would our future be.

The Meeting of Laila and Majnun.

Laila and Kais were children of two chieftains of wandering tribes in Arabia. They were brought up together like two

buds growing side by side with affection and love secretly treasured in their hearts. They hoped and dreamed that one day they would be united in wedlock and live only for each other. But this was not to be. They were separated from each other. Laila was married to a wealthy person. The disappointment of Kais was so great that he became mad—*Majnun*. He thought only of Laila, he spoke only of Laila. He wandered into the wilderness till he became a living skeleton and even wild beasts took pity on him and became friendly to him. In the meantime, however, the husband of Laila died and she sought the love-distracted *Majnun*. But the return of Laila was too late. *Majnun* did not recognise her. Laila spoke of her insatiable love for him, but *Majnun* described to her the Laila he adored—his beloved Laila of the past. Then their eyes met and *Majnun* recognised her. But this was only for a brief moment; instantly his madness came back and he rushed away into the desert, and once more they were separated, to be united only on the other side of death.

The picture represents Laila speaking to *Majnun*. Two of her attendants are standing behind her. The camel-driver in the foreground is making fire.

Early 18th century; Collection of Mr. S. N. Gupta.

Naturalisation of the Exotic.

It is a somewhat trite though common argument, employed by Anglo-Indians and Tory Britishers, to cry down our political aspirations or to assert that we do not possess certain moral qualities, that there are no current old vernacular words to describe certain liberal and popular political institutions or to express those moral qualities. One might retort that, as the words "government", "democracy", "representative government", "franchise", "parliament", &c., are all derived from languages foreign to the British soil, a time there must have been when the things denoted by these words did not exist in Britain; yet these things have grown up and taken root there. Similarly one might argue that as "gratitude" is not an indigenous British

word, the thing originally did not exist in Britain, and it was subsequently that its want was felt, and so the thing and its name was attempted to be transplanted to British soil. Seriously speaking, many exotic animals, plants, ideas and institutions have been naturalised and have flourished in new habitats. This process of conscious and unconscious naturalisation has gone on throughout historical and prehistoric ages. Very often the exotic has partially or completely supplanted what was indigenous. That what has not been or is not, can not merely for that reason be, is a most foolish argument.

Punjab Affairs.

Whatever may have been the case in former ages, at present the English language is so highly developed and its vocabulary is so rich that whatever Englishmen do and think and feel and intend, may be adequately described and characterised in English words. Therefore, it would not be right to say that it is not possible properly to describe and characterise recent events in the Panjab and the policy pursued in that unhappy province by its rulers and the rulers of India. There is quite an abundant stock of words in the English lexicon to correctly describe and characterise those events and that policy. And though English is not our vernacular, our knowledge of it, too, though defective, might suffice for such true description and characterisation. But on account of the Press Act, such true description and characterisation may not seem advisable,—particularly in the case of those newspapers and periodicals which do not possess presses of their own.

The "Pratap" Case.

This is a case in which Lala Radha Krishna, editor of the "Pratap", was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment, which has been reduced by the Lieutenant Governor of the Panjab as an act of mercy. Even if he had been released as an act of mercy, the wrong done to him would not have been wholly undone; for he ought never to have been prosecuted at all. In cases of injustice like this, if the accused

person were set free, if it were declared that he was wrongly prosecuted, and if he were compensated for whatever pecuniary or other loss he had sustained, then alone it could be said that as much justice had been done to him as was possible under the circumstances.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi has subjected the charge-sheet and the judgment in this case to detailed criticism. He says:

"In my humble opinion the judgment is a travesty of justice. The case is in some respects worse even than Babu Kalinath Roy's case. There are no startling headlines as in the *Tribune* case. The accused has been sentenced not on a section of the Indian Penal Code but on a rule temporarily framed as a war measure."

He examines the indictment as follows:—

Let us turn to the indictment. Now a charge-sheet should contain no avoidable inaccuracies and no innuendoes. But we find that this indictment contains material inaccuracies. One of the three statements claimed by the Prosecution to be false is that the accused said in his paper that 'they (the crowd) were fired at in Delhi without any cause.' Now this is a dangerous inaccuracy. The passage in question reads, 'they were, *at least from their point of view*, fired at without any cause.' The words italicised have been omitted from the charge thus giving a different meaning to the writing from the one intended by the writer. From the third item too the relevant portion which alters the accused's meaning in his favour has been omitted. The third count concludes, "the people threw stones and brickbats at the time when the authorities had already taken the initiative." The relevant and qualifying sentences in the article from which the above is extracted are: "*But it is possible that somebody among this huge crowd might have thrown stones on the Police officer (before they resorted to firing)*." Even admitting this to be true, we say that the wisdom and prudence of the authorities demanded that some other method than firing guns should have been adopted with a view to suppress this disturbance." This sentence with the portion italicised again alters the whole meaning. If such an omission was made by a defendant, it would amount to *suppressio veri* and he would rightly put himself out of court. Done by the prosecution, the omission has passed muster, but in reality it is far more dangerous than *suppressio veri* on the part of a defendant. The Crown by a material omission, intended or otherwise, may succeed in bringing about an unjust conviction, as it appears to have done in this case.

In the *Hindvasi* case in Sindh, the Prosecution charged Mr. Jethmal with *sup-*

pressio veri for bringing the Government into hatred and contempt, and the trying magistrate observed:—

"What are we to think of the good faith of a writer catering for a considerable body of Sindhi readers, who, having at his hand the materials from which he could have compiled a true and faithful account of the events at Delhi, deliberately set out to garble those materials so as to put the action of the authorities in the worst possible light? It has been proved that he deliberately omitted from more or less responsible accounts of the occurrences, certain statements..... What was his intention in so doing? There can be no doubt that it was to hold up to hatred and contempt the authorities responsible for maintaining law or order."

The application of these observations to the charge-sheet in the *Pratap* case is obvious.

Nor is this all.

The last paragraph of the charge contains an unpardonable innuendo. "The accused has published a number of seditious and inflammatory articles, but the Crown prefers to proceed under Rule 25." The suggestion that the accused has written "seditious and inflammatory articles" could only be calculated to prejudice the defence. I have never seen an indictment so loosely drawn up and so argumentative as this. In a properly constituted court of law, I venture to think that it would have been ruled out of order and the accused set free without having to enter upon any defence.

Mr. Gandhi then criticises the judgment.

The judgment too, I am sorry to say, leaves the same impression on one's mind that the charge does—an impression of prejudice and haste. It says, "The prosecution have also established that each of these statements is false." Now, I have, I hope, already demonstrated that two of the statements in the indictment could not be proved to be false, for they are statements *torn from their context and incomplete*. No amount of evidence to prove the falsity of such incomplete statements could possibly be permitted to injure the accused. There remain only two statements to be examined. The first statement is, "By the evening of the 31st March forty Hindus and Mussalmans had been killed." Now it would be quite clear to anybody perusing the judgment that even now it is not known how many persons were killed. I suggest that the deciding factor in examining the falseness or otherwise of the above statement is not the number killed but whether any people were killed at all. If anything could then alarm the people, it was the fact of firing, not necessarily the number killed. And the fact of firing is not denied. As to the number, the newspapers including the Anglo-Indian press, had different versions. The learned Judge dismisses the plea that other

respectable papers contained about the same statements that the "Pratap" did. I submit that it was a relevant plea in order to establish the defendant's *bona fides* with a view to show that he had reasonable grounds for believing the statements he published. The second statement made by the accused is, "It cannot be denied that most who were killed or wounded were innocent." Lala Radha Krishna in his petition pertinently observes "that the Delhi authorities themselves took this view and in order to provide for the innocent sufferers in the riots opened a public fund." Let me add to this that no attempt was made by the Crown to show that even one man killed or wounded among the crowd was guilty of any act of violence himself. The court seems merely to have relied upon the fact that those who were killed were "members of a violent and dangerous mob". That fact does not necessarily prove that those actually killed were guilty of violence nor has the accused in his articles complained that the innocent suffered with the guilty. His complaint naturally was that the firing was at all resorted to.

The rule under which the accused was charged has been also examined.

It is now necessary to examine the rule under which the accused was charged. Lala Radha Krishna was charged under sub-clause (a) of sub-section, I of rule 25. In order to establish the guilt of the accused it is necessary to prove—

- (a) That the statement is false ;
- (b) That the accused "has no reasonable ground to believe it to be true" ;
- (c) That it is published "with intent to cause" or it "is likely to cause fear or alarm to the public."

It has been made abundantly clear in the foregoing that the statements have not been proved to be false, and that even if they were it has not been proved that the accused "had no reasonable ground for believing them to be true." On the contrary the defence statement gives clearly the grounds of his belief and lastly the Prosecution never proved that there was any "intent to cause fear or alarm, or that there was likely to be any fear or alarm caused." The judgment however says, "without going into the question whether he intended to cause fear or alarm to the public, we are satisfied that the publishing and circulating of these false statements did actually cause fear and alarm to the public." Lala Radha Krishna observed on this point, "The prosecution witnesses were unable to cite any specific instances of such alarm having been caused by the articles in question."

Mr. Gandhi concludes :

The judgment takes no note of the antecedents of Lala Radha Krishna, of the fact that

although there was not the slightest reason for expressing regret for anything he had written he expressed it in his statement to the court for any unconscious exaggerations and of the very material fact that the error, if error it was, was corrected by him as soon as the official *communique* was published and that he published too the "Civil and Military Gazette" version. This seems to be a question of manifest injustice.

Another fact which shows the action of the Prosecution in a very unfavorable light, has been thus stated in the *Mahratta* :—

The case was launched on 6th June under Rule 25 of the Indian D. O. R. A. against Lala Radha Krishna *after* he was officially *warned* by the Press Advisor to the Punjab Government on the 10th April i.e. some 5-6 days after the statements were published in the *Pratap*. This means that the Government had seen the articles they objected to before the date of the warning, and had then thought that a simple warning would have the desired effect. But not content with what they themselves thought proper and adequate then, they resorted to prosecution in June, and have thus ridiculed their own previous judgment !

Other Panjab Sentences.

The sentences passed on Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal and some other leading men of Amritsar and on Messrs. Duni Chand, Rambhaji Dutt, Harkishen Lal and other leaders of Lahore are most astounding. The judges who tried these persons had the same peculiar notions of what constitutes conspiracy, rebellion and war as those which actuated Sir Michael O'Dwyer in getting Martial Law proclaimed in the Panjab. They could not apparently free their minds from the influence of their surroundings, and were, therefore, manifestly not fit to try these cases. And in fact such cases ought never to be tried by martial tribunals.

Taking the words rebellion and war in the senses in which they are used and which are found explained in authoritative English lexicons, we must say that it has not been established that there was any rebellion or war in the Panjab. And supposing there were, it has not at all been established that leading men like Drs. Satya Pal and Kitchlew and Messrs. Harkishenlal, Duni Chand and Rambhaji Dutt had participated in that sort of rebellion and war.

That these persons took counsel to-

gether to carry on organised agitation against the Rowlatt Act, was, in the opinion of the judges, a criminal conspiracy! If that be so, then any kind of conference or meeting, private or public, for purposes of deliberation or consultation for settling any programme of constitutional agitation, is conspiracy. We have read the Lahore judgment from the first line to the last, but nowhere could we discover any proof of any criminal conspiracy of which the Lahore leaders were guilty. A conspiracy of a different kind, though not one which the Indian Penal Code can take cognizance of, seems indeed to have been hatched in the Panjab, a conspiracy of which the object, it is presumed, was that, whatever extension of political rights the people of the other provinces of India might have under the Reform Scheme, the Panjab must politically remain what it is. Nay, it is probable that it was intended that the Panjab should make progress backwards by the curtailment of peoples' rights. Sir Michael O'Dwyer was guilty of this conspiracy,—who else was, is not known.

Were it not for the tragic consequences of these trials, some passages in some of the judgments would be considered highly comic. For instance, in an Amritsar judgment, the fact that one of the accused started a platform ticket agitation and wrote "intemperate" letters to the railway authorities in connection therewith, is gravely brought forward as establishing and enhancing his guilt! "He was instrumental in stopping a cricket match." Could rebelliousness go further? The opening of *langarkhanas* or free kitchens for the poor during the shopkeepers' strike in Lahore, has been pressed into similar service by the Lahore tribunal. It, too, was an act of war! But, pray, in what respect, legally, did it differ from the Strikers' Unemployment Funds in the West out of which the unemployed are helped during strikes and lock-outs?

The Lahore judges have given it as their opinion that the object of the Lahore leaders was to overawe the Government by *hartals*, &c., and thereby bring about the repeal of the Rowlatt Act. Now, the object

of all constitutional agitation is to bring pressure on the Government in furtherance of a legitimate public object; and this pressure is justified so long as there is no physical force, no violence, no armed resistance, or any intention or suggestion thereof. It has not been shown that the Lahore leaders either intended to use any physical force, or had any connection with any rioting or other act of violence which might have taken place. Should Government dislike the inconvenience resulting from constitutional agitation, and therefore be inclined to avoid providing occasions for such agitation in future, surely it must be an abuse of language to describe the object of constitutional agitation to be to "overawe" the Government.

It is too late in the day for any tribunal, military or civil, to try to make out that any form of passive resistance (call it *Satyagraha* or by any other name) is criminal. It is and would remain legitimate and constitutional in spite of what Anglo-Indian or British judges may choose to say. For *British* justice, though often the best is not always the best or the only variety of justice. The ideal and standard of justice and the ideal and standard of what is legitimate and constitutional are independent of what some British judicial and executive officers may think or say.

Hartals (shopkeepers' strikes) and every other similar form of self-chosen and self-inflicted loss, suffering and mode of public mourning are immemorial rights of the people, which no British or other man-made pronouncements or laws can abolish or deprive of their legitimacy. Surely it would be intolerable slavery if we could not have even the liberty to suffer for a cause!

Much is made in the Lahore judgment of the fact that the crowds were dispersed by firing on more than one day. But, that a crowd was fired upon, does not in itself show that the men forming the crowd were violent and dangerous, were in the wrong, or constituted an unlawful assembly. On the contrary, what has to be proved first of all is that (a) the crowd was violent and constituted an unlawful assembly, (b) that other means had been tried

to disperse it, and that, these failing, (c) they had to be fired upon. The Lahore tribunal has reversed the process, and, partly from the fact of the crowd having been fired upon, appears to have taken the conclusion for granted that there was rebellion and war in Lahore. And if there was, the Lahore leaders were guilty of waging war, though there was no direct or indirect proof of their complicity.

The Case of Babu Kalinath Ray.

That a man who ought never to have been prosecuted at all, and, if prosecuted, who ought never to have been convicted and punished, has had his sentence reduced *as an act of mercy*, does not, from the public point of view, in the least lessen the injustice done to him. Of course, so far as he is personally concerned, the reduction of his sentence is a relief to him and to his relatives and friends. But in the interests of justice and of popular rights, an endeavour should be made to get the sentence pronounced on him reversed by a higher tribunal. The appeal to the Privy Council must, therefore, be pressed. Not that we expect that his conviction would thereby be certainly quashed. But all legal means must, if possible, be tried to obtain justice. We would, therefore, urge all lovers of justice to contribute to the Kalinath Ray Appeal Fund and send their subscriptions to Dr. Prankrishna Acharji (56, Harrison Road, Calcutta), who is the treasurer.

Appeals to the Privy Council.

We do not know whether any appeals to the Privy Council have been preferred in any of the cases of conviction of the popular leaders in Amritsar and Lahore; but it may be presumed that there will be a few. Should any appeals be successful, even then the price of such success must be considered. If it were absolutely certain that Privy Council appeals always ended in the vindication of justice, it should not be lost sight of that the expenses which have to be incurred are a very heavy fine. But the prospect of obtaining justice by such appeals is by no means certain. In the first place, to err is human, and those to whom appeals are preferred in England

are human beings. In the second place, they are not all above racial and political bias.

Nevertheless, where pecuniary circumstances permit, Privy Council appeals may be advocated as part of our publicity campaign.

P.S. We are pleased to learn in this connection that the Privy Council has granted leave of appeal to twenty-one Indians convicted by Court Martial at Lahore in connection with the riot at Amritsar on April 10th. The appellants contended that the alleged offences were committed before the establishment of Martial Law, therefore they should have been tried by the ordinary courts. Lord Haldane in announcing the judgment said that without expressing any opinion on the facts of the case they were bound to advise the Sovereign that there should be a scrutiny of what had been done in order to avoid chances of miscarriage of justice.

The "Independent" understands appeals have also been lodged or are about to be lodged in the Lahore Conspiracy case (K.-E. Vs. Harkishen Lal and others), Amritsar Conspiracy Case (K.-E. Vs. Kitchlew and others), and Gujranwala Leaders' Case (K.-E. Vs. Amarnath and others). It is expected leave will be granted in all these cases. Sir John Symon, leading Counsel, has been retained on behalf of the appellants.

The Hon'ble Pundit Motilal Nehru has received a cable from his solicitors in England informing him that Messrs. Bugga and Ratanchand's petition in the Amritsar National Bank case for special leave to appeal from convictions and sentences passed by the Martial Law Commissioners was heard by the Privy Councillors on the 23rd July. Their Lordships granted leave.

An Addendum.

After the article entitled "Some Thoughts on the 'Yellow Peril'" had been printed for the present issue, we received the following note, to be appended to the sentence on page 129 ending, "we trust and believe that Mr. Montagu's 'great deed' will not be too great for the age in which we live" :—

"The text of Mr. Montagu bill has come to hand since this article was written. Though not satisfied with several features of it—notably the handling of the question of the Budget, and a curious vagueness in other matters which it would have seemed safer to define—the writer is still convinced that Mr. Montagu is standing courageously for that spirit of justice in which lies the hope of the world, and that any defects are due—not to his intention, but to the forces with which he is forced to contend. S.E.S."

The Crewe Committee's Report.

The Crewe Committee's Report on the re-organisation and re-constitution of the Secretary of State's Council, &c., has been published. We have not received a copy, but find the greater portion of the majority report with the minutes of dissent submitted by Prof. A. B. Keith, Mr. B. N. Basu, and Sir J. B. Brunyate, published in the daily papers.

Some of the principal recommendations of the Committee with which we find ourselves in general agreement are embodied in the following passages of the Report :—

"It appears to us that the conception of the Reform Scheme leads naturally to the acceptance of the principle, which we here state in general terms, that where the Government of India find themselves in agreement with a conclusion of the Legislative Assembly their joint decision should ordinarily prevail."

"Following the phraseology of the Joint Report, we recommend that the Governor-General should be instructed that save in the case of absolute necessity no measure should be certified for enactment by the Council of State without previous approval of its substance by the Secretary of State on the ground that the legislation proposed is essential in the interests of the peace, order, and good government of India. We note that the words employed in clause 20 (4) of the Government of India Bill, regarding certification by the Governor-General in Council, are "the safety, tranquillity, or interests of British India or any part thereof," which appear to be of somewhat wider import than those in the Joint Report."

"In order, therefore, to give proper emphasis to the legislative authority of the Assembly, we recommend that whenever legislation has the support of a majority of the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly, assent should be refused only in cases in which the Secretary of State feels that his responsibility to Parliament

for the peace, order, and good government of India or paramount considerations of Imperial policy require him to secure reconsideration of the matter at issue by the Legislative Assembly."

"In examination of the Budget, and in criticism of general administration, the Legislative Assembly can express its views only by means of resolutions; and these will continue to be advisory in character, without legal sanction. The Government may accept a resolution either because they agree with it from the outset, or because they decide to defer to the opinion of the Assembly. Where for any reason reference to the Secretary of State is considered necessary, we recommend that a joint decision of the Government of India and a majority of the non-official members of the Assembly, reached by discussion of a resolution, should be given the same degree of authority as similar decisions on legislative proposals, and that the principle we have stated in paragraph 15 should be applied in these cases also."

".....in so far as provincial action comes under the cognisance of the Secretary of State, either directly or through the Government of India, he should regulate his intervention with regard to the principle which we have sought to apply to the working of the central Government, namely that where the Government find themselves in agreement with a conclusion of the legislature their joint decision should ordinarily be allowed to prevail."

"The principle that we would lay down is that in addition to the salary of the Secretary of State, there should be placed on the Estimates (a) the salaries and expenses (and ultimately pensions) of all officials and other persons engaged in the political and administrative work of the Office, as distinct from agency work, (b) a proportionate share, determined with regard to the distinction laid down in head (a), of the cost of maintenance of the India Office; the exact sum payable under heads (a) and (b) to be determined by agreement between the Secretary of State and the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury from time to time. Any arrangement made under this scheme would supersede the adjustment agreed to between the India Office and the Treasury as a result of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure over which Lord Welby presided. The India Office building and site and other similar property paid for in the past by Indian revenue and now held by the Secretary of State for India in Council, would continue to be Indian property."

We support also the recommendation advising the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State, but we cannot support the appointment of an irresponsible and merely Advisory Committee in its stead. The reasons for opposing such a Committee have been ably put forward by Mr. Basu

in his minute of dissent. He concludes his observations on this subject by saying :

I am therefore opposed to an Advisory Committee with no responsibility and no statutory functions. If it should be decided that for some time at least a Council or an Advisory Committee is necessary, I should prefer a Secretary of State in Council and to make it easy for the Council to disappear when the time comes, without having to wait for a Parliamentary Statute, I should accept the recommendation of Professor Keith, that the King in Council, whenever he is so advised, may make an order transferring the functions of the Secretary of State in Council to the Secretary of State and abolishing the Council. Nor do I see much objection to accept as an alternative the suggestion of Sir James Brunyate, that the Council should at the end of the 1st period of 10 years cease to exist unless the Parliamentary Commission reports in favour of its continuance.

We think there is great force in Mr. Basu's contention that the power of veto at present possessed by the Council should be retained.

If the final Parliamentary decision now be in favour of an Advisory Committee distinct from the Secretary of State, the Committee should have statutory powers, so that the difficulties I have suggested as likely to arise may be avoided ; and so long as the revenues of India are by Statute vested in the Secretary of State and can be dealt with by him irrespective either of the Government of India or of any popular control in India, I would not abolish the veto of the Council : the veto has, it is true, never been exercised, but its existence must have a restraining influence and must strengthen the position of the Secretary of State as against the Cabinet. The abolition of the vote may create unnecessary suspicion in India as an attempt to remove the last obstacle to the inroad of the British Treasury on Indian revenues, especially in view of the fact that the non-official Indian element in the body which would advise the Secretary of State is about to be strengthened.

As regards the composition of the Council or the Advisory Committee, we endorse the views of Mr. Basu. Regarding the Indians to be appointed Mr. Basu says :

The Report recommends that not less than one-third of the body should be Indian public men selected from a panel, and leaves it open to the Secretary of State to appoint other Indians representing special interests or possessing administrative experience. In my opinion, having regard to the altered circumstances, the necessity of restraining the officials when they may be tempted to overstep the limits of their

spheres, of stimulating, advising, and guiding the popular governments, of harmonising the relationship between the official and non-official Provincial Governments and between the Government of India and its Legislative Assembly, the authority which will have the final decision cannot be safely constituted with less than half its members as Indians. I would, therefore, recommend that half of the number should be Indians, and I am prepared to concede, though this is neither desirable nor essential, for I am sure Indian electorates will elect men possessed of the requisite qualifications, that not less than two-thirds of this number should be selected as recommended in the Majority Report, the rest being nominated by the Secretary of State.

Half the number of members being thus suggested to be Indians, regarding the other half Mr. Basu observes :—

As regards the other half it must be evident from the nature of the duties that the Council or Advisory Committee will have to discharge, that it should not consist wholly of officials. The official experience will be primarily and efficiently represented in the despatches that will come from the Government of India, and also in the permanent departments of the India Office ; this experience, while essential in matters of ordinary administration in which the Secretary of State will interfere less and less, is not of the same value when he has got to deal with important matters of policy or constitutional usage involving decisions of critical questions between the official governments and the popular elements. Under these conditions it is not only not desirable, but may even be embarrassing to have a preponderatingly official element in the Council of the Secretary of State. What is wanted is not a reduplication of the 'Indian' official point of view, but a broadened outlook from the Indian and British points of view. The Indian point of view will be secured by the increased representation of the non-official Indian element. The British point of view can only be secured by the introduction into the Council of a new element, namely, Englishmen taken from the public life of England. I would therefore recommend that room should be provided for such association by laying down that not more than one-third of the members should be officials who had held office in India, the rest being men of British experience nominated by the Secretary of State. To my mind a Council so constituted will be an ideal flywheel for the new machinery we are setting up. If we revert to the old constitution of an overwhelming official preponderance in the body which will advise the Secretary of State we shall be courting grave risk. I see no sufficient reason why the members of the Council of the Secretary of State should be as now, excluded from sitting in Parliament. There would be obvious advantages if they were allowed to do so, especially if they become a merely advisory body.

The majority of the members of the Committee have opposed the proposal to establish a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs. We are in favour of the establishment of such a

committee, and of its retention until India gets full Dominion government. The fears of the Crewe Committee of excessive parliamentary interference in the affairs of India are entirely groundless. Hitherto, what has been every M.P.'s business has been no M.P.'s business. The actions of the Indian Executive in India and Great Britain must be subject to scrutiny, control, and reversal, if need be, somewhere and by some persons. Seeing that it is proposed to keep the supreme Government in India practically autocratic for an indefinite period and that even in the Provinces popular control must, if the Reform Bill passes as it is, be for an indefinite period more nominal than real, parliamentary control must be made more real than it is at present. And the only way to do so is to appoint a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs. The observations of Mr. B. N. Basu on this subject are so statesmanlike that we quote them in full in spite of their length.

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

16. This is a feature of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report which has met with universal and unqualified approval in India. The Majority Report has raised an objection to it which it considers fundamental, namely, that an increasing interest taken by Parliament in Indian affairs might encourage a tendency to interfere, and might militate against the object of the reforms, which is gradually to transfer control to the Legislatures in India. We have to bear in mind, however, that this object, specially in the Central Government, is remotely in prospect, and we shall have a long way to travel before reaching it. In the meantime all the more vital concerns of Government will remain vested in an official executive. This executive will have a very difficult part to play. It is casting no slur upon it to say that it is not properly trained or constituted for its new 'role'. Hitherto, it has held all the threads of administration in its hands; it has been alike the source of power and the instrument of its effective use in all directions. Henceforth, while it will still exercise the paramount functions of government, and consequently retain its position of unchallenged supremacy in what are justly regarded as the attributes of power, namely, the enforcement of law and order, it will have in other branches of administration to take a subordinate place as executant of the will of the people whom it is controlling and governing in a different sphere. The Civil Service has shown great adaptability in the past, and I hope its fabric will respond to the new conditions in a spirit of loyal co-operation. But the whole situation requires careful supervision and guidance, not alone by the Secretary of State but by Parliament itself. Parliament is now deliberately transferring some of its power to the Indian legisla-

tures and has reserved to itself the determination of the future stages of further transference until India has secured self-government within the Empire. Therefore, until that goal is reached, India would not only not fear any tendency in Parliament towards taking an increasing interest in her affairs, but would urgently want it, and would welcome any means to secure it. We cannot at the present moment give Parliamentary representation to India, though India, which is still governed by Parliament, stands on a different footing in this respect from the Dominions; and therefore the only way to secure in Parliament some knowledge of and interest in Indian affairs is by means of a parliamentary Committee, which will be annually constituted with importation of fresh blood, and will thus in the course of a few years give the House of Commons a fairly large number of members with some acquaintance with Indian affairs. Even if this Committee, like the Committee of Public Accounts, deals with the preceding year, it will be able by its annual reports to place before Parliament a resume of some of the most important aspects of administration in India, in a form essentially different from the present official reports on the moral and material progress in India. The British public will have the inestimable advantage of having a picture of India in outline, presented by an independent body of men who are dissociated from both the official and non-official elements in India and are the chosen representatives of the British people, and the Indian public will have access to an authority which it will regard more or less as impartial.

In his remarks on the India Office staff also Mr. Basu makes clear the Indian point of view.

17. As regards interchange of the superior staff between England and India, I do not appreciate any very great difficulties. The higher officials in the India Office may and should from time to time be sent out to India to serve or assist in the Secretariat and their place taken here by Indian officials, who should be of Indian descent, if available. I would not claim any special privilege for the Indian; but it is only fair that when the Indian is equally qualified, he should have preference, not because he is an Indian, but because the British element will, in the very nature of things, be preponderantly represented in the India Office staff. This will be a matter of arrangement which will grow into a system and so arranged as not to affect the prospects of the home officials. As regards Indians being allowed to take a responsible part in the higher control of the Office, I think it should be definitely laid down that there should always be an additional Indian permanent Under Secretary of State. Ordinarily he should not be an Indian official. With an Indian non-official member in all the Provincial Executive Councils, and probably more than one minister in all the provinces, with also not less than two members in the Executive Council of the Government of India, it will be easy to combine non-official training with administrative knowledge in a non-official Indian selected for the post.

In the above, we demur to the words "not because he is an Indian." Where general qualifications are equal, an Indian should be preferred to a Britisher, *because he is an Indian and because the India Office is meant for the management of Indian affairs*. Until the whole world is internationalised, or, at least, until throughout the British Empire only merit is taken into consideration but not race or nationality, a fully qualified national must everywhere have preference in the affairs of his country.

Sir James Meston on Democracy in an Eastern Country.

In Reuter's cabled summary of Sir James Meston's evidence before the Joint Committee, we find him stating "that the Government of India fully appreciated the gravity and magnitude of their responsibilities of creating for the first time in history a democracy in an eastern country." What is the exact meaning of this claim of creation? Does it mean that it is the Government of India who are creating a democracy for the first time in any eastern land? That would be clearly a wrong claim. For Japan, China and the Philippines have all had for years more or less developed democracies previously created. If it is meant that it is the British Government which is establishing a democracy for the first time *in the eastern land called India*, that also is not historically true; for even Mr. Vincent A. Smith can be quoted to prove that democracies, not less developed than those of any ancient land, existed for centuries in ancient India.

And what a democracy it is which the Indian Reform Bill proposes to establish in India!

Work of India's Delegates in England.

Readers of Indian newspapers know what the different bodies of delegates are doing in England to press on the attention of Englishmen what powers over their country's affairs Indians want. It would have been of great advantage if they could have presented a united front. But it would seem as if that was not to be.

Could not the delegates agree to make their demand identical in respect of one

thing at least, namely, as regards at least the introduction of the principle of popular control over some subjects under the Government of India? In other words, in addition to provincial affairs, the principle of diarchy should be applied to all-India affairs also, Indian ministers being in charge of transferred subjects, and executive councillors in charge of reserved ones, and all the subjects being transferred in a decade or two to Indian ministers responsible to the representatives of the people. If in affairs of the gravest moment to the people, touching their lives, liberties, health, and economic condition, they are to be subject to an autocracy, we do not see why they should go into raptures: because, in the provinces Indian ministers may be appointed and dismissed at the pleasure of the Governor; because, their salaries are to be a matter of bargaining; because, their advice may or may not be accepted by the Governor; because, the revenues are first of all to be commandeered by the Government of India and by the Provincial Governments for their reserved subjects, and only the crumbs left are to be given to the ministers for their transferred subjects, to be supplemented by fresh taxation if the provincial Governments agree to it; because, the Indian and Provincial Governments are to have full power and machinery to pass whatever laws they like and to prevent the passage of whatever laws they dislike; because, the Government of India would continue to have arbitrary power to make use of the old Regulations relating to deportation, declaration of martial law, &c.; and so and so forth.

The Indian Daily News is quite right in observing,

There is no one, apparently, there to get information as to precisely what is meant by the Reforms, except that there is to be a so-called democracy to be driven in blinkers by the Government like tica garitats. No one asks Sir James Meston whether he proposed to give the country the control of the Press Act or of the tariff, or of the police, or of the introduction of Martial Law at any moment, and though we know inferentially that all these subjects are to be reserved, these are precisely the matters over which the mind of India has been so perturbed and the main cause of the unrest, apart from the economic causes.

What we want.

Both Moderates and Extremists agree in holding that in the long run India must have full self-government in all provincial and all-India affairs. The parties differ only as to what should be demanded now and as to the steps which should lead to complete self-rule and the period which the gradual attainment of self-rule should occupy. There is also another point of difference. If the kind and degree of self-government proposed to be given to us for the present do not appear satisfactory to us and if the givers practically say, "Take this or you get nothing," should we run the risk of losing the little that is offered by standing up for a substantial measure of self-rule as the first instalment, or should we make a very respectful *salaam* and say: "Garib-parwar, you are very merciful"? We confess we are not adepts in the arts of political bargaining or of political begging. But our natural inclination is to demand something substantial, something which will lead inevitably to full self-government within a definite period. We believe that the "Take this or you get nothing" attitude is camouflage, that it is not really optional for the British people to give us political liberty or withhold it from us, and that if we really deserve a thing and mean seriously to have it, we must get it. It is also our belief that whatever little may be given to us now may be used by our opponents for about a generation to prevent our getting more, by these opponents continually demanding, "Prove by your performance that you deserve even what you have got before you agitate for more." Therefore, from this point of view, it is better to have nothing than to have something inadequate, something which will not irresistibly and within a definite period lead to autonomy both in the provinces and in the whole of India.

Both Moderates and Extremists have too readily agreed to exclude the Army and the Navy (which does not yet exist) from the sphere of the self-government which we want. We know this readiness has sprung from a desire to prevent

and allay all suspicions of our harbouring separatist or rebellious intentions. But can Home Rule ever be a reality without the opportunity and the power of Home Defence? So long as the Indian Army is not both manned and officered mainly by Indians, the taunt will be flung in our face that a people who cannot protect and defend their hearth and home certainly do not deserve Home Rule and cannot keep it if given to them. But if we be content to exclude the Army and the Navy from the purview of our political demands, how and when are we going really to nationalise the Indian Army and Navy? And what about the financial aspect of this exclusion? Out of 86 millions sterling budgetted for the current year by the Government of India, 41 millions are for the Army (and 24.2 millions for railways). These items absorb 75.38 per cent. of the total revenues. From the remaining 24.62 per cent. we can safely challenge even a legislative assembly and ministers to whom all subjects have been transferred to adequately improve sanitation, irrigation, agriculture, industries, education and science.

Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar.

On this the 29th day of July Pardin Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar breathed his last. To-day we remember him with love, gratitude and reverence, for all that he did and suffered for Hindu widows; for all that he tried to do for *Kulin* Brahmin girls and women, the victims of a polygamous system of marriage; for all that he did to rouse the social conscience of the Hindu public; for all that he did for famine stricken men, women and children; for all that he did for the education of girls; for all that he did for the cause of Sanskrit and general education; for all that he did for Bengali literature; for the manhood that was in him and the tender heart of a woman which lay concealed within his tough exterior. It is a great pity and a shame that the most courageous and humane thing which he did in life—the re-introduction and legalisation of the re-marriage of child-widows—continues to be looked upon with disfavour most of all in the province of his birth.

Peace Treaty Has Not Brought Peace to Europe.

Though "military war" has ceased between the Allies on the one hand and the Central European powers on the other, the Peace Treaty does not contain any provisions for the prevention of economic war between them; on the contrary, some of the terms are in effect a declaration of economic war, which, when the parties are ready for it, may lead to "military war." This is not all. Actual fighting is still going on between different parties in Russia, in and on the borders of Poland and Rumania and Hungary, &c.

Besides this, there is disastrous class war in England and other countries, as in the coal-mine areas in Yorkshire in England, resulting in the flooding of mines worth millions of pounds. Other industries have also been affected.

Where the essentials of peace are not in the heart of man, external machinery and arrangements can not bring it about.

Death of Dr. T. M. Nair.

By the death of Dr. T. M. Nair, the "Non-Brahman Movement" of Madras loses its bulwark, and India loses a strong personality—a man who, during the greater part of his public career served her well and right manfully and who only latterly gave up to party what was meant for all his countrymen. He rendered effective service to his fellow-citizens in connection with the Madras Municipal Corporation. It is generally believed that his taking up the cudgels against Mrs. Annie Besant led her to deflect her almost unsurpassed energies to the field of Indian politics. If this belief be correct, Dr. Nair's active campaign against her produced a good result which he did not intend it produce. No sane man, no lover of humanity and of India, can approve of the virulence and hatred of Dr. Nair's anti-Brahmin campaign. At the same time, no fair-minded man can fail to observe that it is the unjust, unrighteous and inhuman character of the Hindu social system in the South which is primarily responsible for this virulent hatred. The non-Brahmin movement will not have been brought into existence in vain if it leads the Brahmins

and other high-caste people in the South to recognise in practice the common and equal humanity of themselves and the so-called low-caste and non-caste people.

"Hindus" in America.

By now several natives of India have become naturalised citizens of the United States of America. Naturalisation in a free democratic country can give our countrymen there that fullness of opportunity to show what stuff they are made of, which is denied them in their motherland. In a free country like America it is practicable, too, to speak and write the whole truth about India, which is not possible in India. For these reasons naturalisation in America ought to receive an impetus.

We are glad that the political ardour of our countrymen in America has found an outlet and an embodiment and organ in "The Indian Home Rule League of America", and *Young India*. Revolutionary propaganda is unwise and futile, and unrighteous, too, when it advocates murder. The mature and wise judgment of Lala Lajpat Rai could not have taken shape in any other kind of united political activity than a Home Rule League. In connection with the League Dr. Hardiker has been delivering lectures in many states and cities and forming branches and enlisting new members. His activity, as described in *Young India*, the monthly organ of the League, is very praiseworthy.

Colonel Yate recently asked a question in the British House of Commons relating to Lala Lajpat Rai's so-called misrepresentation of British rule in America. True representation is as Britishers and Anglo-Indians see themselves; misrepresentation is as patriotic Indians and impartial foreigners see them.

Many of our readers are writing to us to know the address of the Hindusthan Association of America. It is 116 West 39th Street, New York City, U. S. A.

Dr. Sudhindra Bose's circular letter to the Press, printed elsewhere, suggests a duty which we owe to our country. As in many other things, so in this, the progressive Indian states, like Mysore, Baroda, Travancore, &c., may take the lead.

Gwalior has been forging ahead in industrial activity. There is much to learn in America about industrial education and enterprise. Why not send a deputation there to observe, enquire and report?

Mr. Shafi's Appointment.

As the immediate cause of Sir C. Sankaran Nair's resignation was the Government's Panjab policy, it is in the fitness of things that his successor has been found in Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi, whose ardent and whole-hearted admiration of and homage to O'Dwyerism found public expression in the banquet, &c., given to the outgoing Panjab satrap. It does not much matter that his appointment has not been hailed with delight even by his own community, and that he has never given any proof of zeal for the improvement and spread of education, the subject of which he is to be in charge. He opposed Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill! The surprise is not that a Shafi has been appointed but that a Sankaran Nair was appointed. Some people have observed that if according to the principle of turn and turn about a Musalman was to follow a Hindu, why was not Sir Abdur Rahim appointed? But it is forgotten that that gentleman wrote a very patriotic and very just minute of dissent to the Public Service Commission Report. And Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla and Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, too, were not quite safe men. Government could not take any risks.

China and Japan.

Since the signature of the Peace Treaty, Japan has reiterated her promise to the Allies to restore Shantung to China and only retain the economic control of the railways and the Kiaochao concession. It is believed that the Chinese delegates in Paris will eventually sign the Versailles Treaty. It is stated that the late Austrian concession at Tientsin will revert to China.

The Chinese Government is expected soon to sign the Peace Treaty, after the explanation from the Peace Conference that Japan's pledge to restore Shantung to China was not given to China alone, but to

all the Allies. The Japanese will withdraw troops from Shantung, but will retain the economic control of railways and the peninsula. She will also receive the possession of the German concession of Kiaochao.

We are sure the Chinese are able to see through this economic camouflage. Economic dependence is not less injurious and humiliating than political dependence. And the protection of economic interests has, in the history of empire-building nations, not rarely furnished the occasion and excuse for military enterprises. History may repeat itself in China in this respect. And why is Kiaochao to go to Japan? China was and is an Ally. Why is she to be treated like a conquered enemy country in any matter?

Influenza and the Paucity of Doctors.

The recrudescence of the influenza epidemic has led the provincial and Indian Governments to issue communiques and suggest the taking of precautions, &c. But there is no mention of the need of increasing the number of doctors. Of course, it takes years to train up young men and women into doctors. But influenza is not going to disappear this very year, nor is it the last and only epidemic afflicting India. Plague has been here for well-nigh a quarter of a century. Influenza may follow suit. It is imperatively necessary to immediately establish a good many medical colleges and schools. But unfortunately they are not pet bureaucratic or imperialistic schemes or hobbies. So the treasury is empty.

Indians in South Africa.

It is with pain and resentment that Indians have learnt that their countrymen in South Africa have again to face the necessity of another strenuous passive resistance campaign. They are about to be deprived of the trading and land-owning rights which they enjoyed even under the Boër regime. Representations made to and by the Government of India have up till now proved ineffectual;—because India is not self-ruling. As the community is thus threatened with pauperisation and ultimate destruction, a session of

the South African Indian Congress has been convened for the 3rd instant to confer on the taking of some concerted action. Meanwhile the Indians are signing the agreement to disregard the civil laws in South Africa as long as any law imposing any class distinction or disability upon the British Indians remains on the statute book. Our sisters and brethren there have our deepest sympathy.

We are pained to learn that in East Africa, too, attempts continue to be made to injure the trading and other interests of Indians, though it is their efforts, from before pre-British days, which have made East Africa what it is.

Famine Prices Everywhere.

Famine may not have been declared everywhere, but famine prices rule throughout the country. Prices were very high last year, too ; but this year there has been a further rise, as the following figures, compiled by *Commerce*, will show :—

The wholesale prices of food grains and pulses in India at the middle of March, 1919, increased by 63 per cent. (unweighted average), according to a return issued by the Department of Statistics, as compared with this time last year. The weighted average price of rice in India advanced by 60 per cent. The increase in the great rice-producing provinces was 68 per cent. in Bengal, 96 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa, 51 per cent. in the Madras Presidency, and 39 per cent. in Burma. Among the minor provinces, the rise of 78 per cent. in the North-West Frontier Province, 73 per cent. in Assam, 67 per cent. in the Central Provinces and Berar, 64 per cent. in the United Provinces, and 59 per cent. in the Punjab is noticeable. According to the figures that have been issued by the department for May, 1919, the wholesale prices of cereals and pulses in India at the end of that month were more by 3 per cent. as compared with the previous fortnight. The price of wheat rose by 4 per cent. ; but there was no fluctuation in the unweighted average price of rice, the weighted average showing a rise of 3 per cent. Of the inferior grains, maize advanced by 10 per cent., barley by 4 per cent., and jawar and bajra by 1 per cent. each. Gram showed a rise of 6 per cent. and arhar dal 1 per cent. There was a rise of 5 per cent. in raw sugar (gur) and 1 per cent. in ghi, while the price of salt showed a fall of 1 per cent. The marked provincial fluctuations are an increase of 11 per cent. in wheat in Bengal, 13 per cent. in barley in Bihar and Orissa, 34 per cent. in maize in Burma and 18 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa, 21 per cent. in gram in Bengal and

15 per cent. in the North-West Frontier Province. On the other hand, there was a noticeable fall in the price of rice in Bombay (12 per cent.) and Madras (11 per cent.) and in the price of salt in Bihar and Orissa (16 per cent.). At the end of May, 1919, wholesale prices of food grains and pulses in India advanced by 85 per cent. (unweighted average), as compared with the average of the prices which ruled at the corresponding date in the last three years. The weighted average showed a rise of 97 per cent. The price of rice rose by 61 per cent. The increases in the chief rice-producing areas were : 70 per cent. in Bengal, 121 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa, 49 per cent. in Burma, and 35 per cent. in the Madras Presidency. Wheat prices increased by 63 per cent. In the principal wheat-growing provinces the Punjab showed a rise of 58 per cent., the United Provinces 69 per cent., the Central Provinces and Berar 90 per cent., and Bihar and Orissa 99 per cent. The price of barley rose by 64 per cent. (unweighted average), the weighted average showing a rise of 85 per cent. The noteworthy increase was in Bihar and Orissa (133 per cent.) and the United Provinces (85 per cent.). There was an advance of 119 per cent. in the price of jawar and 116 per cent. in that of bajra in India. Gram prices showed a rise of 95 per cent., the noticeable percentage increases being 126 in Bihar and Orissa, 121 in the United Provinces, 115 in Bengal, and 105 in the Bombay Presidency. The price of arhar dal advanced by 89 per cent. in India ; it rose by 187 per cent. in Delhi, 152 per cent. in the Central Provinces and Berar, 138 per cent. in the United Provinces, and 103 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa. There was an increase of 38 per cent. in the price of ghi and of 65 per cent. in that of raw sugar (gur). The rise of 168 per cent. in raw sugar (gur) in Sind-Baluchistan is striking. The price of salt rose by 5 per cent. in India, although it declined in the Bombay Presidency (18 per cent.), Bengal and the Madras Presidency (6 per cent.), Delhi (5 per cent.), and in Assam (2 per cent.) The marked rise was in the North-West Frontier Province 55 per cent. and in the Punjab 35 per cent. Prices in the United Provinces remained unchanged.

The situation is very serious, and calls for not only temporary palliative measures, but for lasting remedies as well. First of all the causes have to be studied dispassionately, and then remedies thought of. As to the causes, non-official Indian opinion is not likely to coincide with official views. Those amongst our public-spirited persons, famous or obscure, who are interested in economic inquiries and competent to undertake them, are earnestly invited to study this vital problem. It is a question of life and death for our people.

But it is to be hoped no-one will follow the example of Maharaja P. K. Tagore, who said at a recent conference in the British Indian Association rooms:

"We have all seen, how about two months ago Col. Frank Johnson at Lahore had succeeded, by virtue of the exceptional powers conferred upon him under Martial Law, in bringing down by a stroke of his pen the prices of meat, wheat, milk and even vegetables. Gentlemen, if the choice lay between Martial Law and semi-starvation, I am sure, the great majority of the population of this Presidency would gladly and gratefully welcome the former without a moment's hesitation."

Was it a joke or was it merely the animal in man that spoke?

A. B. Patrika Security Case.

Though we are not surprised, we are sorry that the bench of three High Court Judges who sat to hear the *Amrita Bazar Patrika's* appeal against the forfeiture of its security of Rs. 5,000, have upheld the order of forfeiture. We are not competent to call in question the correctness of their judgment from the legal point of view, but we have no doubt that if the law has been correctly expounded, it is a bad law, going against the spirit of political progressiveness. Laws should be such as would allow all speaking and writing which do not suggest or directly incite to the use of physical force against Government. There can be no effective criticism of any system of government or its officers and measures, which does not directly or indirectly produce some dislike or repulsion. What degree of dislike or repulsion may be styled contempt, or hatred, it is not always easy to say.

Commendable Industrial Plans.

It has given us pleasure to learn from the papers that the honorary secretaries of the Indian Industrial Conference are making efforts to extend the usefulness of that body in three important practical directions.

It is intended shortly to publish a revised edition of the Directory of Indian Goods and Industries, which was compiled by Messrs. Mudholkar and Chintamani some years ago. *A list of Indian and foreign experts who are capable of rendering assistance to the capitalists and others in starting new industries or reviving old ones is also being compiled.* Thirdly, it is intended to organise a commercial museum in

Bombay to display samples of indigenous and foreign industrial products, models of machinery, raw material, and art ware. Rs. 12,000 only are stated to be needed to achieve the objects in view and an appeal is made to the public for help.—*The Bombay Chronicle*.

A Labour Meeting in Madras.

Madras has been making headway in one democratic direction, leaving behind backward provinces like Bengal. When the Calcutta postmen struck in order that their grievances might be remedied, they received no help from their "politically minded" countrymen, but on the contrary the Scouts and members of the Calcutta University Infantry Corps were encouraged to work as strike-breakers. In Madras they do things in a different way.

Under the auspices of the Central Advisory Labour Board, a public meeting was held at the Gokhale Hall, to enlist public sympathy with the cause of labourers in general and with that of the labourers thrown out of employment by Messrs. Addison & Co. and Hoe & Co. in particular.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari proposed the Zaminder of Kumaramangalam to the chair and in doing so observed that it might seem curious that a Zaminder should be asked to preside over a labour meeting but it should be remembered, that in this country Zaminders were near relations to workmen on the soil. The Zaminders were the feeders of the country. It was a peculiar feature of social arrangements in this country, unlike in any other country, that in the midst of barriers of castes and positions the greatest and best democracy prevailed.

We only call attention to the significance and the vital need of such meetings. For details, one should read *New India* and the *Hindu*.

Mr. Gandhi Postpones Civil Disobedience.

It has often been urged in these pages that armed fights for freedom are out of the question in India. Two of the chief means recommended to be adopted for winning freedom are intellectual and moral suasion, and civil disobedience. The best means is, of course, to make ourselves physically, intellectually and morally equal to any class of men in the world.

There is in India no greater master of the art of civil disobedience than Mr. M. K. Gandhi. As he thinks it necessary in the present circumstances of the country to keep civil disobedience in abeyance, there is nothing more to be said. Some Anglo-

Indian papers have insinuated that the warning of grave consequences conveyed to him by Government may have made him nervous. They do not know of what metal he is made. Some Indian papers have exhorted him to give up thoughts of civil disobedience for good. We think that is a futile, unnecessary, and rather panicky and officious exhortation.

Report of the Sadler Commission.

The Report of the Calcutta University Commission has "leaked out." Some of its recommendations have appeared in a Madras Anglo-Indian paper, from which other papers have copied. It is greatly to be hoped that this "leakage" does not prove the unfitness of any class of men to govern themselves or any other persons.

As for the recommendations which have been published, as all the recommendations are most probably inter-related, comments on any of them had better not be made till the Report itself is before us.

Scholarships for Oriental Women at the University of Michigan.

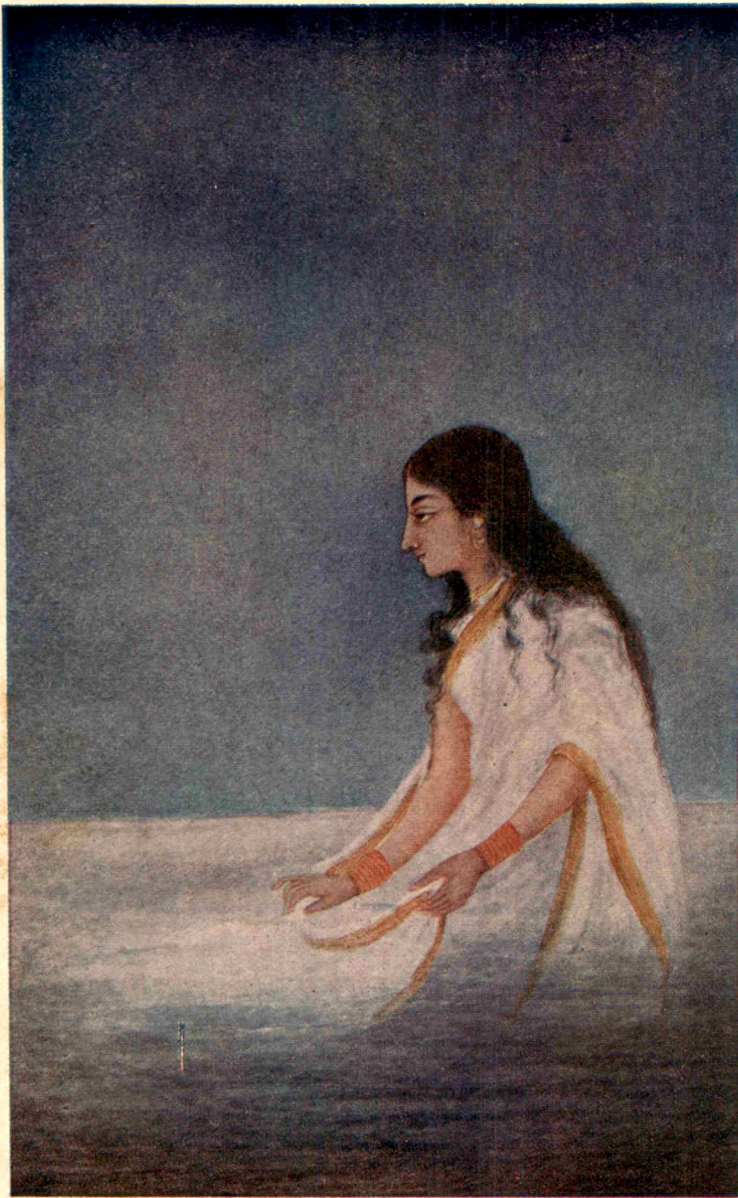
The scholarships for oriental women at the University of Michigan, U. S. A., are known as the Barbour Scholarships. They were established in June, 1917, through the generosity of the Honorable Levi L. Barbour of Detroit. The income of \$100,000 is devoted to these scholarships and the income is such that the University maintains ten scholarships of the annual value of \$500 each. (A dollar is equivalent to a little more than 4s.) Their purpose is to provide for the care, support, maintenance and schooling in the University of young women from oriental countries, including Japan, China, India, Russia, the Philippines and Turkey. No exact number is allotted to any country. Applications for these scholarships should be made in writing to the President of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, U. S. A. Accompanying the applications, certificates of character and certificates showing scholastic attainment and fitness for university work should be filed. The scholarships are awarded by a committee consisting of the President of the University, the Dean of the College of Literature, Science,

and the Arts, the Dean of Women, and the Dean of the Medical School. There is sharp competition for the scholarships. Many more applications are filed than can be granted. The amount of scholarship (\$ 500) does not include travelling expenses, "and," adds President H. B. Hutchins in his letter, from which the above particulars have been taken, "I think it advisable that one should have some money in addition to the \$ 500."

In a letter to the editor of this *Review* President H. B. Hutchins says that "these scholarships have already been awarded for the coming University year, 1919-1920." If any Indian ladies "desire to become candidates for them for the year following, 1920-21, I would suggest that they forward to the President of the University credentials showing their training and fitness for work in the University."

Danger of Leaving "Revolution" Undefined.

The Mahratta has brought to notice the danger to the public of leaving the word "revolution" undefined in the Rowlatt Act. When the Rowlatt Bill "was under discussion in the Legislative Council, many a member pressed the Government to define what is called 'a revolutionary movement', but the Government refused to do it on the ground that the meaning of revolution was perfectly plain...." It is rightly contended that though the dictionary meaning of "war" and "rebellion", too, are perfectly plain, yet in utter defiance of these meanings and of common sense as well, it has been held that there were rebellion and war in the Panjab and on that assumption martial law was proclaimed there and terrible sentences pronounced on many men which give a shock to the moral sense and the sense of justice and humanity and take one's breath away. What guarantee is there that in spite of the meaning of "revolution" being plain, regions will not be officially declared to be in a state of revolution without there being any revolution there in the usual sense of the word.



"COME, O COME, TO MY LAKE, IF YOU WOULD DIVE IN
THE WATER"—*The Gardener*.

By the courtesy of the artist, Mr. Anilprasad Sarbadhikari.

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WHOLE

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THE RUNAWAY

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

1.

MOTI Babu, *Zamindar* of Katalia, was on his way home by boat. There had been the usual forenoon halt, alongside a village mart on the river, and the cooking of the midday meal was in progress.

A Brahmin boy came up to the boat and asked: "Which way are you going, Sir?" He could not have been older than fifteen or sixteen.

"To Katalia," Moti Babu replied.

"Could you give me a lift to Nandigram, on your way?"

Moti Babu acceded and asked the young fellow his name.

"My name is Tara," said the boy.

With his fair complexion, his great big eyes and his delicate, finely-cut, smiling lips, the lad was strikingly handsome. All he had on was a *dhoti*, somewhat the worse for wear, and his bare upper body displayed no superfluity either of clothing or flesh,—its rounded proportions looked like some sculptor's masterpiece.

"My son," said Moti Babu affectionately, "have your bath and come on board. You will dine with me."

"Wait a minute, Sir," said Tara, with which he jumped on the servants' boat moored astern, and set to work to assist in the cooking. Moti Babu's servant was an up-country man* and it was evident that his ideas of preparing fish for the pot were crude. Tara relieved him of his task and

neatly got through it with complete success. He then made up one or two vegetable dishes with a skill which showed a good deal of practice. His work finished, Tara after a plunge in the river took out a fresh dhoti from his bundle, clad himself in spotless white, and with a little wooden comb smoothed back his flowing locks from his forehead into a cluster behind his neck. Then, with his sacred thread glistening over his breast, he presented himself before his host.

Moti Babu took him into the cabin where his wife, Annapurna, and their nine-year old daughter were sitting. The good lady was immensely taken with the comely young fellow,—her whole heart went out to him. Where could he be coming from: whose child could he be: ah, poor thing, how could his mother bear to be separated from him?—thought she to herself.

Dinner was duly served and a seat placed for Tara by Moti Babu's side. The boy seemed to have but a poor appetite. Annapurna put it down to bashfulness and repeatedly pressed him to try this and that, but he would not allow himself to be persuaded. He had clearly a will of his own, but he showed it quite simply and naturally without any appearance of wilfulness or obstinacy.

When they had all finished, Annapurna made Tara sit by her side and questioned him about himself. She was not successful in gathering much of a connected story, but this at least was clear that he had run away from home at the early age of ten or eleven.

* Servants belonging to other provinces do not as a rule understand the niceties of Bengali culinary art. Tr.

'Have you no mother?' asked Annapurna.

"Yes."

"Does she not love you?"

This last question seemed to strike the boy as highly absurd. He laughed as he replied: "Why should she not?"

"Why did you leave her, then?" pursued the mystified lady.

"She has four more boys and three girls."

Annapurna was shocked. "What a thing to say!" she cried. "Can one bear to cut off a finger because there are four more?"

2.

Tara's history was as brief as his years were few, but for all that the boy was quite out of the common. He was the fourth son of his parents and had lost his father in his infancy. In spite of this large family of children, Tara had always been the favourite. He was petted alike by his mother, his brothers and sisters, and the neighbours. Even the schoolmaster usually spared him the rod, and when he did not, the punishment was felt by all the class. So there was no reason for him to leave his home. But, curiously enough, though the scamp of the village—whose time was divided between tasting of the fruits stolen from the neighbours' trees and the more plentiful fruits of his stealing pressed on him by these same neighbours—remained within the village bounds clinging to his scolding mother, the pet of the village ran away to join a band of wandering players.

There was a hue and cry, and a rescue party hunted him out and brought him back. His distracted mother strained him to her breast and deluged him with her tears. A stern sense of duty forced his elders to make an heroic effort to administer a mild corrective, but overcome by the reaction they lavished their repentant fondness on him worse than ever. The neighbours' wives redoubled their attentions in the hope of reconciling him to his home-life. But all bonds, even those of affection, were irksome to the boy. The star under which he was born must have decreed him homeless.

When Tara saw boats from foreign parts being towed along the river; or a *Sannyasi*, in his wanderings through un-

known lands, resting under one of the village trees, or a gypsy camp sprung up on the fallow field by the river, the gypsies seated by their mat-walled huts, splitting bamboos and weaving baskets, his spirit longed for the freedom of the mysterious outside world, unhampered by ties of affection. After he had repeated his escapade two or three times, his relations and neighbours gave up all hope of him.

When the proprietor of the band of players, which he had joined, began to love Tara as a son and he became the favourite of the whole party, big and small alike,—when he found that even the people of the houses at which their performances were given, chiefly the women, would send for him to mark their special appreciation, he gave them all the slip, and his companions could find no trace of him.

Tara was as impatient of bondage as a young deer, and as susceptible to music. It was the songs in the theatrical performances which had drawn him away from his home ties. Their tunes would make corresponding waves course through his veins and his whole being swayed to their rhythm. Even when he was quite a child, the solemn way in which he would sit out a musical performance, gravely nodding to mark the time, used to make it difficult for the grown-ups to restrain their laughter. Not only music, but the patter of the heavy July rain on the trees in full foliage, the roll of the thunder, the moaning of the wind through the thickets, as of some infant giant strayed from its mother,—would make him beside himself. The distant cry of the kites flying high in the blazing midday sky, the croaking of the frogs on a rainy evening, the howling of the jackals at dead of night,—all these stirred him to his depths.

This passion for music next led him to take up with a company of ballad-singers. The master took great pains in teaching him to sing and recite ballads composed in alliterative verse and jingling metre, based on stories from the epics, and became as fond of him as if he were a pet singing bird. But after he had learnt several pieces, one fine morning it was found that the bird had flown.

In this part of the country, during June and July, a succession of fairs are held turn by turn in the different villages, and bands of players and singers and dancing girls, together with hordes of traders of every kind, journey in boats along the big and little rivers from fair to fair. Since the year before a novelty in the shape of a party of acrobats had joined the throng. Tara after leaving the ballad singers had been travelling with a trader, helping him to sell his *pan*. His curiosity being roused, he threw in his lot with the acrobats. He had taught himself to play on the flute, and it was his sole function to play jigs, in the Lucknow style, while the acrobats were doing their feats. It was from this troupe that he had last run away. Tara had heard that the *Zamindar* of Nandigram was getting up some amateur theatricals on a grand scale. He promptly tied up his belongings into a bundle with the intention of going there, when he came across Moti Babu.

Tara's imaginative nature had saved him from acquiring the manners of any of the different companies with whom he had hobnobbed. His mind had always remained aloof and free. He had seen and heard many ugly things, but there was no vacancy within him for these to be stored away. Like other bonds, habit also failed to hold him. Swan-like, he swam lightly over the muddy waters of the world, and no matter how often his curiosity impelled him to dive into the mire beneath, his feathers remained unruffled and white. That is why the face of the runaway shone with an unsullied youthfulness which made even the middle-aged, worldly Moti Babu accept and welcome him, unquestioning and undoubting.

After dinner was over, the boat was cast off and Annapurna, with an affectionate interest, went on asking all about Tara's relatives and his home life. The boy made the shortest possible replies and at last sought refuge in flight to the deck.

The vast river outside, swollen by the seasonal rains to the last limit of its brink, seemed to embarrass mother Nature herself by its boisterous recklessness. The sun, shining out of a break in the clouds, touched as though with a magic wand, the rows

of half-submerged reeds at the water's edge, the fresh juicy green of the sugar-cane patches higher up on the bank and the purple haze of the woodlands on the further shore against the distant horizon. Everything was gleaming and thrilling and quickening and speaking with life.

Tara mounted the upper deck and stretched himself under the shade of the spreading sail. One after another, sloping grassy meadows, flooded jute fields, deep green waves of *Aman* rice, narrow paths winding up to the village from the river-side, villages nestling amidst their censea groves, came into sight and passed away. This great world, with its wide-gazing sky, with all the stir and whisper in its fields, the tumult in its water, the restless rustle in its trees, the vast remoteness of its space above and below, was on terms of the closest intimacy with the boy, and yet it never, for a moment, tried to bind his restless spirit within a jealously exacting embrace.

Calves were gambolling by the river-side. Hobbled village ponies limped along, grazing on the meadow lands. Kingfishers, perched on the bamboo poles put up for spreading the nets, took a sudden plunge every now and then after fish. Boys were playing pranks in the river. Village maids up to their breasts in the water chattered and laughed as they scrubbed their clothes. Fishwives with their baskets and tucked-up skirts bargained with the fishermen over their catch,—these everyday scenes never seemed to exhaust their novelty for Tara, his eyes could never quench their thirst.

Then Tara started to talk with the boatmen. He jumped up and took turns with them at the poles whenever the boat hugged the shore too closely. And when the steersman felt he would like a smoke Tara relieved him at the helm, and seemed to know exactly how to work the sail with the changing direction of the breeze and the boat.

A little before evening Annapurna sent for Tara inside and asked him: "What do you usually have for supper?"

"Whatever I get," was the reply, "and some days I don't get anything at all!"

Annapurna was not a little disappointed

at this lack of response. She felt she would like to feed and clothe and care for this homeless waif till he was made thoroughly happy, but somehow she could not find out what would please him. When a little later, the boat was moored for the night, she bustled about and sent out servants into the village to get milk and sweetmeats and whatever other dainties were to be had. But Tara contented himself with a very sparing supper and refused the milk altogether. Even Moti Babu, a man of few words, tried to press the milk on him, but he simply said: "I don't care for it."

Thus passed two or three days of their life on the river. Tara of his own accord, and with great alacrity, helped in the marketing and the cooking and lent a hand with the boatmen in whatever had to be done. Anything worth seeing never missed his keen glance. His eyes, his limbs, his mind were always on the alert. Like Nature herself, he was in constant activity, yet aloof and undistracted. Every individual has his own fixed standpoint, but Tara was just a joyous ripple on the rushing current of things across the infinite blue. Nothing bound him to past or future, his was simply to flow onwards.

From the various professionals with whom he had associated, he had picked up many entertaining accomplishments. Free from all troubling, his mind had a wonderful receptivity. He had by heart any number of ballads and songs and long passages out of the dramas. One day, as was his custom, Moti Babu was giving a reading from the Ramayana to his wife and daughter. He was about to come to the story of Kusha and Lava, the valiant sons of Rama, when Tara could contain his excitement no longer. Stepping down from the deck into the cabin he exclaimed: "Put away the book, Sir. Let me sing you the story." He then began to recite Dasarathi's version of the story in a faultless flute-like voice, showering and scattering its wonderful rhymes and alliterations all over. The atmosphere became charged with a wealth of laughter and tears. The boatmen hung round the cabin doors to listen, and even the occupants of passing boats

strained their ears to get snatches of the floating melody. When it came to an end, a sigh went forth from all the listeners,—alas, that it should have finished so soon!

Annapurna with her eyes brimming over, longed to take Tara into her lap and fold him to her bosom. Moti Babu thought that if only he could persuade the lad to stay on with them he would cease to feel the want of a son. Only the little Charu, their daughter, felt as if she would burst with jealousy and chagrin!

3.

Charu was the only child of her parents, the sole claimant to their love. There was no end to her whims and caprices. She had ideas of her own as to dress and toilet, but these were liable to constant fluctuations. So whenever she was invited out, her mother was on tenter-hooks till the last moment, lest she should get something impossible into her head. If once she did not fancy the way her hair had been done, no amount of taking it down and doing it up again would be any good—the matter was sure to end in a fit of sulks. It was the same with most other things. When, however, she was in a good humour, she was reasonableness itself. She would then kiss and embrace her mother with a gushing affection, and distract her with incessant prattle and laughter. In a word, this little mite of a girl was an impossible enigma.

With all the fierceness of her untamed heart Charu began to hate Tara. She took to tearfully pushing away her platter at dinner, the cooking was done so badly! She slapped her maid, finding fault with her for no rhyme or reason. In fine she succeeded in making her parents thoroughly uncomfortable. The more interesting she, with the others, found Tara's varied accomplishments to be, the angrier she became. Since her mind refused to admit Tara's merits, how should she not be wild when they became too obtrusive?

When Tara first sang the story of Kusha and Lava, Annapurna had hoped that the music, which could have charmed the beasts of the forest, might serve to soften the temper of her wayward daughter. She

asked her: "And how did you like it, Charu?" A vigorous shaking of the head was all the reply she got, which translated into words must have meant: "I did not like it, and I never will like it, so there!"

Divining that it was a pure case of jealousy the mother gave up showing any attention to Tara in her daughter's presence. But when after her early supper Charu had gone off to bed, and Moti Babu was sitting out on deck with Tara, Annapurna took her seat near the cabin door and asked Tara to give them a song. As the melody flooded the evening sky, seeming to enrapture into a hush the villages reposing under the dusk, and filling Annapurna's tender heart with an ecstasy of unutterable love and beauty, Charu left her bed and came up sobbing: "What a noise you are all making, mother! I can't get a wink of sleep!" How could she bear the idea of being sent off to bed alone, and all of them hanging round Tara, revelling in his singing?

Tara, for his part, found the tantrums of this little girl, with the bright black eyes, highly diverting. He tried his best to win her over by telling her stories, singing songs to her, playing on the flute for her,—but with no success. Only when he plunged into the river for his daily swim, with his *dhoti* lifted short above his knees and tightened round his waist, his fair supple limbs cleaving the water with skilful ease, like some water-sprite at play, her curious gaze could not help being attracted. She would be looking forward every morning to his bath-time, but without letting any one guess her fascination. And when the time came, this little untaught actress would fall to practice her knitting by the cabin window with a world of attention; only now and again her eyes would be raised to throw a casual, seemingly contemptuous glance at Tara's performance.

They had long passed by Nandigram, but of this Tara had taken no notice. The big boat swept onwards with a leisurely movement, sometimes under sail, sometimes towed along, through river, tributary and branch. The days of its inmates wore on like these streams, with a lazy flow of unexciting hours of mild variedness. No

one was in any kind of hurry. They all took plenty of time over their daily lath and food, and even before it grew quite dark the boats would be moored near the landing place of some village of sufficient size, against a woodland background, lively with the sparkle of fireflies and the chirping of cicadas. In this way it took them over ten days to get to Katalia.

4.

On the news of the *Zamindar* Babu's arrival, men, palanquins and ponies were sent out to meet his boat, and the retainers fired off a salvo startling the village, crows into noisy misgivings. Impatient of the delay occasioned by this formal welcome Tara quietly slipped off the boat by himself, and made a rapid round of the village. Some he hailed as brother or sister, others as uncle or aunt, and in the short space of two or three hours he had made friends with all sorts and conditions of people.

It was perhaps because Tara acknowledged no bonds that he could win his way so easily into others' affections,—anyhow in a few days the whole village had capitulated unconditionally. One of the reasons for his easy victory was the quickness with which he could enter into the spirit of every class, as if he was one of themselves. He was not the slave of any habit, but he could easily and simply get used to things. With children, he was just a child, yet aloof and superior. With his elders, he was not childish, but neither was he a prig. With the peasant, he was a peasant without losing his brahminhood. He took part in the work or play of all of them with zest and skill. One day as he was seated at a sweetmeat-seller's, the latter begged him to mind the shop while he went on some errand; and the boy cheerfully sat there for hours, driving off the flies with a palm-leaf. He had some knowledge of how to make sweetmeats; and could also take a hand at the loom, or at the potter's wheel with equal ease.

But though he had made a conquest of the village, he had been unable to overcome the jealousy of one little girl; and

it may be that just because he felt that this atom of femininity desired his banishment with all her might, he made such a prolonged stay in Katalia.

But little Charu was not long in furnishing fresh proof of the inscrutability of the feminine mind. Sonamani, the daughter of the cook* (a Brahmin woman) had been widowed at the early age of five or six. She was now of Charu's age and her closest friend. She was confined to her quarters with some ailment when the family returned home and so could not come to see her companion for some days. When at last she did turn up, the two bosom friends nearly fell out for good. This is how it happened.

Charu had started on the story of her travels with great circumstance. With the thrilling episode of the abduction of the gem, known as Tara, she had fully expected to raise her friend's curiosity and wonderment to the topmost pitch. But when she learned that Tara was not unknown to Sonamani, that he called Sonamani's mother, aunt, and Sonamani called him *dada*†—when she further gathered that Tara had not only charmed both mother and daughter by playing songs of the loves of Radha and Krishna on the flute, but had actually made a bamboo flute for Sonamani with his own hand, and plucked fruit for her from tree tops and flowers for her from brambly thickets,—she felt as if a red-hot spear had been thrust into her.

That very day, Charu, on some different pretext, vowed eternal enmity to Sonamani. And going into Tara's room she pulled out his favourite flute, threw it on the floor and kicked and stamped and trampled it into shivers.

While she was thus furiously busy Tara came into the room. The picture of passion which the girl presented amazed him. "Charu!" he cried. "Why are you smashing up my flute?"

"Serve you right. I'd do it again!" she screamed, as with flushed face and

reddened eyes she gave the flute some more superfluous kicks and then ran away crying from the room.

Tara picked up his flute to find it utterly done for. He could not help laughing out loud to think of the sudden fate which had overtaken his unoffending instrument. Charu was becoming for him more and more an object of curiosity as days went by.

He found in this house other objects, also, which gave full scope to his curiosity. These were the English picture books in Moti Babu's library. Though his knowledge of the outside world was considerable, he found it difficult to enter fully into this world of pictures. He tried to make up for the deficiency by dint of his imagination. But that did not prove wholly satisfactory.

Finding the picture books so greatly attracting Tara, Moti Babu one day asked him: "Would you like to learn English? You could then understand all about these pictures."

"I would indeed!" exclaimed Tara.

Moti Babu, highly delighted, at once arranged with the head master of the village school to give him English lessons.

5.

With his keen memory and undivided attention, Tara set to work at his English lessons. He seemed to have embarked on some adventurous quest and left all his old life behind. The neighbours saw no more of him, and when in the afternoon, just before it got dark, he would pace rapidly up and down the deserted riverside, getting up his lessons, his devoted band of boys looked on dejectedly from a distance, not daring to interrupt him.

Even Charu but rarely came across him. Tara had been used to come into the *zenana* for his meals, of which he partook leisurely, under the kindly eyes of Annapurna. He could no longer brook the loss of time which took place over all this, and begged Moti Babu's permission to be served in his room outside. Annapurna was grieved at the prospect of losing his company, and protested. But Moti Babu, glad to find the boy so mindful of his studies, fell in with the idea and so arranged it.

* Cooks in Hindu households are usually Brahmins (invariably so in Brahmin households) and are on a much higher footing than menial servants.

† Elder brother.

All of a sudden Charu announced that she also must and would learn English. Her parents at first took it as a great joke and laughed heartily over their little one's latest caprice. But she effectually washed away the humorous part of the proposal with a flood of tears; and her helplessly doting guardians had to take the matter seriously. Charu was placed under the same tutor and had her lessons with Tara.

But studiousness did not come naturally to this flighty little creature. She not only did not learn herself, but made it difficult for Tara to do so either. She would lag behind by not preparing her lessons, but would fly into a rage, or burst into tears, if Tara went on to the next one without her. When Tara was through with one book and had to get another, the same had to be procured for her also. Her jealousy would not allow her to put up with Tara's way of sitting alone in his room to do his exercises. She took to stealing in, when he was not there, and daubing his exercise book with ink, or making away with his pen. Tara would bear these depredations as long as he could, and when he could not he would chastise her, but she could not be got to mend her ways.

At last, by accident, Tara hit upon an effective method. One day, as he had torn out an ink-bespattered page from his exercise book and was sitting there thoroughly vexed about it, Charu peeped in. "Now I am going to catch it," thought she. But as she came in, her hopes were disappointed. Tara sat quiet, without a word. She flitted in and out, sometimes edging near enough for him to give her a smack, if he had been so minded. But no, he remained as still and grave as ever. The little culprit was at her wit's end. She had never been used to begging pardon, and yet her penitent heart yearned to make it up. Finding no other way out, she took up the torn-out page and sitting near him wrote on it in a large round hand: "I will never do it again." She then went through a variety of manœuvres to draw Tara's attention to what she had written. Tara could keep his countenance no longer, and burst out laughing. The girl fled from the room be-

side herself with grief and anger.—She felt that nothing short of the complete obliteration of that sheet of paper, from eternal time and infinite space, would serve to wipe away her mortification!

Bashful, shrinking Sonamani would sometimes come round to the schoolroom door, hesitate at the threshold and then take herself off. She had made it up with Charu, and they were as great friends as ever in all else, but where Tara was concerned Sonamani was afraid and cautious. So she usually chose the time when Charu was inside the *Zenana*, to hover near the schoolroom door. One day Tara caught sight of the retreating figure and called out: "Hullo, Sona, is that you? What's the news: how is Aunt?"

"You haven't been to us for so long," said Sonamani. "Mother has a pain in the back, or she would have come to see you herself."

At this point Charu came up. Sonamani was all in a flutter. She felt as if she had been caught stealing her friend's property. Charu, with a toss of her head, and her voice pitched shrill, cried out: "For shame Sonamani! To be coming and disturbing lessons! I'll tell mother." To hear Tara's self-constituted guardian, one would have thought that her sole care in life was to prevent the disturbance of his studies. What brought her here at this time the Lord might have known, but Tara had no idea.

Poor, flustered Sonamani sought refuge in making up all kinds of excuses, whereupon Charu called her a nasty little storyteller and she had to slink away, owning complete defeat.

But the sympathetic Tara shouted after her: "All right, Sona, tell your mother I'll go and see her this evening."

"Oh! Will you?" sneered Charu. "Haven't you got lessons to do? I'll tell *Master masai*,* you see if I don't!"

Undeterred by the threat, Tara went over to Dame Cook's quarters one or two evenings. On the third, Charu went one better than mere threatening. She fastened

* Respectful way of addressing or referring to a teacher of English. *Tr.*

the chain outside Tara's door and, taking a small padlock off her mother's spice-box, locked him in for the evening, only letting him out when it was supper time. Tara was excessively annoyed and swore he would not touch a morsel of food. The repentant girl, beside herself, begged and prayed for forgiveness. "I'll never, never do it again," she pleaded, "I beg of you at your feet, do please have something to eat." Tara was at first obdurate, but when she began to sob as if her heart would break, he had to turn back and sit down to his supper.

Charu had often and often said to herself that she would never again tease Tara and be very, very good to him, but Sonamani,—or something or other,—would get in the way and spoil her virtuous resolution.

And it came about that whenever Tara found her particularly quiet and good he began to look out for an explosion. How or why it happened he never could make out, but there it was sure enough,—a regular storm, followed by showers of tears, —and then the bright sun shone out and there was peace.

6.

Thus passed two whole years. Tara had never before permitted any one to cage him for so long a time. Perhaps it was his attraction for the novelty of his studies; perhaps it was a change of character, due to increasing age, which made his restless spirit welcome the change to a restful life; perhaps, again, his pretty little fellow-student, with her endless variety of teasing ways, had cast a secret spell over his heart.

Charu had reached her marriageable age. Moti Babu was anxiously casting about for a suitable bridegroom. But the mother said to her husband: "Why are you hunting for bridegrooms, high and low? Tara is quite a nice boy,—and our daughter is fond of him, too."

The proposal took Moti Babu by surprise. "How can that be?" he exclaimed. "We know nothing of his family or antecedents. Our only daughter must make a good match."

One day a party came over from the Raydanga *Zamindar's* to see the girl with a view to make a proposal. An attempt was made to get Charu dressed up and taken to the reception rooms outside. But she locked herself into her bedroom and refused to stir out. Moti Babu stood by the door and pleaded and scolded in vain; at last he had to return outside and make feeble excuses to the would-be bridegroom's party, saying his daughter was indisposed. They came to the conclusion that there was something wrong with the girl which was sought to be concealed, and the matter fell through.

Then Moti Babu's thoughts came back to Tara. He was handsome and well-behaved, and in every way desirable. He could continue to live with them, and so the wrench of sending away their only child to another's house could be done away with. It also struck him that the wilful ways of his little one, which seemed so readily excusable in her father's home, would not be so indulgently tolerated in that of her husband.

The husband and wife had a long talk about it and finally decided to send over to Tara's village in order to make inquiries. When the news was brought back that the family was respectable enough, but poor, a formal proposal was at once sent off to the mother and the elders. And they, overjoyed at the prospect, lost no time in signifying their consent.

Moti Babu discussed and settled the time and place of the wedding with his wife alone; with his habitual reticence and caution he kept the matter secret from everybody else.

Meanwhile Charu would now and then make stormy raids on the schoolroom outside,—sometimes angry, sometimes affectionate, sometimes contemptuous, but always disturbing. And gleams, as of lightning flashes, would create a hitherto unknown tumult in the once free and open sky of the boy's mind. His unburdened life now felt the obstruction of some network of dream-stuff into which it had drifted and become entangled. Some days Tara would leave aside his lessons and betake himself to the library, where he

would remain immersed in the pictures. And the world, which his imagination now conjured up out of these, was different from the former one and far more intensely coloured. The boy was struck with this change in himself, and conscious of a new experience.

Moti Babu had fixed upon a day in July for the auspicious ceremony, and sent out invitations accordingly to Tara's mother and relatives. He also instructed his agent in Calcutta to send down a brass band and the other innumerable paraphernalia necessary for a wedding. But to Tara, he had not as yet said a word about the matter.

In the meantime the monsoon had set in. The river had almost dried up, the only sign of water being the pools left in the hollows; elsewhere the river bed was deeply scored with the tracks of the carts which had latterly been crossing over. The village boats, stranded high and dry, were half imbedded in the caking mud. Then all of a sudden one day, like a married daughter returning to her father's house, a swift-flowing current, babbling and laughing with glee, danced straight into the empty heart and outstretched arms of the village. The boys and girls romped about with joy and never seemed to get done with their sporting and splashing in the water, embracing their long lost friend. The village women left their tasks and came out to greet their boon companion of old. And everywhere fresh life was stirred up in the dry, languishing village.

Boats from distant parts, small and big, and of all varieties of shape, bringing their freight, began to be seen on the river, and the bazars in the evening resounded with the songs of the foreign boatmen. During the dry season, the villages on either bank were left in their secluded corners, to while away the time with their domestic concerns, and then in the rains the great outside World would come a-wooing, mounted on his silt-red chariot, laden with presents of merchandise, and all pettiness would be swept away for a time in the glamour of the courting; all would be life and gaiety, and festive clamour would fill the skies.

This year the Nag *Zamindars*, close by,

were getting up a specially gorgeous *car-festival*, and there was to be a grand fair. When, in the moon-lit evening, Tara went sauntering by the river, he saw boat upon boat hurrying by, some filled with merry-go-rounds, others bearing theatrical parties, singing and playing as they went, and a number carrying traders and their wares. There was one containing a party of stringing players, with a violin vigorously playing a well-known tune, and the usual *he! ha!* of encouragement boisterously shouted out every time it came back to the refrain. The up-country boatmen of the cargo boats kept up an unmeaning but enthusiastic din with their cymbals, without any accompanying song or tune. All was the excitement and bustle.

And as Tara looked on, an immense mass of cloud rolled up from the horizon, spreading and bellying out like a great black sail; the moon was overcast; the east wind sprang up driving along clouds after clouds; the river swelled and heaved. In the swaying woods on the river banks the darkness grew tense, frogs croaked, and shrill cicadas seemed to be sawing away at the night with their chirp.

All the world was holding a *car-festival* that evening, with flags flying, wheels whirling and the earth rumbling. Clouds pursued each other, the wind rushed after them, the boats sped on, and songs leapt to the skies. Then, the lightning flashed out, rending the sky from end to end; the thunder cracked forth; and out of the depths of the darkness a scent of moist earth, from some rainfall near by, filled the air. Only the sleepy little village of Katalia dozed away in its corner, with doors closed and lights out.

Next day, Tara's mother and brother disembarked at Katalia and three big boats full of the various requirements of the wedding touched at the *zamindar's* landing *ghat*. Next day, Sonamani in great trepidation ventured to take some preserves and pickles to Tara's room and stood hesitating at his door. But next day there was no Tara to be seen. Before the conspiracy of love and affection had succeeded in completely hemming him in, the unattached, free-souled Brahmin boy had

flee, in the rainy night, with the heart of the village which he had stolen, back to the arms of his great world-mother, placid in her serene unconcern.

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

SIVA OR MAHADEV

BY THE SISTER NIVEDITA.

EVERY well-born Hindu boy is taught that his ancestors have not always lived in India. The people's own name for themselves is Aryans and they believe that they came into the Peninsula from the North, across the mountain-passes of the Himalayas. Indeed, there are still a few tribes living in the Hindukush called the *Lall Kaffir*, or Fair Folk, because they are of pale complexion. The original stock of the Hindus probably have been left behind on the Southward march of their countrymen.

At any rate, the stories and present religion of the people have grown up since they crossed the mountains. In early days they had no images. Neither had they temples. They had open spaces or clearings and here they would gather in crowds to perform the Fire-Sacrifice. The fire was made of wood, borne to the spot on the back of a bull. And there were priests who recited chants and knew exactly how to pile up logs—for this was done in geometrical patterns, very carefully arranged—and how to make the offerings. This was the business of the priest, just as it is another man's work to grow corn or to understand weaving. He was paid for it and used his money to support his wife and children.

As far as we can go back however, Hindus have always believed that if a man wanted to be *religious*, he must give his whole life up to that. A *good* man may manage a home and family and business, they say. But if a man wants to be musical he gives all his care and thought to music; if clever, to study. And is it easier to know Truth than to do these

things? So you see they have a very high ideal of what being religious means. But where do you think they expect a man to go in order to become this? The musician takes his place before some instrument—does he not?—the piano, or the organ, or the violin. And the student goes to school or college. But to become religious, the Hindu would send a man into the forest! There he would be expected to live in a cave or under trees; to eat only the wild roots and fruits that he could find in the wood and to wear pieces of the bark of the white birch for clothing. This is a curious picture that you see now with your eyes shut, is it not? But it is not finished. You see the idea is that a great part of religion consists in quieting the mind. And being alone, without any need to think of food or clothes or home, in silence, amongst the trees and the birds, must be a great help to this. But it goes further. What would become of a man's *hair*, living far away from other men, without brushes and combs and scissors? It would grow thick and unkempt, would it not? And so great masses of hair coiled up hastily and fixed on the top of the head are amongst the best marks of religion in these forest-dwellers. They are expected to bathe constantly, even to wash the hair, but they can not spare time from meditation to make it beautiful. Now and then we see a man like this passing along the streets of some Indian city, with his long staff in one hand crowned by three points,—like the trident of Neptune,—and a begging-bowl with a handle in the other. But the place to find such people in great

number is some forest, or beside a sacred river. There, we might still see them clothed in strips of birch-bark; but in towns, though they are only passing through, they are almost sure to wear instead a piece of cotton cloth, salmon-pink in colour, which has also been a sign of the religious life for thousands of years past.

There was another use of the birch-bark which gives it a peculiar interest. These old hermits, when thoughts occurred to them that *must* be written down, used it for paper! So the oldest Hindu books were made of it (instead of vellum as with us or papyrus with the Egyptians) and to this day no prayer or text in India is counted so sacred as that which is written on this skin of the birch-tree.

Now I hope you have some notion of what the religious men of early Aryan times (the Vedic period, we call it) looked like. For I want you to imagine the great Fire-Sacrifice, with its crowds of people shouting and worshipping around it—while the priest throws the appointed offerings of oil and grain and foods into it, saying the proper texts—and one or two of these forest-saints mingling with the people to join in the devotions.

I think you can also picture the end of the ceremonies—the fire out, and only a great mound of what wood-ashes remaining, the people gone home; the place deserted, save perhaps for an old hermit who comes up to the mound, takes up a handful of ashes and rubs himself all over with them. To him, it is as if he had clothed himself with the worship of God and with separation from the world—and he goes back to his life under the trees feeling holier and happier.

And so there comes to be a kind of monks who wear this covering of ashes and a pink cloth or strip of birch-bark only.

If you saw one of these in the distance the first thing you would notice would be his whiteness. Take wood-ashes from the hearth sometimes, when you have a chance, and rub them over one hand and arm. Then you will see that it is not true that there are black men and white men in the

world. There are yellow and pink and brown, of different degrees, but a white human skin you had never seen till you tried these ashes. Do you see what the next idea of the people was? That perfect holiness and this whiteness would always go together.

Now where were they wandering at this time? Through the Himalayas. And what would often be in sight? The snow peaks. And of what would the snowpeaks remind them, I wonder!

Have you noticed how a baby thinks that everything is human? How he talks about tables and chairs being "good" or "naughty," about trees laughing and clapping their hands, about stones watching him, shells talking and toy birds and animals walking about? This tendency to see a human being in everything is called the instinct of *Personification* and people and nations who love beautiful things have it very strongly. The ancient Greeks never made a picture of the sea; where that ought to be they put an old king with a three-pronged staff, called Neptune, and that meant the sea to them. For Neptune was the god of Ocean. In the same way for the city of Athens they had Athene; for the time of harvest, the goddess Demeter, and so on. And each of these figures had special symbols always with it, as the trident of Neptune, the shield and helmet of Athene, the torch of Demeter. And the people had long stories to tell about the reason for drawing and carving them just so.

Now the very self-same thing happened in India (and to a less extent in old Norway and amongst the red men of America). The people could not help making mountains and rivers and stars into spirits, with these things for bodies and calling them gods.

So the Ganges became a great mother, and the Sun the kind and loving god Vishnu, while even hills and plants had each an indwelling soul, with a character and will of his own.

In their early home, in the North, they had a set of gods,—Indra for the sky, Agni for fire, Varuna for water, and others,—but here in the new land, these began to be

forgotten, became old-fashioned so to speak. And the inspiration of the place filled the dreams of the people more and more. The Aryans fell in love with India and became Hindus.

And what was their thought about the snow-mountains?

Why, it seemed to them that *they* told about the fire-worship and the fire about them! Were not the flames of the sacrifice white like the Himalayas, always mounting upwards like the aspiring peaks, leaving behind them ashes for eternal frost?

Those snowy heights became the central objects of their love. Look at them. Lifted above the world in silence, terrible in their cold and their distance, yet beautiful beyond all words, what are they like? Why, they are like—a great monk, clothed in ashes, lost in meditation, silent and alone! They are like,—like,—the Great God Himself, Siva, Mahadev!

Having got at this thought, the Hindu mind began to work out all sorts of accessories and symbols,—in which sometimes the idea of flame, sometimes of mountain, sometimes of hermit, is uppermost,—all contributing to the completed picture of Siva, the Great God.

The wood is borne to the sacrifice on a bull: Siva possesses an old bull on which He rides.

As the moon shines above the mountains, so He bears on His forehead the new moon.

Like the true ascetic, begging food at the householder's door, He is pleased with very simple gifts.

Fresh water, a few grains of rice and two or three green bel-leaves are His whole offering, in the daily worship. But the rice and water must be of the purest, as though presented to a most honoured guest.

Why the bel-leaf is chosen, I do not know, unless it is that it is clover-shaped, thus referring to the Trinity, like the shamrock. For this doctrine is Hindu as well as Christian and Egyptian.

To show how easily Siva can be pleased, Hindus tell a pretty story.

A poor huntsman,—that is, one of the lowest of the low,—once came to the end of a day's hunting without having snared

or killed a single creature. Night came on and he was far from home, in the jungle, alone. Near by, stood a bel-tree, with branches near the ground and he was glad to climb up into its shelter to pass the night in safety from wild beasts. But as he lay crouching in its branches, the thought of his wife and children starving at home came to him, and for pity of their need great tears rolled down his cheeks, and falling on the bel-leaves broke them by their weight and carried them to the ground. Under the sacred tree, however, stood an image of Siva (really, the short stone pillar with rounded top, which is called His lingam or symbol). And the tears fell, with the leaves, on its head.

That night a black snake crept up the tree and stung the man. And the angels came and carried his soul to Heaven and laid it down at the feet of Siva.

Then in that bright place rose the clamour of many voices questioning—"Why is this savage here? Has he not eaten impure foods? Has he offered the right sacrifices? Has he known the law?"

But the Great God turned on them all in gentle surprise—"Did he not worship me with bel-leaves and with tears?" He said.

Looking closer at the *flame*, however, one thing was very clear. It had a blue throat,—we see it even when we light a match—and in order to bestow a blue throat upon Siva, the following story arose.

Once upon a time all the splendour and glory of the gods seemed to be vanishing from them. [This story must have been told first, you see, just at the period when the old gods, Indra, Agni and the Lords of the universe, were growing unfavourable, and the Trinity, Brahma-Vishnu-Siva, coming into favour.] What to do, the gods did not know. But they determined to pray to Vishnu for advice. He told them, perhaps contemptuously, to "go and churn the ocean!" And the poor gods trooped forth eagerly to do His bidding.

They churned and churned. Many great and splendid things came up and they seized them with delight, here a wonderful

elephant, there a princely horse, again a beautiful wife for someone.

Each was only greedy to be first in the handling of the next delight. All at once something black began to come. Welling up and up, and then spreading over the whole ocean it came. "What is it?" they asked each other in horror. It was poison, —death to them, death to the world, death to the universe. It came to their very feet and they had to retreat rapidly in fear. Already, they were in the midst of darkness and there was nowhere that they could flee, for this dense blackness was about to cover all the worlds. In this moment of mortal terror all the gods with one voice called on Siva. He had taken no part in the receiving of gifts, may be, He would be able to help them now. Instantly the Great White God was in their midst. He smiled gently at their dilemma and their fear. And stooping down, He put His hand into the waves and bade the poison flow into the hollow of His palm. Then He drank it, willing to die in order to save the world. But that which would have been enough to destroy all created beings was only enough to stain His throat. Hence He bears there a patch of blue for ever.

Perhaps one of the most beautiful myths that have clustered round the name of Mahadev, however, is the legend of the Boar-Hunt.

Arjuna, one of the principal heroes of the Great War, had gone up into the mountains to spend three months in worshipping Siva and invoking His blessing. Suddenly, one day, as he was praying before His lingam and offering flowers, the sound of horns rang out with all the merry clang of a royal hunt.

The next moment the Snow-King and Queen rode into view, at the head of their retinue and came sweeping down the ravine in pursuit of a poor panting boar, that ran up to Arjuna for protection. The hero roused from his worship, showed the boar a way of escape and stood to meet the challenge of the king, now close upon them. The next moment the whole hunt had come to a stop before him. "The quarry was mine!" cried the King,—and his voice sounded like

the winter-blasts amongst the mountains—"The quarry was mine! How dared you touch it?"

At this address, Arjuna blazed with anger and picking up the bow and arrow he had thrown aside before commencing to worship, he challenged the Snow-King to dismount and fight.

"Accepted!" said the Monarch, and the combat began. But to the hero's dismay he seemed to be attacking some terrible phantom, for one after another his good stout arrows disappeared into the person of the King, working him no harm.

"Let's wrestle then!" shouted Arjuna. And casting aside his bow, he flung himself upon his foe. He was met by the quiet touch of a hand on his heart and fell to the ground stunned. "Well, come on!" said the King, as he recovered himself a minute later and turned aside from the contest. But he seemed almost intoxicated. "I must finish my worship first," he said in a thick voice, taking up a garland of flowers to fling round the Siva Lingam. The next moment the eyes of Arjuna were opened, for the Snow-King towered above him, blessing him. And the flowers were round his neck!

"Mahadev! Mahadev!" cried the worshipper flinging himself on the ground to touch with his head the feet of the God. But already the hunt had swept on down the valley and the Snow-King had disappeared, with all His train.

These are a few of the stories told about Siva, who is so deeply loved by His devotees. To them, there is nothing in the world so strong and pure and all-merciful as their Great God, and the books and poems of Hindus are very few in which He is not referred to with this passionate worship.

Wherever you go in Northern India, by the road-side in cities and villages, on the river-banks, or inside the entrance to some garden, if there is a tree that stands alone near the home of any Hindu, you are likely to see beneath it one or more of the little stone pillars called the Lingam. They may have been taken from the bed of a stream and in that case are likely to be of a long egg-shape. But if they have been cut by

the hand of man, they are short and slightly tapering, with a thimble-like top. Sometimes, in all good faith, the features of a human face have been more or less crudely marked on them, with white paint!

In any case it is only a question of time till some woman, passing by on her way home after bathing, stoops tenderly to pour a little water over the head of the emblem and sprinkles a few grains of rice over this. Then she bends her head to the earth before it, saying a prayer, and passes on. Such a simple act of adoration! A man with no objection to a public place, might stop and offer bel-leaves, but the woman wants to reach home and be once more in hiding.

Now and then, a heart more devoted and loving than usual will prompt the touching of the head of the image with red or white sandal-paste, so cool and refreshing in this hot climate!

But this, after all, is but a fragment of stone. It is not He who is worshipped. Still finer images of Him are those who come and go yonder amidst the passing crowd,—the monks and beggars, some ashen-covered with matted hair, others with shaven head and clad from throat to foot in the sacred colour, but most of them bearing one form or other of staff or trident and the begging bowl. And finest of all will these be, when, retiring into the forest, or climbing up to the verge of eternal snows, they sit, even like this stone Lingam, bolt upright in the shelter of tree or rock, lost to the world without, in solitary meditation.

Do you still want to know where to picture Him, how He is surrounded, what are the pleasures and what the history of His Olympus? The wise and learned of His people will laugh at you—"Understand children," they will say, "that this is the Great God of whom we speak! He can have neither dwelling-place, nor history,

nor companions. Such things are vain dreams of men!"

But if you should still persist that you desire greatly to know what men have dreamt of Him in these directions, they will tell you something of the Indian picture of His home.

Far away amongst the mountains, they say, across the frontier, where the Himalayas are at their highest and India passes into Thibet, at the foot of the great ice-peak of Kailash, lies the lake Manasa-sarovara. Here is the reign of silence and eternal snow. And here is the holy home that Siva loves. Up here have gathered round Him all those who were weary of earth, having found no acceptance amongst the fortunate. The serpents whom all the world hates and refuses come to Kailash, and Mahadev finds room for them in His Great Heart. And the tired beasts come,—for He is the Refuge of animals,—and one of them, a shabby old bull, He specially loves and rides upon. And last of all, come the spirits of all those men and women who are turbulent and troublesome and queer—the bad boys and girls of the grown-up world, you know! All the people who are so ugly that no one wants to see them; those who do things clumsily, and talk loudly and upset every thing, though they mean no harm; and the poor things who are ridden by one idea, so that they never can see straight, but always seem a little mad, such are the souls on whom He alone has mercy. He is surrounded by them and they love and worship Him. He uses them to do His errands and they are known as Siva's Demons.

But dearest of all these, dwells with Him in Kailash, His beloved wife Parvati, otherwise known as Sati or Uma and by many other names. And about Her I shall tell you in the next story.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

BY LAJPAT RAI.

EVERY great man, British or non-British, Indian or foreign, has told us that the children of to-day are the citizens of tomorrow, and that in order to have citizens (good physically, morally and intellectually), the body politic should take good care of its children. It is now freely recognized all the world over, that the community and the State have as much, if not even greater, interest in the health and moral and mental equipment of the children of the community as the family wherein they are born. No one has proposed to lessen or belittle the responsibility of the parents, as it would be extremely demoralising and suicidal to do so. Every normally healthy man and woman has a duty towards the race which can be fulfilled only by begetting children. The Hindus have characterised it as a *debt (rin)* which has to be paid by every healthy individual before he or she dies, in order to ensure him or her a desirable form of re-incarnation. The modern world is also gradually but surely coming to that viewpoint, subject to conditions and limitations necessary in the interest of the race.

If it is necessary that every normal man and woman should raise one or more children, in order to perpetuate the race, it is also necessary that the children so raised should be healthy and capable of contributing to the general progress of humanity. Defective persons are only a drag on the race, and involve a tragic waste of human powers, energies and potentialities.

Descending from the race to the nation, the importance of children—of healthy, vigorous and potentially resourceful and powerful children—to the latter is self-evident. The children of a nation are its greatest asset. They represent its capital, upon the wise and skilful investment of which depends its prosperity—nay, even its

existence and continuance. All the civilized nations of the world have accepted this truth and are vying with each other in building their present and future position among the peoples of the world on doing all that follows the acknowledgment of such a truth. Huge sums of money are being spent on public health and public education.

The two tests by which the efficiency of a Government is judged are the lowness of the death-rate among its citizens and the provision made for public education. The health of the individual is no longer his or her own concern. It is the concern of the whole community—the same is true as regards mental equipment. The health and mental equipment of every unit of the body politic are matters of national concern. The present and future interests of the nation require that every one of its citizens, male or female, should possess the maximum amount of health and the maximum of developed intelligence, possible under the circumstances, to enable it to hold its own among the peoples of the world.

In matters of health and education, individual freedom is not recognized. As far as possible, no one can be permitted to be ignorant and diseased. Of course, no amount of solicitude on the part of the State can prevent a person from contracting disease if he is careless enough to be indifferent about it. It is, however, the duty of the State to lay down the minimum of health and mental equipment which it requires from its citizens and, for that purpose, makes education compulsory, and lays down certain regulations, for private and public health. With the progress of civilization, this minimum is being raised to the possible maximum in every community.

The State not only concerns itself with the education and health of its existing citizens; it goes further and regulates the

birth and the training of its future members too. From this motive proceeds the ever-increasing interest which the various Governments in the world are showing in the study of eugenics, in making different kinds of provision for motherhood, including their care and comfort during pregnancy and confinement, as also in providing from public funds for the care and education of children from birth up to puberty. The health of school children and their physical development for a healthy, vigorous, alert, resourceful manhood, is thus becoming a matter of supreme importance every day.

We, in India, are guilty of a criminal waste of our human resources by our dilatoriness in recognising the supreme importance and urgency of the problems of public health and public education. While a certain amount of national awakening is observed in the attitude of the nation to the problems of education, it is not yet generally recognised that a provision for the health of school children is a necessary item of the program if education is to be effective. Every educated Indian knows how much he has suffered in health, vitality and energy by an one-sided education which took little or no notice of the physical requirements of his body.

The premature deaths of our leading men are a constant subject of lamentation in our press. But the number of lives lost or smothered or ruined during the period of adolescence or before attaining a recognised position in society, is known only to the gods. Nobody counts them. Millions die every year of the harm done to their systems by neglect of their health during school and college days. Medical examination of school children has, of late, been much talked of in India, but the progress made in that direction is very slight. The results so far obtained have revealed an appalling condition of things, yet the awakening of the public mind has not been sufficiently marked to force attention to it.

As to the adoption of means to protect the health of school children, no one seems to think that the question is at all one of immediate importance. The two things which are of the greatest importance to

every human being, are health and ability to earn a decent livelihood. Both are supremely neglected in India. We have every year about a hundred thousand young men engaged in mastering Milton, Shakespere, Southey, Shelley, Kalidasa and Firdausi, who have never been told, either at home or at school, how to cultivate an erect posture, how to take care of their bodies, hands, legs, noses, eyes, teeth, ears, organs, muscles and nerves. They know nothing about the hygiene of living, of housing, of food, of dress and of mating. The curriculum of studies takes no cognizance of these things, nor of those which provide recreation and amusement of a healthy and edifying character.

Nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand graduates of Indian schools and colleges grow to manhood without any knowledge or taste for music. Hardly one in a hundred graduates of our universities can be confidently said to be possessed of normal health. We have had numerous reports about "how to improve the teaching of English", and some relating to other subjects such as mathematics, science, law, etc.; we have had the reports of Commissions on Industrial Education; but so far we have done nothing to study the physical condition of our school population and to find out what we could do to secure an improvement in their health and physique.

Before me lies a small Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Education (No. 50, of 1917) on the subject of "Physical Education in Secondary Schools." It embodies the recommendations of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education in the United States, a perusal of which will be of more practical use to our educational leaders, teachers and students than volumes of high-class English and Sanskrit poetry. The report of the Committee on physical education is published in this Bulletin with a preface written by the Chairman of the Commission. It opens with the following observations:

"The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education recognizes health as fundamental among the objectives of secondary education. The importance and essential scope of health education are summarized as follows:

"During the period of secondary education health needs cannot be neglected without serious danger to the individual and to the race. The secondary school should, therefore, provide health instruction, inculcate health habits, organize an effective program of physical activities, regard health needs in planning work and play, and co-operate with home and community in safeguarding and promoting health interests.

"To carry out such a program it is necessary to arouse the public to recognize that the health needs of young people are of vital importance to society, to secure teachers competent to ascertain and meet the needs of individual pupils and able to inculcate in the entire student body a love for clean sport, to furnish adequate equipment for physical activities, and to make the school building, its rooms, and surroundings conform to the best standards of hygiene and sanitation."

The report begins by stating the problem in a few lucid sentences from which I make the following extracts:

"In the new civilization, one of the most important problems of the high school, and the central problem of physical education, is how to secure and conserve health. This is becoming more and more a community problem.

"The schools have been slow to adjust their program to the changed needs of the pupils and the community. Pupils no longer go to school three months in the winter to learn to read, write, and cipher, securing their vocational skill and bodily power during the other nine months. They go to school nine months and are idle the other three because the opportunities for developing vocational skill and bodily endurance have been taken away from them with the removal of industry from the home to the factory. The school must accept the new conditions of this industrial age and provide adequate opportunity for bodily exercise related to vocational skill and for the fundamental bodily exercises, related to health.

"Medicine has made splendid strides during recent years in decreasing the mortality due to zymotic diseases. The diseases which are increasing, those of the nervous system, are more inimical to the organic health of those who survive than are the infectious diseases. Insanity is on the increase. Dr. Harris, formerly United States Commissioner of Education, as early as 1891 wrote:

"Our civilization is so bent on the conquest of nature and the production of wealth that it perpetually strains its supply of nervous energy and produces disaster. Here is the special problem of our time for hygiene to meet—How to restore and conserve nervous energy. There are three factors here: First, the one of food and its proper assimilation; second, the factor of sleep and rest; third, the factor of exercise, muscular and mental."

"While the increase in nervous diseases is rightly charged to a failure of bodily adjustment to the environment of the new civilization, to the saving of the weaker ones who formerly died in infancy, and to the greater strain of modern conditions, and although the number so classified is due in part to better diagnosis, it is a just indictment to say that the public schools have materially helped to augment conditions which lead to these diseases. It is not enough that the schools should, not continue to increase the tendency to these diseases; they should in a constructive way assist in the necessary health adjustments of the pupils in city and country. It is the firm belief of this commission that the modern public high school owes a duty to the health of the adolescent youth of this country as a fundamental element of education. It is the belief of this commission that this duty is possible of fulfilment.

"So far the public school has pre-empted the field of health education without occupying it. Theoretically, educators believe that health is more important than quantity of knowledge; practically, they seldom act upon the belief. The program of studies has not been adjusted to meet the changed needs of the pupils. The present arrangements for physical activity can be looked upon only as palliative measures in that they give some relief from the school desk. They are essentially of negative character, aiming to minimize harmful influences. *The work of the school calls primarily for the functional activity of the higher centers of the central nervous system.* It fails to emphasize the principal positive hygienic factor in that it disregards the motor activities related to the lower nervous centers controlling circulation, respiration, nutrition, and elimination. Besides, it neglects an important phase of education in that it minimizes to the vanishing point those motor activities related to good carriage, motor presence, motor personality, and motor consciousness. The attainment of adequate motor control is impossible with the present equipment and time allotment.

"Health is definitely related to the vigorous use of the big muscles of the trunk and legs. Instruction should be given in exercises and games which will bring into play these large fundamental muscles and should be pushed far enough to stimulate circulation, respiration, and perspiration. Methods of study should be devised which will allow more freedom and bodily movement even in academic work."

This is followed by a definite programme:

"The health needs of the high school pupil call for the following health program:

"I. A careful health examination which should include:

- A. Medical inspection.
- B. Mental examination.
- C. Physical examination.

II. A healthful environment in home and school.

III. Instruction in health problems.

IV. Physical activity.

A. Equipment, minimum requirement.

B. Amount and kind, minimum requirement.

C. Kind of exercise.

V. School credit.

I. HEALTH EXAMINATION.

"The first step in the health program is to discover how nature has endowed the individual. It must ascertain by examination the physical and mental endowment and capacity for activity.

"A. *Medical inspection.* The English and American medical inspection methods are well outlined in such books as Cornell's "Health and Medical Inspection of School Children," Kelyack's "Examination of Schools and Scholars," Newmayer's "Medical Inspection of Schools." The administrative methods are presented in Rapeer's "School Health Administration." The objects of medical inspection have been the detection of infectious diseases, of physical defects in the pupil, and the improvement of the sanitary condition of the school room. The medical inspector should co-operate with the physical instructor in the correction of physical defects and with the regular teacher or the trained psychologist in the diagnosis and treatment of mental defects.

"B. *Mental examination.* The mental examination should seek to ascertain the mental health of the pupil and his nervous and mental constitution. The health of an individual depends in large measure upon a normal central nervous system, and upon his attitude of mind toward his work. The time of entering the junior high school (seventh grade) is the most critical time in adolescence. At this time the constitution is particularly liable to nervous difficulties, as most neuroses either develop at this time, or lay their insidious hold then upon the individual, to develop later. Much stress in modern psychology is laid upon the necessity of correlating the program of the pupil with his dominant interest. In the junior high school he is offered a choice of subjects for the first time. The proper adjustment of his program is often related closely to his nervous health, and data for this adjustment should include the results obtained by mental tests.

"It is probably unnecessary that critical mental examinations should be given to every pupil. It is, however, necessary to give such an examination to the subnormal and the supernormal pupil. For the other pupils an examination of their grades in their studies, correlated with their grades in physical education and manual training, will give a very fair index of their nervous and mental health and constitution, and will give data of which to base an all-round

program for their high-school courses. In correlating the grades of the pupils special care should be taken to make sure that the marks represent capacity rather than mere attendance and good deportment. Care should be exercised, too, in differentiating between manual training and physical education. Manual training calls for the use of the small muscles of the eye and the hand, and in a light degree the big muscles of the arms, legs, and trunk. Manual skill of the small muscles represents, in general, health of the fine neuromuscular mechanisms. In physical education the large muscles of the arms, legs, and trunk should be used vigorously. Good grades in this work would represent fundamental health with organic neural and muscular capacity.

"In terms of the physical education grades, pupils who are fond of physical activities, excel in them, and are leaders in games and sports, as a rule possess good central nervous systems. The extreme type of these pupils, the athletes, need to be curbed in their sport. On the other hand, the pupil who has some scholarship and no interest in games and sports usually lacks organic vigor. In the extreme type of these pupils is the recluse and the bookworm. It is especially in this class that an unstable nervous system may be expected. If their education is confined to a purely intellectual education, it will be at the expense particularly of the organic centers of the nervous system, related to circulation, respiration, and nutrition.

"A well-balanced course for each individual is the ideal. A mental examination, with all the modern methods for the subnormal and the supernormal, and a careful examination of the grades of the average pupil with special reference to his work in physical education and manual training upon entering the high school will aid materially in a wise selection of high-school courses.

"C. *Physical examination.* The physical examination calls for a study of the growth and physique of the pupil and a close correlation of the conditions found with the physical activity prescribed. The examination should include such vital problems as eyesight, hearing, growth in height and weight, bodily strength, lung capacity, cardiac efficiency. All these factors should be correlated with the adolescent maturity of the pupils and their scholarship. They are in themselves indices of mental capacity and maturity. The programs of the schools should recognize and use these findings.

"Periods of rapid growth in height and weight precede growth in strength and endurance. Vigorous big-muscle exercise should be the rule during this period. Over-exercise particularly should be avoided.

"A clean-cut differentiation should be made between chronological age and physiological maturity. Both the physical examination and the physical efficiency tests should serve as aids



ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.
By the Courtesy of the Artist
Mr. Charuchandra Roy, B.Sc.

in properly grading the health activities. Detailed studies on various phases of these problems have been made by Baldwin, Boaz, Crampton, Hughlings-Jackson, Foster, Godin, Hall, Marro McCurdy, Stewart, and Whipple.

"Medical, mental, and physical examinations should be correlated with each other and with the general program of the pupil. Heretofore the examinations have been conducted partly by the medical inspectors, partly by trained psychologists, and partly by the director of physical education, without correlation between them.

II. A HEALTHFUL ENVIRONMENT IN HOME AND SCHOOL.

"A healthful environment should include a home with adequate food for healthy growth, together with sleeping and living rooms which follow at least the minimum regulations of size, light, and ventilation. It should include a schoolroom properly ventilated, with temperature never above 70 degrees and preferably between 63 and 65 degrees F, provided a normal relative humidity of approximately 50 per cent and adequate air movement are maintained. The schoolroom should be supplied with proper natural and artificial lighting systems, and the walls should be so colored as to reduce eye strain. The textbooks should have size of type and width of line suitable for the proper position of the pupil at the desks. The desks should be arranged to save eye strain and decrease poor posture and deformity. The floors and walls should be kept free from dust. The schedule should be arranged as far as possible to increase body movements and decrease nervous strain. This may best be accomplished by having pupils change from room to room and by alternating kinds of work. In addition, 3-minute setting-up drills may with profit be used two or three times per day.

III. INSTRUCTION IN HEALTH PROBLEMS.

"The pupils should be given instruction in:
(a) The practical elementary problems which concern their health; as, for example, diet, care of the teeth, sex, sleep, exercise, and bathing in school and at home. (b) The general conditions related to health, as room temperature, ventilation, dust, school seating, and posture. (c) The public-health problems, like sewage disposal, milk and water supplies, and general control of infectious diseases.

"Every pupil in the high school should be acquainted with elementary health problems in his environment. Direct application should be made to home, school, and community conditions. Definite reports of health conditions which test the powers of observation should be required. The examinations should test both the knowledge and the health habits of the pupils in home and school.

IV. PHYSICAL ACTIVITIES.

A. *Equipment* (minimum requirements).

"The equipment for physical activities in the

public high school should include gymnasiums, showers, dressing rooms, playgrounds, and, if kept in a thoroughly hygienic conditions, swimming pools. Abundant sunlight and adequate ventilation and air movement are essential elements in making the building a hall of health. The location of the gymnasium in an annex is strongly recommended, as it allows better hygienic conditions and permits greater freedom.

"(1) *Gymnasiums*. In large schools of more than 600 pupils there should be two gymnasiums, one for boys and one for girls, each large enough for a class of 50, that is, 60 by 80 feet. If we assume that each class contains 50 pupils; that the school-day contains seven 45-minute periods; that a plan of overlapping 90-minute periods is adopted, making seven gymnasium periods per day, then one such gymnasium will provide two double gymnasium periods per week for 875 pupils, and the two gymnasiums will provide for 1,750 pupils. Practically, however, it is difficult to organize the schedule of a period so that each gymnasium class will have the same number of pupils. Proportional increases or deductions should be made according to the number of pupils and the number of class periods.

"One gymnasium will be adequate where the school enrolls from 200 to 600 pupils. In small schools of fewer than 200 pupils one room might serve as the gymnasium for boys and girls, and also for the town hall. It might also be used for community recreation center and for public meetings. A room used for combination purposes should have the windows and lights protected with wire screens to avoid breakage during games. The walls and ceiling should be of concrete, metal, or wood rather than plaster, for the same reason. No gymnasium should be constructed less than 50 by 70 feet."

I omit the recommendations about showers and lockers; pools and playgrounds, as the requirements of the different countries, in these matters, must vary.

Under the head of Time Allotment, the committee recommends that "two double periods (each single period of 45 minutes) should be considered a minimum for this work, out of which one period of 45 minutes (twice a week) is allotted to exercises and games, and the rest to the teaching of hygiene, shower bath, dressing and undressing, etc. It is added that these exercise periods of 90 minutes twice per week should be supplemented by play periods after school of at least one hour, and, of course, by the regular recess periods and setting-up exercises between class periods.

The committee then proceeds to give a

schedule showing how the 90 minute periods for physical education can be fitted into the regular weekly schedule of the school, and ends as follows :

"This schedule provides for seven classes of 50 pupils each ; that is, theoretically 350 pupils per day per gymnasium, or 875 different pupils on the basis of two double periods per week for each pupil. This arrangement uses the gymnasium continuously and allows for alternation of two teachers in instruction in hygiene, physical education practice, and supervision of the bathing. Three hours of instruction during the school day, plus two hours on the playground and in the gymnasium or pool after school, should be the maximum requirement for one teacher. The remainder of the day is needed for administration and the keeping up of equipment, records, etc."

The following remarks of the committee on kinds of exercise are too valuable to be omitted :

"(a) *Physiological type of exercise.* The types of exercise used should be those which call into play vigorously the large fundamental groups of the big muscles ; these exercises are related to the development of vigour, endurance, and power. This instruction should be supplemented by exercises of skill, grace, and alertness. Special attention should be given to securing good postural habits while standing, sitting, and exercising. The training should give a virile, vigorous body, alert and well poised. Instruction should be given in gymnastics, athletics, swimming, and team games for all pupils.

"(b) *Character-building activities.* By proper control and administration of the team games and athletic contests, undesirable features and excesses of the representative teams can and should be eliminated without stopping games which have great health, social, and moral values when played and conducted in the right way. This is more rational than the radical remedy of abolishing them. Abolishment of the game as a school sport in public schools usually results in the team playing under other than school name and with no regulation. Some of the after-school activities, like the Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls, should receive vigorous encouragement."

"The curriculum of activity both in school and after school should include all pupils, and should be related not only to health, but to right conduct. The qualities of honesty, fair play, courtesy, cleanness of speech, alertness, promptness, persistency, and manliness should be required of pupils during their activity. Both boys and girls should learn the value of the positive virtues. Dishonesty, unfairness, discourtesy, vulgarity, or profanity should not be tolerated in connection with any activity.

Through public and private approbation, teachers, coaches, and the community should honor the pupils of vigor and high ideals, and discipline those who pursue dishonourable tactics.

"Teachers and coaches who represent the highest ideals in morals and personal character should be selected. Preferably the coaching should be done by regular teachers, and if possible by the director of physical education. With the adolescent group the basal virtues are *caught* through the inspiring personality of teachers during their direction of activities, more often than they are *taught* through definite moral instruction in the classroom."

"Moral instruction shows what is right. Moral action knits together the fibers which form character. Physical activity, particularly team games, rightly conducted, offers great opportunity for moral achievement ; wrongly conducted, the result is moral deterioration. During this adolescent period the vigorous, virile leaders will enter into the team activities. These team boys will, in large measure, influence the moral standards of both the junior and senior high-school groups. The moral standards and personal leadership of the teachers of physical education will be a large factor in determining whether these boys are to be merely healthy animals or future moral leaders in the community. If the "win at any cost" idea dominates the coach, he may be the most potent factor in the community in destroying the moral ideals and the ethical standards of future leaders."

In the opinion of the Committee, "the courses in hygiene should receive credit on the same basis as other classroom subjects. The physical practice in gymnasiums, athletics, games, and swimming should receive positive credit on the same basis as laboratory courses. The hygiene instruction should be graded on the basis of classroom recitations and examinations. The physical practice should be marked on the basis of the quality of the work and on the effort of the people in daily practice. Tests of minimum physical proficiency should be given at regular intervals."

In summing up, the Committee remarks :

"The present civilization is making great demands upon the vitality of the race. School practices which train simply eye, ear, tongue, and hand do not promote the health of the pupils. Laboratory work, shop work, military drill, and domestic science only slightly increase the big muscle activity. Big muscle work is essential to the health of the pupils. These activities are not secured in the home or in the street. Big muscle activities are essential to vocational and other kinds of skill. The higher

levels of the nervous system depend for stability and health upon the organic development of the middle and lower levels. Big muscle work in the plays and games is an essential part of emotional control in relation to character building.....

"The program of activity under competent supervision should secure physical, social, educational, and moral results."

The report does not deal with the primary school and the college, but the principles enunciated here can, with modifica-

tions, be applied to these departments also. My object was to draw attention to the importance of the problem and to show how it is being solved in one of the advanced countries of the West. I want my countrymen to realize that the problem of physical education is a national problem of the first magnitude, and they should apply themselves to its solution with all the energy and the force of soul they possess.

THE LIFE OF AN INDIAN MILL LABOURER

II.

WHEN we turn to the problems of the labourer's life which have to be dealt with outside the Mills, the first question which comes up for consideration is that of housing. The very same evils which undermined the domestic and moral life of England during last century, owing to the sudden, unheeded growth of slum dwellings unfit for human habitation,—these same evils are appearing with alarming rapidity in modern India and up to the present little notice has been taken of them.

Some one said to me the other day,—“What was the good of your going out to Fiji to seek for evils to remedy? All the evils which you met with over there, are here at our very doors unnoticed.”

At the time, I could hardly believe this, but the fact has been borne in upon me by recent experiences that the statement is almost literally true. For instance, with regard to the inequality of the sexes and the vast preponderance of men,—I have found out now, from personal enquiry, that very nearly the same unnatural proportion of three men to every one woman exists to-day in the slum quarters of our congested cities, just as it existed in the coolie ‘lines’ of Fiji. The men everywhere are flocking in from the villages, leaving their wives behind them; and this is neither

healthy for themselves nor for their wives. Under the agricultural conditions of Indian life, when cottage industries, such as hand loom weaving, were carried on in the villages themselves, the domestic ties remained unbroken. Men lived with their wives and their children for the greater part of the year and in consequence the domestic life of India was kept comparatively pure. Indeed, it has often been noted by historians that the villages of India were, on the whole, more free from violent crime and domestic vice than those of any other country in the world.

But now this village life itself is rapidly changing, especially near the large cities. A drift to the towns has begun, and this is bound to continue as the land becomes impoverished and the village industries completely die out. It may be possible to modify this drift to the towns,—and the highest statesmanship of India is needed for dealing with the question; for there can be no graver issue. But there still remains the problem, which is already there before our eyes, namely, *the drift to the towns which has already taken place.*

Take for instance the slum quarters where the mill labourers live in Madras. I have seen with my own eyes the condition of things there, and I can say with certainty that such quarters are nothing more nor less than a hot-bed of vice and immorality. The two evils of drunkenness

and prostitution become highly infectious and contagious in such quarters, like some plague or cholera epidemic, and few escape the disease. The villager coming in from his village to get work, in the prime of his manhood, with his passions strong, seeks instinctively some outlet for those passions and some relaxation at night from the dead monotony and straining weariness of the day. In the fresh air of his village, his daily toil was modified by the change of seasons and of occupation, and home interests and duties surrounded him on every side, making life wholesome and human and natural. But when he suddenly leaves all this and has to live his life in the close confinement of the mill room and the narrow surroundings of the slum streets, his whole nature becomes choked and stifled. His bodily passions and appetites have no natural outlet. The consequence is inevitable. Artificial means of stimulating the passions will be sought out and provided. Sooner or later, in such quarters, methods of vice, unknown in the villages, tend to become normal and habitual. They gain the prestige of custom and convention and become a *dustoor*, which every villager, coming in from the outside, soon learns to practise.

I have seen this growth of *dustoor* in Fiji, and I know its terrible attractive force. Out there, thousands of miles away, in a foreign country, nothing appeared able to stop its power. Every one who came out fresh from home fell a victim. I have witnessed all this, yet I have wondered at times whether the growth of *dustoor* is less powerful in the slums of our Indian cities than in Fiji.

It is clear to me, that, while every appeal should be made to man's inner strength of resistance and men should be thrown back upon their own inner resources as much as possible, at the same time it is extremely difficult for them to escape from the vicious circle of their environment where it is thoroughly bad and corrupt. Plans must be elaborated by which municipal improvement trusts may get to work in conjunction with the mill owners to build suitable and sanitary cottages which can ensure a healthy family life for the

workman near to the Mills. No new Mills must be allowed in future where such provisions are not made. The time is ripe for such schemes to be undertaken on a large scale. What is needed is, that the urgency of the whole matter should be realised by the public, and that the present delay, which is so fatal, should be brought to an end.

A second question is the problem of indebtedness. I soon found out, in Madras, that to be a debtor at a high rate of interest was the normal state of the workman. Possibly eighty per cent were in debt. Life became doubly hard, when, each month, exorbitant sums had to be paid on some loan contracted several years ago without any possibility of repayment. A thousand petty meannesses gather round where this system is in vogue. One man preys upon another, and where the margin of subsistence is so small, such preying means a direct diminution of daily food for women and children up to the point of actual hunger. It is the weak who suffer most.

I propose now to give extracts from a picture of the life inside and outside the Mills, written by one who had been from his boyhood a mill labourer and mill clerk. I shall not disclose his name, or the names of the Mills he mentions; but I can show his paper to anyone, who is a serious student and would wish to see it. It is an authentic document.

"I am putting before you," he writes, "some of my experiences about mill hands, from 1911 to 1917. I have worked in five different mills (he gives their names)—I was first enrolled as a Doffer boy on 8 rupees, when I was a boy of twelve. The working hours were 6-30 A.M., to 12-30 P.M., and 1 P.M., to 7-0 P.M. On pay-day, which came after two full months, I had to give twelve annas to the Mukadam for giving me the post. Every week we used to get two annas bonus if we attended the whole week without absence. We used to collect (the 25 boys and girls there) three or six pies each and give him two or three seers of *mitai*. He was a drunkard fellow, but kind to us. As there was only half an

hour in the noon to take our food, we suffered greatly. On the first day I came back ten minutes late after my food, for which I was abused greatly by the time-keeper. So on the next day, no sooner my hands were dried, I ran to the Mill, but I suffered from stomach ache. So, on the third day, I carried with me my food and sat down and ate it cold there on the spot.

"Since the day I joined the Mill, I used to attend a night school; and as I knew how to read and write, I got a post as office boy and afterwards as wrapping boy (11 rupees) and last of all I was given the post of assistant spinning clerk. I had to keep an account of the spinned bobbins sent up to the Reeling Department. There were eight hundred women in this room, under the direct supervisions of two Nayakins and two assistant Nayakins, who always tried to keep, in their full favour, a dozen or more of the good looking mill hands under them, who would suit their purpose for the mill officials. On each reeling machine there were two hands who, in order to get the post, used to pay as much as two rupees the first month and 8 annas a month afterwards. Those, who would not pay, had to fall under the Nayakin's displeasure. In this way, from this department, some 350 rupees were collected every month and were divided among the Nayakins, the reeling clerks, the overseers, time-keeper, head-clerk, spinning master, and sometimes even the manager himself.

"Exactly the same thing happens in the Winding Department, which is worked by women. The working hours for women were 7-30 to 12 noon, and 1-30 to 6-30 P.M. The monthly wages, on piece work, were 11 to 15 rupees. It is not very serious that the Nayakins take money from the women hands, but some of the beautiful women are misled to an immoral way of living by these Nayakins, who have already spoilt their own character.

"In the Blowing Department the hands used to get eleven to thirteen rupees, and a monthly bonus of one rupee if they never missed a single day. The men here had to pay one rupee to the Mukadam for getting the post and four annas monthly, or else wine. I could also see the condi-

tion of the card room, etc. The wages there were between thirteen and sixteen rupees per month and in the Spinning Department fourteen to seventeen rupees. One rupee had first to be paid here also and four annas, or wine, monthly to the Mukadam. About five hundred rupees were divided between the Head jobber, jobbers, Mukadams and Doffers, and in some cases a lump sum to the carding master and manager. In the sizing and weaving departments a man has to pay two rupees to four rupees, in the beginning, in order to get a post, and one rupee monthly later. The habit of drinking was very bad among men working in these departments. A good many lottery tickets are sold to the mill hands by the influence of their superiors. The men, when leaving work, used to receive pay by Hawala system, by which nearly one fourth of the wages were lost; but now-a-days the Mill itself takes Hawala by cutting an interest of 3 pies in the rupee. When the mill hands wanted to go to their native place, they used to give a previous month's notice to the Mill Manager. The notice-writing offices were kept by L.L. B. Vakils or their agents in the locality. To write a three lines notice, from four to twelve annas were charged.

"About eighty per cent. of the mill hands were drinking, but not so much during the week. The daily drunkards might be five to ten per cent. but on Saturdays and Sundays almost all used to get drunk.

"For *beedies*, *pan supari* and tea, each hand required about five rupees. The women spent about three rupees. Generally speaking, seventy per cent. of the mill hands were under debt; but twenty per cent. were under heavy debt.

"About three out of every four men took their meals at boarding houses, called Khanawali. These were usually kept by their Mukadam or jobbers. The rate of boarding was between seven to eight rupees. They got up at five in the morning and took their morning breakfast (Nihari or Nashta). At 12-30 p. m. they used to rush to their boarding house to take their noon food, which they ate very hurriedly, as they had to be back

punctually at 1 p.m. *It is a very pitiable sight to see thousands of mill hands running to take food between 12-30 p.m. and 1 p.m.* For lodgings, six to ten mill hands hired a room, about 10 feet by 7 feet, for four to six rupees rent, and shared the rent equally between them.

"Every now and then the mill hands would go to some theatrical performance. On Saturday nights they attended their Bhajan mandali. The scenes of amusement in the Holi festival were absurd."

"About seven strikes took place when I was a working hand in the Mills. Two were for demanding early pay for a coming festival; one was for granting more holidays; two for an increase in wages: two for asking a bonus, which the clerical staff got, but not all the ordinary mill hands. The idea of a strike used to come from the jobbers or Mukadams. Most of the mill hands take four days absence each month, on account of the long working hours. When they joined the strikes they understood that it would not go on for more than a week, and then next month they would not absent themselves and thus make up for lack of pay during the strike. The principle of untouchability was not in the least observed in any of the mills."

"The mill hands were more satisfied under English mills. But now, some of the Indian mills are taking steps to look after the welfare of their men. Some of the Indian mills, for instance, have made dining sheds and good water arrangements, for which the mill hands praised them a good deal. The change has only taken place in the last two years."

"The following are the greatest needs of the mill hands at the present time:—

- (1) Improved sanitary conditions. The latrines are very bad.
- (2) One hour's leave for taking food, 12-30—1-30 p.m.
- (3) A powerful and trustful labour Union.
- (4) The spread of primary education."

This document, which was sent to me and endorsed by a social service worker, who had himself been for more than twenty years a clerk and assistant in the Mills, is

remarkably clear in its statements and appears to be free from exaggeration. It is just possible that he has overestimated the drunkenness on Saturdays and Sundays, which he reckons at eighty per cent.—It was certainly not so high as that in Madras. The facts which he mentioned about indebtedness I could check from my own enquiries. His estimate there is quite a moderate one, and this makes me inclined to accept his estimate about drunkenness. If this is so, the state of affairs is very terrible indeed, especially when one remembers the comparative freedom from such drunkenness in the villages.

The suggestion of an hour's leave in the middle of the day is certainly one which should gain immediate consent, and it might be taken up at once independently of fresh legislation and then endorsed by law afterwards. The 'pitiable sight' of men and boys running in the heat of the day to get their meal, and, worse still, running back in the heat of the day, just after their meal, in order not to be late at their looms,—this sight should surely not be allowed to go on any longer. There will be some workmen, on piece work, who will themselves oppose it, and their opposition will be exploited by the less liberal employers. But the great mass of the working men will hail the change with delight and be grateful to those who introduce it.

With regard to Government action itself I am convinced that the maximum working hours should be reduced by law to 60 hours a week instead of the present 72 hours. And when this necessary legislation comes into force the interval of rest in the middle of the day (about which I have just written) should be made one hour instead of half an hour. Then the working day in the Mills would normally begin at seven o'clock and go on till noon; it would start again at one o'clock in the afternoon and go on until six o'clock. This working day, year in, year out, is surely long enough for any working man.

If reference be made to Japan, the one final answer is, that two wrongs can never make a right. If we do the right thing by our working men in India, then we have done our part. Whatever may happen,

we shall have this satisfaction that we did not destroy the elementary conditions of a healthy life among our own working men in order to compete with Japan. For my own part, I have full confidence that, when a shorter working day is tried, production in the long run will not suffer. There will be more contentment all round, better work, less absence without leave, fewer strikes and less friction in the Mills. It is of the utmost importance, however, to remember that *mere* shortening of hours, without better housing and a more healthy atmosphere outside the mills, cannot solve the problem. Improvement of surroundings and shortening of hours must go hand in hand.

The advancement of primary education which is the fourth suggestion of my correspondent needs little explanation. It is self-evident and should gain immediate assent,—as should also the demand for far more careful sanitary inspection of the Mills. His desire for 'powerful and trustful Labour Unions' needs some comment, for such Unions are a new feature in India and are bound to fall under suspicion. Already the London *'Times'* has had a leading article discussing the danger of industrial Unions being used in India for political ends. But if the burden of debt and drink and vice is to be lightened, then the movement must come first of all from within from the men themselves. The men must unite to help and protect one another. That there are wonderful powers of union latent in these masses of ordinary working

men is the common experience of every one who has had contact with them. At the outset, however, it is equally certain that they need the sympathetic leadership and co-operation of educated public workers from outside the mills who are ready to undertake that service. The ultimate aim should always be, that the men should quickly learn to be independent, and manage their own Union. At the first possible moment outside help should be withdrawn.

The Indian friend who sent me the memorandum, from which I have quoted, writes:—"A 'trustful' Labour Union, which is governed by the men themselves, is out of the question, so long as the headmen in the Mills are corrupt. What is needed is a form of social work carried on among the Mill hands by disinterested persons. This is what the writer means by his word 'trustful'. *But I fear I am asking the impossible.*"

It should be the duty and privilege of the younger generation of educated Indians in our great cities to cancel that last word 'impossible', and to show that such 'trustful' leaders can be found.

We have had an immense amount of legislation during the past five years dealing mainly with political issues. Is it not conceivable that unanimity might be reached on one small piece of social legislation so badly needed as a *sixty hours' working week for our mill labourers with an hour's compulsory interval in the middle of each day?*

Shantiniketan.

C. F. ANDREWS.

WILLIAM ARCHER'S "INDIA AND THE FUTURE"

BY LAJPAT RAI.

IV.

Mr. Archer's Political Views.

IN Chapter VII, Mr. Archer deals with what he calls "The Indian Opposition" to the British Government. This Chapter is the most disappointing of all. Mr. Archer's attacks

on Hinduism and caste could be explained by his ultra-radicalism, but his political opinions as expressed in this chapter can only be put down as ultra-tory. Again and again, Mr. Archer charges the Indian critic of the British Administration with inconsistency by reason of his avowal that he does not want the overthrow of the British

connection. We, however, fail to see any inconsistency therein. One may not like a Government, yet may be unwilling to overthrow it. He perhaps does not care to take the risk of the latter step or he sees other evils involved in it, which might outdo the ones he complains of. After all, it is a question of expediency. Mr. Archer shows little perspicuity when he says that "the existence of such a man as Mr. Gokhale, and his freedom to utter such charges as those above quoted, carried in itself the confutation of one of the charges—that of stunting and depressing the Indian genius." As for the first. The argument may be turned against Mr. Archer by saying that it only proves the extraordinary ability of Mr. Gokhale, that in spite of the stunting and depressing influences complained of, he should have been what he was. The second may be explained by the application of the principle of the safety valve. Against it, may be cited (a) the hugeness of the population, which produced one Gokhale in place of hundreds of them, as in self-governed countries, (b) the strangling of criticism by the numerous convictions of Indian editors, writers and speakers, for saying much less offensive and comparatively harmless things. This latter can also be proved by a citation of the provisions of the Indian Press Act, of which Mr. Archer makes no mention in his book. Yet it is a poor complement to the British Government in India, that a man of Mr. Gokhale's "genius" could not be used by them in any capacity whatsoever except as a critic. Mr. Archer, however, becomes hopelessly partisan, when he comes to consider the economic side of British rule. His views on the "drain" are those of the well-known Strachey school. A reasonable price for "peace, order and security", (all these being virtually the same) is different from an exorbitant or crushing one. Mr. Archer quotes Sir Theodore Morrison's figures and says that his analysis reduces the drain to a little less than £7000,000, as a payment due to the political connection with England. In my book "England's Debt to India" I have examined the figures and shown why, the interest on the ordinary debt (comprising the stock of the old East India Co., and the loans raised to pay the cost of various military conquests of Britain in India and elsewhere), should not be included under the head of "capital invested" for which India has received an adequate return. Besides, Mr. Archer very conveniently ignores other sources of "drain" which are not covered by "Home Charges." We are afraid, Mr. Archer makes himself ridiculous when he asks if in case of India being independent, she should not have spent more on maintaining a navy for her protection. Possibly so, but then the navy would have been Indian and that itself would have taken it out of the item of "drain," not to speak of other advantages accruing from a "native" navy. The argument that she is saved

the cost of a "diplomatic and consular service" is equally futile. An Indian diplomatic and consular service, would have brought profits and advantages, which the British diplomatic and consular services do not. £29,000 is not the only item paid for the maintenance of a viceroy in India as Mr. Archer thinks. An equal or even a higher sum paid to an Indian Sovereign would not be a "drain". As to the argument of the Government of India borrowing money at a lesser rate of interest than the Government of Japan, Mr. Archer forgets that the Government of Japan is free to spend that money as she pleases. She borrows money from one nation and purchases her stock in the best market, according to her needs, through her own agents. In the case of India, most of her capital debt is spent in England, in payment for English goods, purchased through English agents and carried in English bottoms. The trifling saving in the rate of interest is overbalanced by these profits. It is not improbable that sometimes the lender is also the manufacturer and seller of the goods required by the Government of India. Then again we see Mr. Archer adopting the same misleading process of comparing the incidence of taxation per head in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, with the incidence of taxation per head in India, without mentioning the respective average incomes of the two populations. Taking his own figures, which are the result of his own peculiar calculation, a Britisher pays 3s. 8d. in taxes out of an average annual income of £45, while a British Indian pays a similar amount out of an income of less than £2 a year. We do not know if his figures are quite correct. Then Mr. Archer does not calculate upon the total revenue of India which is over £85,000,000 and not between £75,000,000 and £80,000,000 as he says in the footnote on p. 135. For the purposes of his calculation he reduces the tax revenue of India to about £45,000,000, which is very nearly half of the total Revenue of the Government of India. Mr. Archer's political acumen may be best judged by another argument based on the comparative cost of defence in the different countries of the world, for says he, "defence is a function that depends not so much upon what a country *ought to afford*, in consideration of its wealth, as upon what a country *must provide*, in consideration of the dangers to which it is exposed." I will give the whole of this extraordinary argument before I comment upon it. Says he:—

"Defence now ranks in the Indian budget at about £21,000,000 per annum,* and the Indian Opposition is never tired of denouncing the reckless extravagance of this expenditure. But the defence of a smaller number of people in Europe costs more than ten times as much, namely £235,500,000 to say nothing of the

* The figure has since risen to £26,000,000.

economic loss involved in conscription. Western Europe (United Kingdom, France, Germany, Austria, Italy) pays just about £1 per head of population for defence: British India pays less than 1s. 8d. per head.The defence of Russia costs the people of the Russian Empire about 7s. 9d. each; the defence of Japan costs the people of Japan alone 7s. 6d. each; if we include the population of her dependencies, the figure is reduced to about 5s. 7d., more than four times as much as the cost per head of the defence of India."

Mr. Archer does not think this comparison "unfair". We can think of nothing more grotesquely unfair. For the purposes of this comparison Mr. Archer lumps together United Kingdom, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy. Why he omits the Netherlands, Russia, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, the Balkans and Turkey, we fail to understand. "Why," asks he, "does defence cost Western European, per head, fifteen times as much as it costs to Indian? Because Western Europe is broken up into hostile communities, jealous of one another's prosperity, afraid of one another's power and with more than one old score to be wiped out at the first opportunity." British rule saves India all these internal jealousies and rivalries. Now, if anyone else had advanced this argument I would have unhesitatingly characterised it as dishonest, but I cannot say that of Mr. Archer, yet it is really difficult to take a man seriously who can put forth an argument of this kind. Firstly it is not for purposes of *defense* only that the different Western nations spend so much on their armaments; neither is it solely due to the fear of one another. They are maintaining these armaments for Imperial purposes, for bringing other people into subjection and for exploiting them. The cost of armaments should not be calculated per head of population, but per dollar or per sovereign of their national incomes. Nations do not spend so much money and blood, simply to wipe off old scores. That may have been possible in old times. *It is the economic consideration which overrides every other in these days.* The Army and the Navy of the United Kingdom, are not for purposes of home defense only, but for the *defense and expansion of the Empire* which covers one fourth of the globe. Does Mr. Archer really think that the defense of Australia and Canada and South Africa could be well organised on the basis of a per head expenditure on the same scale as that of India? Mr. Archer is prepared to include the dependencies of Japan in calculating the per head expenditure of Japan's defensive establishment, but he has failed to do so in the case of the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Italy. The whole process of argument is worthy of a most specious kind of special pleading. In considering India's needs of defense against internal disorder, Mr. Archer conveniently ignores that any outlay on defense within, would not be

so heavy, a fact which is pointed out to him by a friendly critic, to whose opinion Mr. Archer refers in a footnote and that never in the long history of India was the country ever invaded from the sea. It is upon arguments like these, that our author pronounces that the theory of "drain" is "absolutely and ludicrously unfounded," forgetting that it is not the item of military expenditure alone that constitutes "the drain". Curiously enough Mr. Archer devotes another separate article to the consideration of the military expenditure and puts the case of the Indian critic in the following words:—"Since the peace and security of India are of direct value to England in order that she may devote herself undisturbed to her work of exploitation, she ought in common decency to contribute to the cost of keeping intruders out of her preserves. Why should the people, who are robbing us from within, throw upon us the whole cost of frightening off those who would rob us from without?" "Such views find a certain amount of sanction in the loose talk of the Imperialists who regard the British Empire as an asset and not as a responsibility. But if it be not true that we get from India any more than a very reasonable equivalent for the services we render her, what becomes of the argument that we ought to pay heavily for the privilege of rendering these services? We do pay heavily for it, outside India. Our interest in 'the Eastern Question' arises mainly, if not solely, from our responsibilities in India; and what has not that interest cost us?" This is clearly a case of arguing in a circle. You are responsible for the defense of India because India is your Empire and you make immense profit thereby, your "responsibility" proceeds from your profit. The whole question turns upon whether you do make a profit or not or whether your rule in India is founded on philanthropy. If the former, then all your excuses avail nothing. If the latter, then the position of the Indian critic is untenable. British "interest" in "the Eastern question" arises "mainly if not solely" not from your responsibilities towards India but from your interest in India as a paying part of your Empire. This interest has not cost you more than you have earned therefrom. As for the importance of India to the British Empire, which Mr. Archer is very reluctant to admit, see Homer Lea's book "The Day of the Anglo-Saxon," Lord Curzon's and Lord Roberts' utterances and also "Russia against India" by Archibald R. Colquham. Says Mr. Colquham (*Russia against Asia*, Harper and Brothers, London and New York, 1901): "India may in fact be regarded as the centre or pivot of Britain's Empire in the East; and for this reason alone, setting aside all other considerations, must be defended against foreign aggression. It is not only British supremacy in that country itself, which is at stake; the uninterrupted intercourse with her Eastern Colonies,

and consequently the well-being of the colonies themselves, would at once be threatened, should foreign invasion take place." In another part of the book emphasizing the importance of defending the frontiers of India in Afghanistan, the same authority remarks:—

"The expenditure involved must be undertaken by Britain herself, for the force necessary to cope with the situation in case of war would mean the financial ruin of India. Indeed that country is unable to defray the cost of the present inadequate defense of frontiers which is growing every year..... Finance ministers are at their wits' end even now to meet the ever-increasing demands, and there is danger to India from financial disorganization, as well as from Russian policy." Says Mr. Lea:—"Next to a direct attack and seizure of the British islands the loss of India is the most vital blow that can be given to the Saxon Empire. So closely associated is India with the continuance of the Empire, that it is by no means certain.... that, an invasion of England would not be preferable to the conquest of India." Mr. Archer very naively remarks that "*apart from the question of trade* it is very doubtful whether we make any clear profit at all out of our connection with India..... whatever we gain by the connection, *except in the way of commerce*, is probably a very poor compensation for what we sacrifice." The italics are mine. This "*apart*" and "*except*" supply the whole crux of the situation. In these sentences Mr. Archer pretends to display a naive ignorance of the economic importance of India to the British Isles, but he recovers very soon and asks the following question: "is it (*i.e.*, the commercial advantage) so huge and of such vital importance to us, that we ought, as it were, to tax our profits in order to relieve India of part of the burden of her military defence?" This is again begging the question. The "*commercial*" advantage is not to be judged by the percentage of the total trade with India. It is inherently interwoven with other questions, viz., that "of the shaking of the pagoda tree," the sea routes, the raw materials, the shipping and the fact that the rest of the Empire was made with Indian money and Indian soldiery. A man who can thus argue in a circle is hopeless to convince. Of similar nature are his arguments on the causes of Indian poverty. I have considered them at some length in my book "*England's Debt to India*," to which I must refer the reader as a general reply to Mr. Archer's partial discussion of the subject in the book under review. The argument of over-population, too, has been considered there. I repeat that it is absolutely misleading and untrue to say that "*over-population lies at the root of Indian poverty*." India is not over-populated as compared with Great Britain, Japan, Germany, Belgium and some other countries, nor is the increase in population a "con-

clusive testimony" to the "general beneficence" of British rule, "in all matters in which the Government can control." Why, the two arguments are contradictory of one another. The poverty of the Indian masses is due to the failure of the British Government to equip them with means to compete with the rest of the world, in this era of commercial and industrial rivalry, and Mr. Archer only shows his ignorance of the proper functions of a Government when he says "no Government can remake a people." "A Government" and "a people" should be exchangeable terms. A Government which cannot remake its people and insure them against poverty does not deserve the name of a good Government. In self-governed countries, the Government is a creation of the people and hence the people themselves are to blame if the Government is not good or progressive. In countries governed from without, the Government is an exotic plant which must be held responsible more than the people themselves, for their backwardness and poverty. India was not so poor when the British Government took possession of it. The admission as to "the shaking of the pagoda tree" disposes of that point. If she is poorer to-day or even if she is not better according to modern standards considering her natural resources and man-power, the result must be attributed to some defect in her Government with due allowance for her own social defects. In Mr. Archer's opinion the analogy of Japan does not apply to India. We say it does, at least in comparing the performances of the two Governments within the last fifty years. Why has the Government persisted in denying even elementary education to the people? Why was no provision made for commercial and industrial education? Why were not the raw materials of the country manufactured in the country itself? If huge loans could be taken for military expeditions outside of India and for the building of Railways and other Public works, some of them of exceedingly doubtful utility, like the building of Summer palaces for European officials in the hills, why could not the industrial resources of the country be developed and education disseminated by the same means, if not by the reduction of expenditure in other departments by employment of native agency? In considering the neglect of education Mr. Archer does not even once mention the matter of technical and commercial education.

Mr. Archer ends this chapter with a special article under the heading of "a chosen people". What has evidently roused his anger and fanned his fury most, is the claim made by the Indians as to the past greatness of their country. One half of the book, rather three-quarters of it, professes to demolish this idea. Again and again Mr. Archer reverts to it in terms of extreme ridicule, overpowering contempt, biting sarcasm, and strong disapprobation. We are not aware of any Indians, worth the name, who believe

that they are "the chosen people". On the other hand we can cite numerous passages from Anglo-Indian documents in support of their claim to that effect. In fact the whole fabric of Anglo-Indian Government is based on that assumption and Mr. Archer's book itself is a sufficient corroboration thereof. Nor can we join with Mr. Archer in regretting that "the wisest of Indians should say in one breath that India's past is her disaster and assert in the next that it is her glory and her pride." Both the statements are perfectly true and consistent. India's past is not a matter of a few years nor of a few centuries. It extends over milleniums. There was enough of "glory" in her past to make the Indians feel proud of it and there were enough causes in her immediate past, to result in "disaster". "Racial vanity" is not the characteristic of what Mr. Archer calls "the Indian opposition"; it is the ruling sin of the other side, of the "heaven-born" bureaucrat, of the Anglo-

Indian, who treats the best and the wisest men of India as if they were pariahs fit to be kept at a distance and being ruled with fire and sword. The most advanced of Indian politicians, claim not superiority or preference, but equality and equal opportunity. Mr. Archer's constant harping on the Indian sin of "social vanity" is a purely gratuitous assumption. The besetting sin of the Indian people is "humility" and not vanity, the fear of offending other people's vanity and not their own. Mr. Archer himself proves it by finding fault with the statements of his countrymen as to the everlasting nature of British supremacy in India and as to the inherent, unchangeable incapacity of the Indian ever to manage his country. If the Indian ever displays "vanity", it is only by way of retort to the adage "physician heal thyself", which we very respectfully commend for practise even to Mr. Archer.

HOW AMERICA CARES FOR THE CHILDREN

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FEW countries in the world strive harder to promote the welfare of children than does the United States. America is taking today perhaps the most comprehensive and scientific view of the child question. By the dissemination of knowledge concerning the causes of child deaths and by the development of organized work for the protection of infancy, there has been secured a steady decrease in the loss of child life.

CHILD CONSERVATION.

America is putting increasing emphasis upon protective measures. Care for the child begins even before it is born. In many cities pre-natal instruction is given to expected mothers through pre-natal clinics. Frequently, nurses are employed who visit the homes of prospective mothers. There are also other protective agencies at work. Some of the cities have fine health exhibits, others distribute pamphlets on child hygiene. Milk is the most important food for the baby. It is therefore very necessary

that the milk should be fresh and clean. That there may be milk of "guaranteed purity," there are milk stations where good milk may be had at cost or free.

The City of New York has created a system of child conservation which is the equal of the best that is to be found in Europe or America. It has a Bureau of Child Hygiene which employs more than three hundred nurses, ten dentists, one hundred and eighty-seven medical inspectors, two surgeons, fifty-eight nurses' assistants, and about a hundred men and women in other ranks. The Bureau manages fifty-nine infants' health stations for the feeding and medical supervision of babies and the instruction of the mothers. Furthermore it co-operates with scores of day nurseries, settlements, clinics, and hospitals. What has been the result of all this work? Figures are rather impersonal things; but they can tell a story and point a moral in the fewest words possible. As a result of the activities of the Bureau of Child Hygiene the infant death rate in New

York City fell from 200 per thousand in 1898 to 125 in 1910, 94.6 in 1914, and 93 in 1916. It is also to be noted that the death rate among children under five years of age has also undergone a corresponding decrease.

CARE IN SCHOOL.

"Health first and education later," is the motto of the modern American school. It realizes the utter folly of the attempt to force a child with poor health through the mill of school work. If the little fellow is suffering from imperfect eye sight, hearing, or enlarged adenoids, it is the privilege of the school to help correct these wrong conditions.

Most of the schools hold an annual physical examination of their pupils under regularly appointed school physicians. When doctors discover any physical defects, they are promptly reported to the homes, and parents are urged to secure for the child the care necessary for the correction of his defects.

Take this all-important matter of dental care. Without venturing into a lengthy discussion it may be set down out of hand that sound teeth are absolutely essential for sound health. Now children in America, as in all other countries of the world, have dental defects—defects which are a frequent cause of rheumatism, of troubles with throat, ear, nose, eyes, and heart. What should be done about them? In America free dental service is furnished to children through most of the public schools. All this requires money. But the American school authorities are largely of the opinion that the cost of putting and keeping the teeth in order is more than amply compensated for by higher averages in child studies, by better health, and a consequent reduction in the medical expenses of the nation.

In preserving health in school, the nurse contributes a large share. She aids in the health examinations of pupils, gives emergency treatment in health disturbances, and follows up treatment, under medical supervision, for various conditions. In homes visited, the school nurse gives suggestions and advice not only regarding the health of the children, but also of the

entire home. Unimpeachable records show that "without the service of the nurse, only from 15 to 25 per cent of the pupils have physical defects corrected, following the notice and recommendation by the school doctors to the parents. On the other hand, with the aid of the school nurse, from 75 to 90 per cent of the pupils reported, receive remedial attention."

"If you let a child starve," remarked Mr. Bernard Shaw, "you are letting God starve." And yet thousands of children in India go to school hungry. Prolonged undernourishment not only impairs the body permanently, but it arrests and dwarfs intellectual development. A large share of the best American public schools, realizing the danger from malnutrition, have been maintaining for years excellent lunch room in the schools. In New York City there are already over fifty schools where luncheon has been introduced. They operate school kitchens, and serve penny luncheons to children in their well-appointed school lunch rooms. These are appetizing, well-balanced meals, such as healthy children at school require.

Boys and girls must have abundance of wholesome play and recreation. Indeed, health should come before books. "A school without a playground is an educational deformity, and presents a gross injustice to childhood," says a noted American social engineer pertinently. It is well nigh impossible to think of a school in this country without adequate play facilities under skilled guidance. In recent years the movement toward scientific procedure in child welfare has come to recognize that play is not exclusively a school problem. There should not only be well-equipped playgrounds in school yards, but they should be found under competent directors in reformatories, in parks, in public squares, and in special tracts of land set aside for child recreation. In the limited space at my disposal it is difficult to say much; but for more specific help I suggest a careful study of H. Caldwell Cook's *The Play Ways*, and Joseph Lee's *Play in Education*.

CHILDREN'S COURT.

Mischievous boys and careless girls are

CARE BEFORE BIRTH

BIRTH IS NOT THE BEGINNING OF LIFE
BABIES ARE ALIVE
AND CAN BE SERIOUSLY INJURED
BEFORE BIRTH.



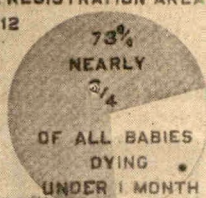
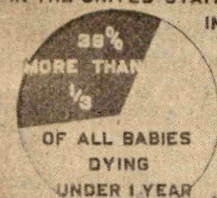
A HEALTHY
HAPPY MOTHER



A HEALTHY
HAPPY BABY.

A MOTHER AWAITING THE BIRTH OF HER BABY
NEEDS { GOOD FOOD
PLENTY OF REST
FRESH AIR
LIGHT EXERCISE
A CONTENTED MIND

IN THE UNITED STATES (REGISTRATION AREA)
IN 1912



DIED BECAUSE OF CONDITIONS BEFORE BIRTH

INFANT WELFARE WORK
HAS SAVED THOUSANDS OF BABIES
BUT
OUR DUTY TO THE BABY BEGINS BEFORE BIRTH

Wall panel on Pre-natal Care from the exhibit of the Children's Bureau, showing an arrangement of photographs and statements.

are no lawyers, no inquisitive crowd, and none of the bustle and tumult of the regular court. The judge, who assumes the part of a kindly interested friend, tries to correct rather than punish the young offender. The court has wide latitude in dealing with the child. The judge is free to use such methods as will help each individual the most. "First, with the aid of his assistant," writes Professor Ezra T. Towne in

WHAT MOTHER'S MILK DID FOR THIS BABY

THIS BABY WAS ARTIFICIALLY FED AND HAD DIARRHOEA.

SEPT.
19.
1912.



AGE
3
MONTHS.
WEIGHT
4 LB.
3 OZ.

THE DOCTOR SAID:

"ONLY A NURSING MOTHER CAN SAVE THIS BABY"
A CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY FOUND
THE NURSING MOTHER

THE
SAME
BABY



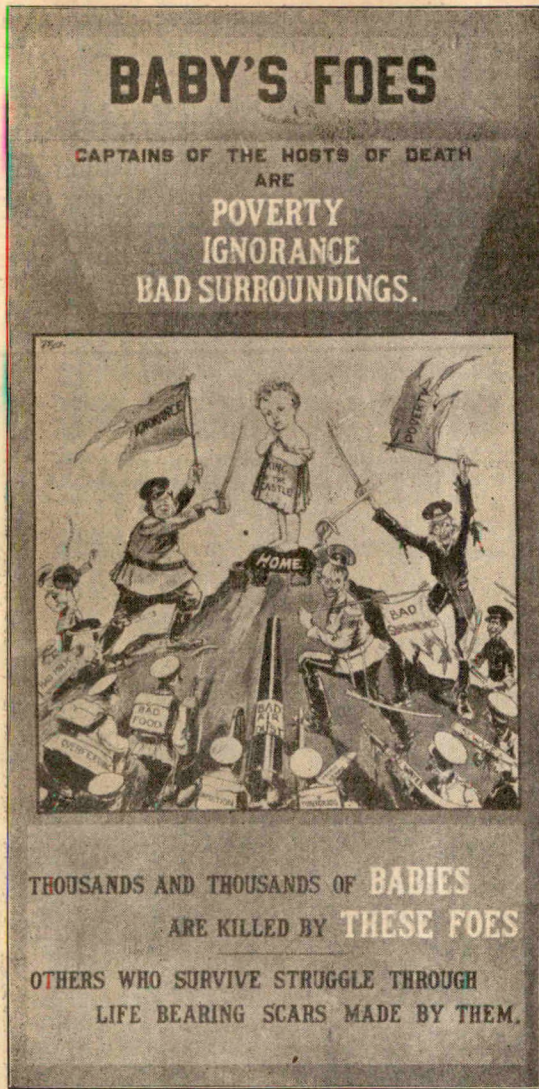
JAN. 30.
1913.
WEIGHT
12 LBS.

MOTHER'S MILK

(IS EASY TO DIGEST.
PROTECTS AGAINST
SUMMER DIARRHOEA
AND
OTHER DISEASES.
BUILDS BONE AND FLESH.)

Wall panel from the exhibit of the Children's Bureau, showing by photographs and statements pasted on a larger background, What Mother's Milk does for the baby.

not tried in the United States in the same court with hardened adult offenders. Boy and girl delinquents are taken to the Juvenile Court, which is distinctly an American institution, the first one having been started in Chicago in 1899. Today there is no State in the Republic without a Children's Court. Those of us who have visited these tribunals (?) know that there is very little about these places to remind one of the sordid court atmosphere. Simple pictures adorn the walls. There

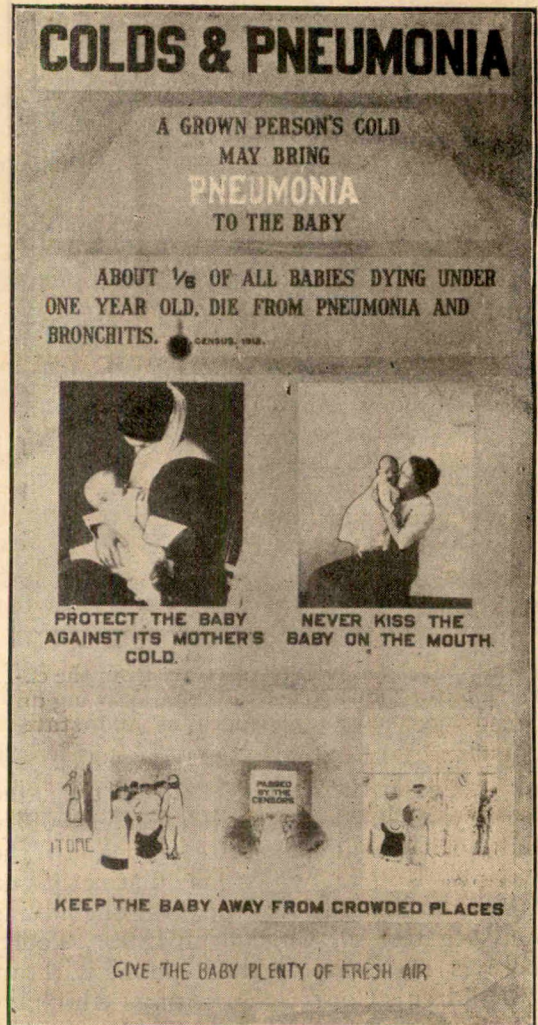


Wall panel on Baby's Foes, showing the use of cartoons.

his *Social Problems*, "he finds out all that he can about the child's previous life; what kind of father and mother he has; whether they quarrel, or drink, or are cruel to the children; whether they are very poor, or incompetent; who have been the boy's associates; what the immediate circumstances which led to the arrest were; and many more details which may be essential to the solution of the problem in hand. The confidence of the child is sought, and his version of the event is gained if possible. Then, with as deep an insight

as he can get into the details of the case, the judge acts."

The sole aim of the judge is to discover some way and prescribe some method which will make the child a useful unit of society. Dr. Charles Zueblin in his most illuminating volume, *American Municipal Progress*, brings out the fact that seventy per cent of the misconduct of the children who come before the New York County Children's Court is traceable to parental delinquency, and that more than half of the children appear in court as a result of their limited opportunity for play. When



Wall panel on Carefulness against the Cold and Pneumonia, showing a combination of photographs and cartoons.



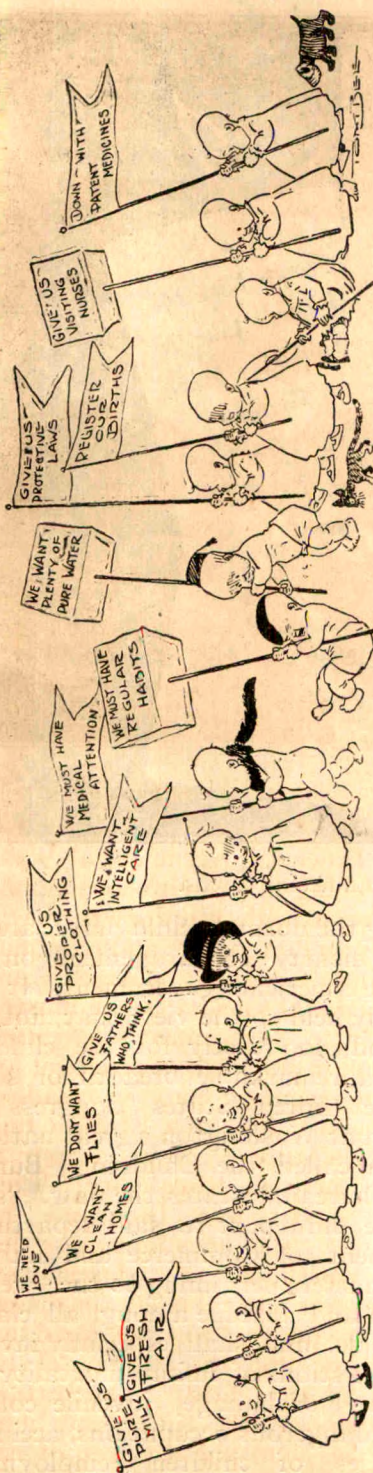
Examples of Baby-week printed matter used in different towns.

the judge is in possession of facts like this he knows that what the unfortunate child needs is not punishment but an opportunity to reform. To achieve these ends, various methods are tried. "If the home is fairly well fitted to rear the child, and the parents are anxious to do their part, the boy or girl is usually sent home on probation for a certain length of time." Probation officers get in close friendly touch with the child and try to get him on the right path. If the home conditions are not, however, of the desirable sort, the judge may decide as a last resort to send the child for a time to an institution, a reformatory, or a training school. The result is, as intimated by Mr. A. W. Dunn, Specialist in Civil Education of the United States Bureau of Education, "many, who would by punishment be hardened, are thus led to become good citizens."

CHILDREN'S BUREAU.

The scientific methods of conserving and

developing the normal child have always met with hearty encouragement on the part of the American government. It has consistently held to the view that nothing is too good, too costly for the children. And with a remarkable breadth of social vision the United States Congress has established at Washington a great national institution called the Children's Bureau. "The said bureau," states the law, "shall investigate and report to said department [Department of Commerce and Labor] upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people, and shall especially investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children, employment, legislation affecting children in the several States." In short, it has to do practically with every conceivable phase of the child welfare problem.



A BARY-WEEK NEWSPAPER CARTOON.

Reproduced by courtesy of Baltimore Evening Sun.

The Children's Bureau in the course of its extensive investigations has come to the conclusion that one of the great factors in

the unnecessary waste of infant life is the lack of fundamental knowledge among mothers of the proper maternal and infant care. It is this condition of ignorance which is mainly responsible for the high rate of infant mortality. In order to remedy the evil, the Bureau lends material for exhibits, sends out lecturers, and issues innumerable publications affecting the welfare of children. Last year it brought out a series of free weekly pamphlets on the care of babies and young children. They proved invaluable to the mother who found it difficult to get the information she needed. The publications discussed fundamental problems of child hygiene and dietetics. They pointed out errors in feeding, and suggested proper meals for the baby from the time of his birth up to his fourth year.

Recreation, as has already been stated, is absolutely essential to round out a wholesome life for the child. A welfare program which fails to provide for the right sort of recreation is seriously defective. The Children's Bureau in the summer of 1918 launched what the newspapers termed a "Recreation Drive" for the purpose of increasing the physical vigor of growing children. "As a result these activities," says Cleveland and Schafer's *Democracy in Reconstruction*, "new playground were opened and new recreational activities established in many communities. Meager resources were turned to good account. In rural localities school yards were fitted out with simple, home-made equipment. Athletics became a part of school life."

Of the many activities of the Children's Bureau, one more can be mentioned. The Bureau holds health conferences in different parts of the country. At these conferences parents are invited to bring their children for a thorough examination by a Government physician. He advises parents about the feeding and care of children and offers them the opportunity to discuss the many health problems which come up in rearing of children. An important part of such a conference is an exhibit, in which are shown and explained many devices to lighten the mother's work in caring for her children. These usually include simple equipment which mothers should have to bathe the



Starting a Fly Campaign at the Rochester Child-welfare Exhibit. A combination of "living exhibit" with charts.

baby and to prepare his food ; the proper clothing for infants and the right kind of bed ; effective and inexpensive methods of screening the baby ; iceless refrigerators in which the boy's milk could be kept ; and a good many other devices.

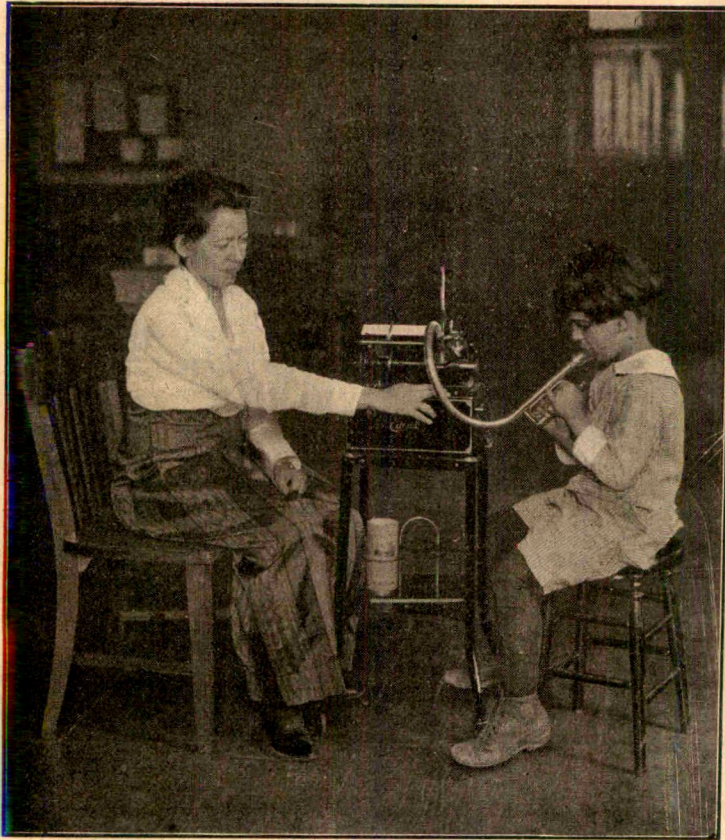
The Children's Bureau is doing a splendid work in increasing the efficiency and happiness of the American people a thousandfold. The Bureau is cutting down infant mortality, preventing pain and loss, reducing sickness and suffering, and reinforcing and building up the national health. It is therefore only to be expected that the Chief of the Children's Bureau, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, should re-affirm her conviction in a recent report that "the safe-guarding of human life and vigor is of national concern" and that she should "therefore urge that the public protection of maternity and infancy should be accepted as a governmental policy."

A WELFARE RESEARCH STATION.

The American State government no less

than the Federal government at Washington, is coming to feel more and more that for a nation to neglect its duty to the young is not only to do morally and economically wrong, but to betray posterity and to commit national suicide. As an illustration of the State government's solicitude to forge ahead in its work of practical human betterment, mention may be made of the Child Welfare Research Station founded by the legislature of Iowa at our State University here in Iowa City. The law provides seventy-five thousand rupees annually for "the investigation of the best scientific methods of conserving and developing the normal child, the dissemination of the information acquired by such investigation, and the training of student for work in that field." The Station has at its disposal the University libraries, laboratories, and the services of trained scholars in their respective fields of investigation.

The work of the Child Welfare Research Station does not conflict with that of the



Detecting inaccuracies of voice by a dictaphone at Child Welfare Research Station.

Federal Children's Bureau at Washington. The Welfare Station confines its activities within the State of Iowa, and centers its energies mainly on the intensive study of the problems of psychology, anthropology, biology, sociology, in fact every science which has to do with the well-being of the child. Just now the Station is very much interested, among other things, in the science of child nutrition. In order to determine the exact food value of milk for children, a series of feeding experiments are being carried on on guinea-pigs and white rats. When the final results are ascertained, the information will be printed in bulletins for free distribution.

The scientific investigations of the Welfare Station are always conducted along practical lines. The Director of the Station was telling me the other day of a social survey he is conducting in a near-by com-

munity. Every child of pre-school age is being accorded an elaborate examination. It includes a searching analysis of the physical, mental, and moral conditions of the child's earliest life from his pre-natal period up to his sixth year, when he begins his school life. "The facts thus found," remarked the Director, who is an expert psychologist, "will be traced by intensive investigation to arrive at an explanation of each peculiarity of the child so discovered. The typical conditions operating for good or evil during the formative period of childhood will thus be discovered and interpreted. It will also be probable that an intensive investigation will be undertaken in the field of preventive dentistry."

INDIAN CHILDREN'S DEPARTMENT.

Children, ancient Greeks used to say, are the "joys of the world"; and India must not be denied these joys. At a recent meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council, the government was forced to admit that the number of child deaths in the Province of Bengal, during the last year, had reached no less than 308,537. Think of that! Over three hundred thousand child deaths in just one Province! What a shameful waste of the most valuable resource of the nation! What an appalling loss of the greatest asset of the country! The conditions which result in the deaths of thousands and thousands of babies and little children must be blotted out. The inhuman conditions which sentence the surviving children to lives of ill-health, inefficiency, and chronic misery must be wiped out. By divine right every child born has a full claim to an opportunity for growth and development. To neglect that claim is to neglect one of India's



Teaching children how to play.

most sacred duties. The future of the nation, its defense and strength, indeed its very life, is in the keeping of the young. America shows the way to India on the child question. The great lesson for Hindustan to learn from this country is that the death of babies can be absolutely reduced by proper agency and institution. Children can most certainly be helped to grow up healthy, happy, and efficient. To be sure, everything cannot be done at one jump; but a beginning cannot be made too soon. India must remake herself. She must dream, hope, plan, and try and try again. "Effort is not lost," says Professor Will Durant in *Philosophy and Social Problems*. "Not to have tried is the only failure, the only misery; all effort is happiness, all effort is success." It is true that the individual has his responsibility in the

work. Nevertheless, the better social mind in the West has declared most positively that by far the largest responsibility lies with the government. In this modern age of full-blooded and vigorous democracy, especially in the United States, the responsibility for the protection of children is put squarely before the government. Judging by what the American government is doing for child welfare, the Indian government is a hundred years too late! Is it ever going to catch up? When? The time is certainly here when there should be created a Children's Welfare Department in the Indian government. It should work on a well-thought-out scientific plan to protect the Indian "infant industry," for after all the "child crop" is the most important crop on the face of this earth. "There is no wealth," sagely

observed Ruskin, "but life. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings."

Indian States like Baroda, Bhavnagar, Gondal*, Gwalior, Mysore, Travancore,

* His Highness the Thakore Saheb of Gondal

&c., may well be expected to set an example to the British Indian imperial and provincial governments in the care of children.

is, we believe, a Doctor of Medicine of Edinburgh University, and, as such, must feel deeply interested in question of health.—Editor, *M.R.*

THE STORY OF THE LION AND THE ELEPHANT

THE "lion over a recumbent elephant" is one of the most oft-recurring architectural devices made familiar to us in the temples of Orissa. Its persistent occurrence in Orissan

Gajapati dynasty by the Kesari dynasty of

Orissa, the 'lion' (*Kesari*) vanquishing the 'elephant' (*Gajapati*), being in the nature of a political pictograph or cartoon. The Kesari dynasty is supposed to have come into power about the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, the motif should, therefore, be not older than the tenth century—if it is regarded as a political landmark of local origin. Indian Art, itself a discovery of quite recent times, is still awaiting its historian, and we are afraid, will continue to do so for some time yet, but when its history is begun to be studied and written by those from whom and by whom Indian Art was created, a very big chapter has to be reserved for tracing and elucidating the evolution of its chief decorative and architectural motifs, which offer in many cases, interesting evidences of a common bond of unity and an element of continuity between two or more different schools or branches of Indian Art separated by long gaps of time and place. In this way many forms of



Fig. 1.

temple architecture has led many to believe that it was an original decorative motif invented by Orissan craftsmen. It has even been suggested that the device in question was created by the fertile head of the Orissan architect for the purpose of symbolising the overthrow of the



Fig. 2.

apparently local origin will prove to be the descendants of patterns having an earlier history. With the progress of our knowledge of archaeological monuments in India this is becoming apparent day by day. Thus the *tiringi talai* ('twisted blade') pattern on an eighteenth century Sinhalese snuff box is the continuation and a survival of decorative motifs which the excavations at Sarnath revealed on the Dhamekh Stupa (Circa 5th century). Similarly many of the female decorative types which figure on Brahminical temples of Orissa of the 11th and 12th centuries trace their genealogy from cognate and consanguinary types occurring on Jaina and Buddhist rails said to have been carved by Kushan artists of the 2nd and 3rd century A.D. Thus, the 'rampant lion on the couchant elephant' which the Orissan *Sthapathis*, by continuous fondling of a favourite form, appear to have made their own for nearly three centuries, has now been proved to have been borrowed from an older generation of artists practising outside the limits of Orissa. As soon as we scan a few of the examples of mediaeval Magadhan sculpture, we find that the pattern was not the monopoly of the Hindu artists of Orissa, it was the current stock-in-trade of the Buddhist image-maker of the ninth and tenth centuries. In an already stereotyped form it occurs as ornaments on the back of the Buddha's *Simhasana* flanking the upright plank (*pitha*) on either side. The most well-known example may be cited in the stone image of the Buddha from Kurkihara (Gya District) now in the Lucknow Museum (B 284, reproduced here as fig. 1, dating from about the ninth century). It has, however, a still earlier history. If we peep into one of the inner cells of Cave No. IX at Ajanta, we find that the magnificent sedent sculpture of 'Buddha preaching', carries on the 'lion throne' at the same places, the same motif of the 'lion vanquishing the elephant.' This cave is believed to have been excavated about the sixth century. The device is also repeated in the frescoes of the same cave (Vide Griffiths' *Ajanta*, Vol. I, Plate 38). Our enquiry into the pedigree of the pattern of the decoration, however, stops at the art of the sixth century. If we closely examine a very interesting series of Buddhas painted on the wall of Cave No. XIX at Ajanta, we find the lions occur on either side of the upright back of Buddha's throne—but the couchant elephant is wanting (Vide Griffiths, Vol. I, Plate 89). Similarly we miss the element of the elephant form in the lion patterns on the well-known Sarnath image of the Buddha dating about the 5th century (Vide Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art*, Plate XXXVIII). In the fifth century, then, we meet with an earlier phase of a pattern of the 'lion' which crystallised in a set formula in conjunction with the elephant form sometime between the 5th and the 6th century. We have been without any evidence so far of the earliest

example in which the composite lion and elephant motif occurs in its primitive phase. The excavations at Nalanda (Behar) conducted by Dr. Spooner have brought to light a unique bronze capital [Fig. 2] which reveals, in its archaic form, the birth, so to speak, of this interesting decorative device. The honor of this discovery, as Dr. Spooner very generously points out, is due to his assistant Babu Haridas Dutt. To quote the words of the Report* of the excavations: "Babu Haridas had his reward on finding, as he turned the corner towards the West (Site No. 1), a sort of small niche, built against the back wall of the verandah of this South side, and beside it a very fine bronze (or copper?) pillar, which had seemingly fallen from the top of it. This pillar is unique in my experience. It stands over four feet in height. The lower half is plain, but the upper is fashioned into a sort of capital showing the form of a recumbent elephant surmounted by a maned lion upon whose head rest two horizontal discs capped by a lotus bud. What Hsuan Chuang tells us, one of the great monasteries here at Nalanda having been built by a King of "Central India," might tempt one to wonder whether there is any connexion between his account and this representation of the emblem of the Gond Kings of the Central Provinces. But I fear that the device of a lion upon an elephant is too familiar even elsewhere in India to permit of any decision in the matter, unless the pillar prove to be inscribed. As yet, of course, it remains unclear and whether it is inscribed or not, one cannot guess." According to the date of the other finds from the same site, this copper pillar has to be assigned a date sometime between the 5th and 6th century A.D., which also fits in with the history of its earlier forms. If we compare this find with similar motifs of the 6th, 7th and 9th century A.D., cited above, it offers the earliest, and in fact, the first attempt to represent the composite pattern, afterwards stereotyped in Orissan temple architecture. As we have already pointed out, in the older Buddhist examples the composite pattern has already taken a conventional shape which is markedly divergent from the archaic treatment offered in the Nalanda find. The latter must therefore be taken as the progenitor of the pattern from which all the later forms, in various evolutionary stages, are derived. In fact if we take the elaborate later forms, with profuse ornamentation due to intricate stylisation, met with in the 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th centuries in Chalukyan, Nayaka and Bijaynagara Sculptures, the divergence from the Nalanda prototype makes it almost beyond recognition. The lion, of course, in the South Indian examples, assumes a proboscis in order to develop in the mythical *Yali*. The pattern of "the lion

* Annual Report, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, 1916-17 p. 42.

standing on the elephant" has therefore a history dating at least from the 5th to the 17th century A.D. and its geographical extension fairly covers Northern, Central, Eastern and Southern India—ultimately crossing over to Java in company with many other artistic motifs of equal and also of more ancient historical lineage. This uninterrupted career of its life has been continued and brought up to the present day by the modern Bengali *Kumbhakars* (the wretched survivors of the ancient families of Indian craftsmen) in their mud idols of *Jagaddhatri* (a form of *Durga*) annually worshipped in Bengal in the month of November. The lion vehicle of *Jagaddhatri* accompanies its crouching elephant thus carrying the traditional sculptural practice over an unbroken period of fifteen hundred years. The occurrence of the type beyond the limits of Orissan art both in time and place, has already demonstrated the fact that it is neither a symbol of the political overthrow of the Gajapati kings nor is it the original invention of Orissan artist, in spite of the fact that the latter has invested the device with a craftsman's formula and has attempted to appropriate the ornament by giving it three special names to denote its varieties—namely, "Uta-Gaja-Sinha," "Uta-Gaja-Viraja-Sinha" and "Chhidra-Gaja-Sinha." We have yet to find out the name under which it figures in the handbooks of the old Buddhist craftsmen who were probably the inventors of the pattern. The form does not appear to have been inspired by any religious

idea and has been evolved from purely representative and ornamental necessity. It was the inevitable outcome of an attempt to represent lions as an indispensable ornament for a 'lion-throne' (*Simhāsana*). And in course of time the elephant form came to be introduced in the device in order to emphasize in rhetorical language the character and habits of the "King of beasts" as it has been understood and interpreted in Classical Sanskrit literature. The idea of placing the head of the elephant at the foot of the lion seems to have been borrowed by the artists from literary traditions. And the pattern is almost an echo of the well-known anonymous verse descriptive of the lion which ascribes to the animal the daily habit of "splitting the head of the king of elephants"—as a symbol of the strength and power of the King of beasts over all other animal forms, the largest and strongest being typified by the elephant.

"Bhinatti Bhimam (nityam ?) Kari-rāja-kumbham

Bibharti begam pabanātīrekam
Karoti bāsam giri-rāja-sringe
Tathāpi Simhah pasureba nānyah."

Utbhat Slokamālā

By Purna Chandra De, 1904, p. 87.

The credit of this suggestion is due to Mr. Bijoy Chandra Mazumdar who, as my friend Mr. Gurudas Sarkar points out, was the first to indicate the literary parallel.

ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOLY.

THE INDIAN DEPUTATIONS AND THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH.

I.

WHEN the Select Parliamentary Committee began its labours, about the middle of July, there were seven separate Indian deputations in London representing respectively the Indian National Congress, the "Moderate" Conference, the three Home Rule Leagues, the All-India Moslem League, and the Non-Brahmans of Madras. The composition of these deputations was as follows :

The *Congress Deputation* : Mr. B. G. Tilak ; Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C. I. E. ; the Hon. Mr. G. S. Khaparde ; Mr. N. C. Kelkar ; Mr. B. G. Horniman ; Dr. P. J.

Metha ; and Mr. V. J. Patel (Secretary). Mr. S. Satyamurti acted as Assistant Secretary to the deputation.

The *Moderate Deputation* : Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee (Chairman) ; Sir Krishna Gupta ; Sir Benode Chunder Mitter ; the Hon. Mr. Sirinivasa Sastri ; the Hon. Mr. Ramachandra Rao ; the Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani ; the Hon. Mr. B. H. Kamath ; Mr. Gupte ; Mr. Prithwis Chunder Ray ; Mr. H. N. Kunzru ; Mr. K. C. Roy ; and Mr. N. M. Samarth (Secretary).

The *Indian Home Rule League* : Mr. B. G. Tilak ; Mr. G. S. Khaparde, and Mr. Kelkar.

The *All-India Home Rule League* : Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar ; and Mr. Horniman.

The *National Home Rule League* : Mrs. Annie Besant ; Mr. B. P. Wadia ; Mr. P. K. Telang ; and Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas.

The *All-India Moslem League* : Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah ; the Hon. Mr. G. M. Bhurgrī ; and the Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan.

The *Non-Brahmin Deputation* : Dr. T. M. Nair, who was expecting colleagues to arrive.

II.

The attitude adopted by Dr. Nair made any action between his group and the other Indians in London impossible. It was, however, hoped that a *modus vivendi* might be found whereby all but the last named deputation could be made to realise the necessity of arriving at an understanding, and if possible, of working in co-operation.

No one who possesses any imagination needs to be told that such a compromise would have been in the best interests of India. It would have shown to Britain and to the world at large that Indians had learned to sink differences—personal and otherwise—and to make common cause with one another, irrespective of race, creed, and caste. Since the structure of modern Government is based upon compromise, even a partial measure of agreement would have proved most valuable.

It would, moreover, have been easy for the British to understand a joint demand made by Indians belonging to various political creeds, while a series of demands made has separately caused confusion, even when the differences existing between the groups consisted largely of differences in phraseology, temperament, and personal ambition. Such differences have, furthermore, lent themselves to manipulation by the political enemies of Indians, to the grave disadvantage of the Indian cause.

In view of the fact that the differences existing among various groups of educated Indians were comparatively small, there was reason to hope that a compromise could be effected. After all, the goal of the

Indian National Congress, all the three Home Rule Leagues, the All-India Moslem League, and even the Moderates' Conference was the same—self-government within the Empire. They were, moreover, all agreed that the goal could not be reached all at once, but by stages. They were, furthermore, agreed that the weapon to be employed should be none other than constitutional agitation.

There was considerable agreement among the various groups even in regard to their attitude towards the projected scheme of Indian constitutional reforms. They all desired modifications—in the principles and not merely in details : for none of them wished to see autocracy preserved in the Central Government—none of them wished to see India continue to lack power over her fiscal policy.

In regard to the proposals for the reconstruction of Provincial Governments, some insisted upon full provincial autonomy, while others accepted the principle of "diarchy". But all desired to see more subjects of provincial administration transferred to popular control than had been foreshadowed in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, or even proposed by the Feetham Committee.

The objections raised to the powers that it was proposed to confer upon provincial Governors, the manner in which Ministers were to be appointed, and the conditions under which they were to hold office, the way in which the Legislative Assemblies were to be constituted, and were to work, and particularly in regard to the power of the purse that, in one way or another, was to be retained by permanent officials, showed that the men belonging to the various groups entertained much the same doubts and fears, and demanded practically the same safeguards, howmuchsoever they might differ in the way in which they gave expression to their doubts, fears, and demands.

III.

Since the arrival of the deputations, many attempts have been made to bring them together. Several well-wishers of India tried to do this. Some of the men

bers of the deputations themselves have made much endeavours. I myself, who belong to no party, have exerted what influence I possess to make the delegates fresh from India realise the advisability and the necessity of joint action.

But all such efforts have failed, and to-day there does not exist any hope of a compromise being effected. Why?

One of the chief reasons for the failure is, alas, that our men have not yet learned to place public interest above personal bias. A delegate will say quite openly that he will not sit with such and such a man—and will perversely stick to that decision. Another delegate will say that the inclusion of certain persons in a certain delegation is likely to give the political enemies of India the opportunity of branding all the Indians co-operating with him as anti-British.

From the other side the taunt will be flung into the teeth of more than one delegate that he will co-operate only on condition that he is permitted "to boss the whole show." It will even be said that a delegate is willing to "whittle down" Indian demands with a view to truckling to the officials and in the end gaining a ministry.

Such accusations and counter-accusations, and such a spirit of personal hostility, cannot possibly make for union.

Then there is the question of "mandate!" The Congress deputation is bound by the resolutions passed at the Delhi Conference, whereas the other groups are "plenipotentiaries" with full powers to negotiate. The "Moderates," and even the Besantite Home Rulers, will not accept the Delhi position, and unless the Congress Deputation has power to move from that position, —or, at any rate has the will to do so—compromise cannot be effected.

There are outsiders—most powerful outsiders—who stand to gain from division in the ranks of Indian delegates, and their influence, more than all the other causes combined, has kept the various deputations from coming together. Rightly or wrongly, these men feel that if Indians demanded, in unison, a considerable modification of the Bill now before the Parliamentary Committee, such a demand may wreck all

chances of Indian reform, or, at any rate, make Parliament feel that even if it were willing to pass the present measure substantially as it stood, there would be no party in India willing to take it and work it in a spirit of goodwill and fellowship.

The political reputations and future careers of many Britons (and a few Indians) are involved in the passage of the Indian Bill substantially as it stands. They have, therefore, exerted all the influence that they possessed to prevent Indians from co-operating with one another, unless, of course, such co-operation was likely to insure the success of the measure to which they were committed. The larger question of Indian reform was none of their business, at any rate not for the present: and Indians who pressed for a large and substantial measure must be kept separate from those who were willing to take the Bill as it stood, for the support given by the latter would impress the British people as nothing else would do. So short-sighted are we Indians that some of us are playing into the hands of these outsiders.

And thus it has happened that Indians who have come to London specially to put the case of India before the British people are divided into different camps, and thereby they are going to miss the golden opportunity of impressing Britain (and the world) with the fact that Indians are united in their larger aims and aspirations, that it would be an act of the highest statesmanship on the part of Britain gracefully to comply with Indian wishes, and that in deciding India's fate the British should be imaginative and courageous.

IV.

I am told by some friends that the decision of the various groups to approach the Parliamentary Committee separately will not in any way do disservice to India. They argue that the British are quite used to the party system, and that even during war party conflict was not stilled.

I recognise their sincerity, their honesty of purpose. But I am not impressed with their logic.

Just fancy Indians advancing arguments to bolster up separatism at a time when persons with vested interests in India are solidly combined against them. Can they not take a leaf out of the book of their political opponents—the financiers and commercialists specially interested in India, and of the “Indian civilians”?

When they talk of the war they forget that though a small pacifist minority shrieked at the top of its voice, the British were able sufficiently to sink their sectional and personal interests to enable them to win a great victory. But the example of that united effort is lost upon our people. Misled by outsiders, they seem bent upon following their several ways.

In that circumstance, all that I can do is to examine the memoranda that the various groups are separately submitting to the Committee, and later to analyse the evidence given by different individuals on behalf of the various delegations.

V.

An advance copy of the memorandum prepared by the delegates of the Indian National Congress has been placed at my disposal with permission to deal with it in the Indian press, as long before this article appears it will have become public property in this country. Unfortunately, however, it is a document of twenty-four closely printed pages containing matter of the utmost importance and considerable complexity, and the few hours that it has been in my hands have not been sufficient to enable me to make as thorough a study of it as I should have wished to do. The mail will not wait for me, however, and I must do the best in the circumstance.

The first part of the memorandum consists of the general statement that the Congress was founded in 1885 “to advocate reforms in the government and administration of the country and to bring about an adequate measure of popular representation and control over the legislative and administrative machinery;” that it has been pressing for these reforms for thirty-three years with ever-increasing force; that to-day it represents “the overwhelming body of opinion among the

people of India,” and its “constitution and organisation are of the widest democratic” description; and that about 5,400 delegates including a large number of cultivators, attended the last session at Delhi.

The resolutions passed there were almost identical with those passed at the meeting of the all-India Moslem League, held at the same time and at the same place. In pressing for the Indian case, therefore, the delegates of the Congress “speak with an authority which is indisputable.”

The delegation boldly challenges the dictum laid down in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report “that the people of India are as yet unfit for full self-government.” That conclusion is based upon three presumptions, namely:

“1. The Absence of trained electorates of sufficient dimensions.

2. The setting-up of an oligarchy of educated classes to govern illiterate masses whose interests they would not be so well fitted to represent as an alien bureaucracy.

3. Racial diversities and religious animosities.”

These “reasons,” the delegates frankly assert, are specious. Similar contentions did not stand “in the way of achievement of responsible government by any modern State.” They cite figures to show how small the electorate was in the United Kingdom even as late as 1881. After giving similar figures about other countries, they ask what right anybody has to assume that the educated leaders of Indian opinion cannot be as safely trusted with the welfare of the Indian masses as were the leaders in other countries. They prove and prove conclusively—how educated Indians have sought to promote the welfare of the Indian masses. Racial strife and religious animosities, they point out, were acute in Canada at the time when Dominionhood was bestowed upon her, but in the wake of self-government such strife and animosities have well-nigh disappeared.

The Congress delegates very pertinently remind the Parliamentary Committee that the Southborough Committee had to accept the compact made between the Indian National Congress and the

Muslim League in regard to Muslim representation in various Legislatures. They further remind that body that "religious disputes and consequent disturbances (in India) are only spasmodic and local, as they are in other countries; moreover they are conspicuous by their absence in the States under Indian rule, and they are not infrequently provoked and aggravated in British India by external causes and interference."

The memorandum plainly states that the Indian National Congress has definitely repudiated the claim "of others" to decide for India the time and measure of the stages by which "self-government should be achieved," because the admission of such a claim would amount to the "negation of the recognised principle of self-determination." The people of India, through the Congress, have given expression to their wishes and aspirations and formulated their demands.

The memorandum then goes on to summarise the resolutions passed at the Delhi Conference in clear, straightforward, and dignified language. It lays special emphasis upon the demand of the Congress for a declaration of the rights of the people of India as British citizens, namely, "that all Indians are equal before the law, equally entitled to a licence to bear arms and to enjoy freedom of speech, writing and meeting, and also the freedom of the Press, and that no one should be punished or deprived of his liberty, except by a sentence of a Court of Justice." That demand has been met by the passage of the Fowlett Act by the Government of India "in the teeth of the unanimous Indian opinion of the country both in and outside the Legislative Council."

The Bill referred to the Committee is frankly described as unsatisfactory. It "makes generous provision for the transfer of control, not from the bureaucracy to the people, but from Parliament to the bureaucracy." It proposes to invest the Provincial Governors with "almost despotic powers."

Part II. of the Memorandum shows how the Bill should be amended in order to bring it in line with the proposals of the

Indian National Congress. Part III. is devoted to "Functions and Franchise." No one who reads both these parts will say that Indians do not know how to be clear, specific, and concise.

The resolutions bearing upon the question of Indian constitutional reform passed at the last Congress are given textually in Appendix I; while Appendix II. is devoted to an examination of the important points in which the Montagu Bill falls short of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

VI.

I feel that the authors of this note have rendered great service to the Indian cause by the frank and able manner in which they have put the Congress demands before the Indian Parliamentary Committee. The manly tone of the document cannot be praised too highly.

The only other memorandum which is ready at the date of writing, is that of Mrs. Besant's Home Rule League. I have had a copy of it for several days, and have, therefore, been able to make an adequate summary of it.

The memorandum expresses dissatisfaction with the failure to introduce the principle of responsibility into the Government of India by the division of subjects into "reserved" and "transferred," as in the case of the provincial Governments. It declares that unless a beginning of responsibility is made in the centre, there can be no "gradual development of self-governing institutions," as promised in the pronouncement of August 20, 1917. Customs, Tariff and Excise Duty, at least, should be transferred to a minister, and the Budget should follow the provincial procedure. The reserved subjects of the Central Government should be Foreign Affairs (except relations with the Colonies and Dominions), Army, Navy, and relations with the Indian Ruling Princes and matters affecting peace, tranquillity, and the defence of the country. Grand Committees should be substituted for the Council of State. The Legislative Assembly should consist of not less than 150 members, of whom four-fifths should be elected. If the Legislative Assembly does not pass measures on reserved sub-

jects deemed necessary by the Government, the Governor-General-in-Council should be empowered to provide for them by Regulations for one year, to be renewed only if two-fifths of the members of the Assembly present and voting are in favour of it.

The Memorandum submits that "good government" is too vague a phrase, as is also "peace and order," and suggests that certification should be confined to "foreign and political relations" and peace and order and that the Council of State's power to pass legislation objected to by the Legislative Assembly should be limited to "time of war or internal disturbance," without reference to the proposed House of Commons Select Committee, unless the legislation is limited to one year.

The establishment of simultaneous Civil Service examinations, without precedent nominations, and proposals to raise the salaries and pensions of the Indian Civil Service are viewed with alarm.

With reference to the Local Governments, the Memorandum urges that the policy shall be so specifically defined that no power given under the Act can be whittled down by the Rules. After expressing satisfaction with the transferred subjects as given in the Feetham Report, it ventures to hope that Irrigation, Land Revenue, and Famine Relief will be transferred on the application of the Provinces at the end of five years, if Parliament should refuse to transfer them now. With the transfer of these subjects should go the power to order that the salary of the Ministers should be voted by the Legislative Council. There is no reason, the Memorandum declares, why the third Legislative Council should not enjoy complete Provincial autonomy. There should be a distinct proviso that a subject once transferred should not be again reserved—the remedy for maladministration should be the dismissal of the Minister responsible for the condition of affairs. The salaries of the Ministers should, in every case, be the same as those of members of the Executive Council, in order to secure equality of status.

The Bill should provide that one Executive Councillor must be an Indian. The Governor should have no greater

power over the Ministers than over the Executive Councillors, and the Governor-and-Ministers should be given exactly the same power to interfere with the decisions of the Governor-in-Council affecting transferred powers, as the Governor-in-Council has to interfere with the decisions of the Governor-and-Ministers on the ground of their possible effect upon reserved subjects. The relation of the Governor to the Ministers in regard to the transferred subjects should be the same as that obtaining in the Self-Governing Dominions, with the difference that the Governor in the present scheme is both representative of the King and the Prime Minister.

The Memorandum submits that the proposed Councils are too small, and that the number should be raised, in the major Provinces, to at least 150, four-fifths elected and one-fifth nominated. It suggests that the Rules should provide that no person resident in India who is a subject of a Dominion which puts disabilities upon Indians shall be eligible for election or nomination.

Emphatic protests are registered against the disqualification of women on the grounds of sex, claiming that it is foreign to Indian traditions, and warns the Government that it would be "unwise to invite the agitation which will certainly arise if votes are denied" to women, since women's "agitations in India are markedly formidable, as was shown in the removal of indentured labour in Fiji, and in the release of Mrs. Annie Besant and her colleagues from internment in 1917, for they are more indifferent to consequences than men, and public feeling in India would not tolerate any physical violence against women." It is pointed out that it is "obviously absurd to grant the franchise to illiterate men labourers and to deny it to women University graduates."

The size of the electorates, as fixed in the Southborough Report, is, in the opinion of the framers of the Memorandum, too small. Even if the five million persons to be enfranchised were all literates, which they certainly are not, at least three million literates should be added to the voting list on a property qualification. It

is suggested that any person who may be able to write a demand for a vote in the presence of the registration officer or his deputy, should be enfranchised ; and that the property qualification should be lowered at the end of the term of three years of the first reformed Councils.

The National Home Rule League is not in favour of communal representation, as it would perpetuate religious differences in political life and check the growth of healthy National unity. The Muslim communal electorate should remain until the Muslims themselves demand its abolition, but the principle should not be extended to other communities, as their interests are not separate from those of other interests, or are already sufficiently safeguarded. It is pointed out, for instance, that the general Hindu communities elect Christians, Parsis, Sikhs, and Musalmans, as well as Hindus. (It is interesting to note, in this connection, that Dr. T. M. Nair, a non-Brahman, was himself elected to the Madras Municipal Corporation by a Brahman electorate, which preferred him to a Brahman candidate).

Disapproval of the institution of Grand Committees is expressed in the Memo-

randum, and it is submitted that if they are instituted, not less than half of their number should be elected by the Legislative Council.

It is strongly urged in the National Home Rule Memorandum that control of purse is absolutely essential to responsibility and to the due discharge of the important functions entrusted to Ministers. There should be one purse, under the control of the Legislature, subject to the contribution of the Government of India. Its allotment should be decided by consultation and joint deliberation on the same policy, and where there is a deficit it should be jointly borne and taxation levied jointly for the reserved and controlled subjects.

In conclusion the National Home Rule League Memorandum submits that it is very desirable that a definite term should be inserted in the statute, so as to put an end to all agitation and to direct all Indian efforts to the task of efficient responsible Government. The Statutory Commission, at the conclusion of ten years, should recommend such extensions of responsibility in the Central Government as should ensure complete responsible Government at the end of another period of five years.

CHHANDA OR METRE

I HAVE read, with great admiration and interest, Rabindranath Tagore's eloquent and learned lecture on *Chhanda*. May I, as a humble student of language, add one or two remarks and suggestions arising out of a careful perusal of the lecture ?

The poet has dealt with two different topics in his discourse ; namely, the *psychology* and the *technique* of metre or rhythm. With the former, I do not presume to deal. It may be that poetry expresses Emotion and other unspeakable sentiments of the mind by means of the musical motion imparted to spoken language by means of metre. Rabindranath might some day give us his opinion on poetical phraseology. In most languages (markedly so in English) verse has a vocabulary of its own, and the use of this heightens the subtle allusiveness and suggestiveness of poetry. But this is

seemingly not a necessary quality of poetry. In French verse, for example, the vocabulary is rather rhetorical than what an Englishman calls poetical, and might be used without offence by an orator. So has it been in English poetry at times, as in the Augustan age, when Dryden and Pope used words which were (according to the still surviving French convention) "noble" but not possessed of the lyrical emotiveness and haunting vagueness of feeling which modern English poets have acquired as a legacy from the Romantic period of English verse. How far that is so in Bengali verse, it is not for a foreigner to say. That there is a marked difference in verse and prose diction and vocabulary is evident even to a smatterer in Bengali letters. As in Wordsworth's lyrics so in Rabindranath's charming poems the phrases seem to be taken from the homely speech of every day,

which, after all, is the true, the instinctive language of real emotion. But Bengali verse can also be nobly and impressively rhetorical, as in the magnificent epic of Madhusudan. But this, once more, is a topic beyond my competence.

I come, then, to the *technique*, the artifice, the technical rules by which the poet is guided, more or less unconsciously, in the practice of his art. I ventured to submit a rough translation of Rabindranath's lecture to Dr. Bridges, the Poet Laureate, and one of his comments was as follows :—

"The tendency of the metrical units to be equivalent to the verbal units on Tagore's system comes out rather plainly in his examples. I could not guess how far that was traditional, or due to his metrical theories."

The thesis I desire to establish is that in Bengali verse (and also in French verse) the metrical unit is *necessarily* composed of one or more complete words, whereas in English, German and other languages in which rhythm consists of the regular occurrence of a fixed number of (sometimes internal) word-stresses, the metrical unit may break off in the middle of a word. In other words, I hope to establish that Bengali metre and French metre are different from those of the languages in which fixed word-stress is the dominant audible quality.

Let us first clear away the "quantitative" verse of the classical languages of Europe and India; of Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin. In these, metre consisted of units composed of long and short syllables which filled exactly the place taken in music by long and short notes. In the one case as in the other, two "shorts" are conventionally equal to one "long" and can be substituted for it. So dominant is this quality of brevity or length of syllabic duration that it makes accent inaudible for purposes of rhythm, so that one short accented syllable plus one short unaccented syllable is often the metrical equivalent of one long unaccented syllable. It is said by experts that some modern languages of India still possess quantitative verse. If so, it is tempting to suggest that they are languages in which verse is still chanted or sung. But as I am not an expert in these languages, I will say no more about them. The subject is one which is well worth investigation. May I suggest that the safest way of studying it is to secure the aid of the measuring instruments of a good phonetic laboratory? The ear is easily misled by prejudice and prepossession. The phonetician's instruments make an absolutely correct measure of the duration of syllabic sound.

The exact opposite of quantitative verse is the stress verse of languages such as English, German, &c., in which the important point is the number of strong or stressed syllables that occur in a verse. In these as in other languages the number of syllables in two similarly stressed verses may be the same. But that is not

necessary. The classical example is Tennyson's well-known lines;—

Break, break, break

On thy cold grey stones, O sea.

Here you have two similarly stressed lines, each containing three stresses, but one made up of three, the other of seven syllables. Quantity or duration of syllabic sound, on the other hand, is non-existent for metrical purposes. That is, it is not necessary that any particular syllable shall, for purposes of metre, be "long" or "short." A poet will, of course, for purposes of variety, musical effect, or emphasis, insert a long or short syllable. But that will not be in order to create metre or rhythm.

My thesis is that neither Bengali nor French verse comes under either of these categories, but has a rhythm of its own. Another way of putting it is that the metre of any given language will make use of the dominant audible quality of spoken sound in that language. I venture to assert that in French and in Bengali that dominant audible quality is not word-stress, but a *phrasal* accent whether of duration, pitch, or stress, or a combination of two or three of these. (I think the accent in question is chiefly one of duration or quantity.)

To explain what I mean, let me take a single long word, which, taken by itself, is necessarily pronounced as though it were a complete phrase. Take the familiar name of our capital city.

Take কলিকাতা। In a Bengali's mouth the word is pronounced in a level tone of voice, but the voice lingers a little longer on the first syllable. In English (and I think in Urdu also) the word becomes "Calcutta," with a fixed stress on the second, the medial syllable. Observe that this stress is fixed and will be used whenever the word occurs in a phrase. In French, the word becomes Calcuttá, with an accent (of duration?) on the *last* syllable.

Now I go on to assert, subject to correction, that the accent in the first and last cases is not fixed and falls on the first syllable in Bengali and the last syllable in French of several words pronounced rapidly but clearly together to constitute the spoken unit which is the convenient to call a "phrase."

With regard to French, I must ask you to take my word for it that the accent is *phrasal* i.e., that it falls on the last syllable or the last syllable but one of several words spoken together forming what I call a "phrase." Will you admit that the same is true of Bengali, except that here the accent, chiefly of duration, is initial and not final?

For example read aloud the following sentence :—

গতের ছন্দ সাধারণে স্বীকৃত নহে; কিন্তু গতেরও ছন্দ আছে; সে-
ছন্দ ভঙ্গ হইলে রচনা বেশ জমাট বাঁধে না এবং মাধুর্যহীন হয়।

Does not the pure rhythm of this sentence break itself up into units consisting of one or

more words, the first syllable of each of these groups being slightly but perceptibly dwelt upon?

Another way of putting it is that, in French, the accented syllable precedes and announces a slight pause (called in verse a *cæsura* or "cutting"). In Bengali, a pause precedes and announces the initial accented syllable which follows it.

My next step is to assert, diffidently and subject to correction, that it is this linguistic peculiarity which, duly regulated, is the basis of metrical rhythm. The metrical unit consists of a complete word, or more than one complete words, of which the first syllable carries a slightly prolonged duration of sound. Rabindranath finds that these units consist of two, three or five syllables in Bengali, though he omits to notice (which makes it rash for me to state) that the first syllable in each unit is noticeably more prolonged, more dwelt upon than the others. He calls these three units (1) "equal paces," (2) "unequal paces" and (3) "irregular paces."

The examples he gives are:—

- (1) ফিরে ফিরে আঁধারীতে পিছুপানে চায়।
পায়ে পায়ে বাধা পড়ে চলা হল দায়।
- (2) নয়ন-ধারায় পথ সে হারায়, চায় সে পিছন পানে;
চলিতে চলিতে, চরণ চলে না, ব্যথার বিষম টানে।
- (3) যতই চলে চোখের জলে নয়ন ভরে গুঠে,
চরণ বাধে, পরাণ কাঁদে, পিছনে মন ছোটে।

Let me say in passing that theoretically the *শায়* metre consists of two units or hemistiches composed of 8+6 syllables. But Rabindranath justly observes that these are themselves broken up into 4+3 "equal paces" of two syllables each. Therefore we must accept his high authority for the fact that in Bengali the metrical units consist of two, or three or five syllables.

But Rabindranath goes on to assert that in English verse also he hears units of two and three syllables but has never encountered units of a greater length than three syllables.

Let us examine the examples he cites:

- (1) (To) night the| winds be| gin to rise
(And) roar from| yonder| dropping| day.

This he says is an example of "equal pace." But observe that he omits the initial syllables and regards them as being extrametrical, as "outside the metre." Note the result. With one exception (be| gin) the verbal units coincide with the metrical units. But the true scansion seems to be

Tonight| the winds| begin| to rise
And roar| from yon| der drop| ping day.

This is a metre of four stresses. It is comparatively unimportant that it happens to be also one of eight syllables.

- (2) An example of "unequal pace" is this:—

When we two| parted in| silence and| tears,
Half broken| hearted to| sever for| years.

Here again is a metre of four stresses. It happens that each of the three first stressed syllables is accompanied by two unstressed or atonic syllables. But the metre would still be a four stressed metre if you wrote

We two| parted| silent, in| tears
Broken| hearted,| sever'd for| years.

It is not likely that we shall get many examples of metrical units of more than three syllables in English for the physical and metrical reason that the fixed stresses of English words are, even in prose, rarely separated from one another by more than two intervening atonic syllables. But an example of a longer unit (a foolish one, I admit) occurs to me in the familiar nursery rhyme

Hey diddle diddle|
The cat and the| fiddle.

But there are many examples to show that the metrical units in English do not always or even often coincide with verbal units. You have only to choose lines in which the stresses are internal, and occur in the middle of words. It is not necessary to cite examples. They are many. Take, if you will, the opening lines of Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

The point, however, is this, that though by distribution of stresses you may write English metrical units having the same number of syllables as you find in the shorter Bengali units, the result is obtained by means which cannot be used in Bengali, where the fixed word-stresses of English are nonexistent.

What I suggest, then, as a subject for enquiry, is whether in any given language metre is not, technically and apart from its psychological influence, a reduction to musical regularity of certain dominantly audible qualities in speech. In English verse, the Poet Laureate tells us, the units extend from stress to stress and the stresses may occur in the midst of words, for instance

Of man's first disobedience and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world and all our woes.

Here is a metre of four stresses and (incidentally) of ten syllables. Compare this with any ten syllabled line in French or Bengali and the difference leaps to the eyes in writing and is clearly audible to the ears. But note that the difference is not merely one of the *ছন্দ* of *পদ্য* but also of the rhythm of prose, of the *ছন্দ* of *গদ্য*,

and is a matter of the characteristic phrasal and significant pronunciation of the language in each case.

For the sake of brevity of statement, I have perhaps seemed to speak with more certainty than I have any right to feel in a matter so proverbially contentious as metre. I hope my readers will not think me dogmatic or 'cocksure.' I merely submit some suggestions for discussion and consideration by those who are better informed and more competent than myself. I might have made many more citations. But any one interested in the subject can find them for himself.

What I particularly suggest for discussion is the attendance of accent in Bengali and French on what Rabindranath calls *কৈর* and the French call *césure*, the pause between phrases which in these two languages constitutes the metrical unit, whereas in the stressed languages the units go from stress to stress, so that the pause may soon occur in the midst of a word. It is not easy to describe phenomena of sound in writing. But I am sure that my readers, with a little goodwill, will see what I mean. Observe that I do not in the least contest

Rabindranath's judgments in matters of which he is an incomparable master. I only venture to put another interpretation upon some of them, and to point out that metre is not the same thing in all living languages, and that the quantitative metre of the classical languages was quite other than modern metres, and was, perhaps, a result of chanting or intoning verse.

Finally, I may mention as an interesting though probably accidental fact that the French alexandrine can be chanted to the rude tune to which we have all heard the *পাঠ* of Mahabharat or Ramayan chanted in any bazar of Bengal. But the same is true of such doggerel as e.g. ;

Half a dozen solemn fools sitting in a room
Bable of stale politics, and tell their country s
doom !

That does not make these rude verses into the true metrical equivalent of the *payar*, which in the hands of a master such as Madhusudan is capable of performing marvels of poetical eloquence.

Cambridge,
August, 1918.

J. D. ANDERSON

PHASES OF SLUM-LIFE IN INDIA

IN a Chamar bustee in Mechuabazar, Calcutta, which I visited, I witnessed an overcrowding which is perhaps the worst on record. The busti is divided into several unequal and unsystematical blocks. The ground-space of each block is rented from the zemindar by a sub-lord who erects the dingy close-built bustee-huts, collects the rents from each of the block and handing over to the zeminder the rent of the ground space, appropriates the surplus. Thus in one of these blocks, which measured 18 ft. in length and 15 ft. in breadth there is an over-crowding of

7 adults
6 women
3 boys
6 girls.

The rooms are constructed so as to utilize the ground space to the maximum and yield the highest amount as rents without any reference to the drainage or ventilation. Each of the rooms earned a

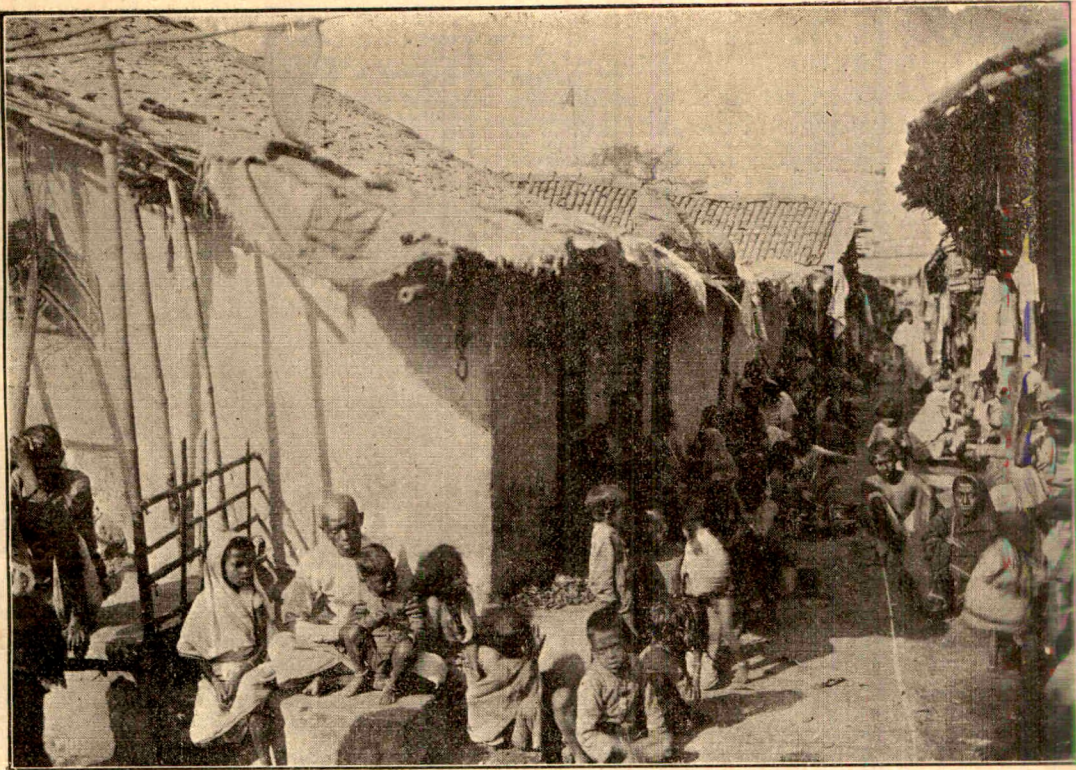
rent of Re. 1 to Rs. 2-8. In the block in question there were 6 rooms. The rooms varied a little in size. The measure is 9 ft. long, 6 ft. broad and 5 ft. high. In each room there is a cot and a rack and I found one or two ovens in addition. The room is too dark and in the daytime the things cannot be seen without a lamp. In the particular block there is an open space of 3 sq. ft. in the centre where utensils are scoured. On one side I saw also a cot. There were also a Tulasi plant in a tub, a marigold also on a tub but placed on a bamboo roof. Some of the blocks have no privy attached to them, a few blocks sharing a privy in common. The overcrowding here is even greater than that in the bustees of the mill-centres. But a striking difference is noticeable. The Chamars form a homogeneous community and are not up-rooted like the mill-hands from the old communal conventions and regulations. The mill-hands,

on the contrary, live more or less an unattached life, uncared for by any educational agencies or unregulated by any social code. There is the communal temple, there is also the punchayet which act as the disciplinary agency. The communal temple is maintained by one-eighth of the tax levied when fines are imposed. In one month the Punchayet met to settle a marriage in consultation with the parents of the couple, to warn a dilettante of loose morals and to arrange for the repayment of an advance to an artisan by an usurious money-lender. There are occasions on which the priest or the story-teller comes, recites and explains the hymns of the Ramayana and the Bhagbata and enlivens the recitation with his songs. He is paid in kind in food, clothes, as well as in money by the rich members of the community, while the rich and poor alike who assemble in the communal temple to listen to him may pay his mite to the tray that is before them to encourage the priest doing his discourse or to show their appreciation. Even in the midst of the poverty and the squalor, the dirt and the congestion we find in this compact community a type of noble morals and chastity and of an idealistic attitude towards life so much the characteristic of the Indian folk-mind in our fields and cottages which express themselves in pious songs and hymns in many a moon-lit night of well-earned rest and recreation.

But under such overcrowded conditions the spread of diseases is easy and an outbreak of plague, cholera or small-pox will drive away all those who can escape. The recent influenza epidemic has affected the poorer classes in the Chawls and Bustees much more than the upper classes. How can it be otherwise? In Bombay some of the Chawls are absolutely filthy. In one in which no less than 2000 souls live, the Bhangi, Scavenger, has not been for a little less than a fortnight, and all the filth has accumulated. And why has not the scavenger come? Because the landlord refuses to pay him more. The landlord has nothing to suffer. His rents, heavy though they are in Bombay, come in all the same. The rooms cannot be described. Some of

the dirtiest stables for horses in Bombay are better. One is in face to face with living human misery, the dirt and disease of hell incarnate. As in Bombay, so in Ahmedabad and Poona, Howrah and Calcutta the epidemic has claimed the heaviest toll from among the ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-cared for mill-hands. The gloom that had originated in Bombay spread far and wide. The fever raged intensely and the death-roll was simply appalling in the area where the mills and labourers are situated and which in normal times affords a warning to dread, enveloped in thick smoke and over-laden with soot and dust most injurious to the health of mill-hands and other toilers who are crowded together in tens of thousands.

The squalor, the degradation and the poverty in the slums of Calcutta and Bombay are far outstripped in the slums of Arlapet in Bangalore and Perambur in Madras. In the Panchama slum near Binny's Mill in Bangalore, the standard size for a kennel has been adopted, 8 ft. by 6 ft. and the height at the apex is 5, the door being 2 ft. by one foot. I could squeeze myself with difficulty into the room to learn to my horror that the denizens were 3 adults and 2 children including a dog. The husband, the wife and the mother-in-law as well as the children are huddled together like beasts. There is also the hen-cover to the left of the aperture which serves as the door-way and numerous chicks flit about in the dirt that is dumped in the yard. In another place farther away on the other side of the same parichery I find in a hut of the same dimensions as many as 7 persons, four adults, father and mother, son and daughter-in-law as well as two children who live and sleep together. And yet the hut pays double the rent. The Mahomedan land-owner charges for the ground-space 4 annas, while the Brahmin land-owner charges 8 annas though the huts are contiguous and the ground-space rented is the same. Another quarter still for the Panchamas—and here it is a pucca-built chhatram which has been transformed into a slum—the arrangement is this: There is a row of 4 rooms on each side, an alley in the middle and one room which



One of the Worst Calcutta Slums. Note the close row of dark and dingy huts, the overcrowded passage and the enormous number of stunted, half-starved children, at least 6 out of 10 of whom die within a year of their birth.

joins the sides. There are two rooms on each side as one approaches the doorway. There is one corner marked out for the bath for nearly 50 persons who live in this block. There is a privy for 50 persons from which the filth has not been removed for days. Each of these rooms earns a rent of Re. 1-8 as. The rent was Re. 1-2 as. before the last assessment. In one of them we were refused entrance as the Ma or the small-pox goddess was inside. But having entered we were face to face with human wretchedness, chicks, dogs and children playing about in the alley, the whole place filled with acrid smoke, and some people down in the dark with influenza and small-pox. The mill-hands who are not born Panchamas live in better rooms though they do not earn higher wages and pay rents usually from Re. 1-4 as. to Rs. 2 according to the accommodation they want. Still the

rooms are worse than the stables of the rich. In one such block I found a room used as temple for Ramji and which has been rented by the mother of a wage-earner.

Whether in Calcutta or Bombay, Cawnpore, Bangalore or Poona, Ahmedabad or Madras, one is face to face in the bustees and chawls with living human misery, the dirt and disease of hell incarnate. Everywhere the standard size of a kennel is adopted, 8 by 6 by 5, and very often the thatched shed has no side walls which are proof neither against cold nor rain. Everywhere there are unsymmetrical blocks of hundreds of these mud-dens or thatched sheds where 2,000 or 3,000 souls live, where there is the most terrible and unwholesome congestion, every inch of ground-space being utilised to the utmost. In too many of these huts father and mother, son and daughter-in-law, grown-up

men and women live and sleep together in the same room huddled with chicks and dogs and ailing babies that are not better treated than these latter. In the *Panchama* bustee the overcrowding and the filth are the most unwholesome. Among the Madras slums which I have visited, one has a doorway which is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 1 foot and on squeezing myself with great difficulty into the room I found a diseased ragged man who is actually sitting on a wooden plank with his feet under water. The thatch is broken and is no proof against rain which also drenched me. I found that the hut is circular, the diameter being 5 feet, the height at the apex being only 5 feet. Besides there were *parans* (shelves) on all sides and we could not stand erect. In this dark and filthy den there live a couple and four ailing babies. There is also the *adupu* (hearth) raised on an earthen mound which protects it from wind, but has not protected it against rain. That *Panchama* family earns wages of Rs. 8 a month and lives in a surrounding which is unspeakably filthy. The causes are drink and social obloquy. Unless the standard of life, of comfort and of activities is improved in the case of the *Panchamas* by our offering them greater social opportunities and respectability, they will perpetuate their life of filth and uncleanness, and continue to lower the standard of living of the mill population as a whole in Southern India, and thus permanently impede economic progress. In the case of the *Uttamas* the filth may be less but the congestion is not less terrible. In one house I found besides the husband and the wife as many as 9 children, three of whom belonged to a deceased brother. In another Madras slum, perhaps the worst I have visited, I found a father and mother living with 5 children in a room $4 \times 7 \times 6$. The mother has given birth to a baby in the same room only recently—84 cubic feet for 7 souls. The verandah is $2\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 and it has given protection to an old man who has lost his shed in the last storm.

In still another hut which is $8 \times 7 \times 6$ in size, there live 3 adult women and 3 children. The children earn wages of $1\frac{1}{2}$ as. a day by coolie work in a neighbouring mill.

There are no adult males, and the poverty is so great that the women have not even their clothes to cover their shame.

But the greatest surprise in slum studies comes from Trichinopoly, where the middle-class Brahmans are found to live under conditions which are not much better than those of the *chawls* and *bustees* of the poor. In the Naganaduswami temple store I find a room $6 \times 8 \times 10$ occupied by a Brahman, his mother, his wife and 5 children, two of whom are his brothers. Another room of the same size is occupied by a Brahman and his wife, their two grown-up daughters and one son, *parans* or shelves for bed or for fuel hardly allow a visitor to stand erect. The rent is Rs. 2, which is to be paid in advance. 80 souls inhabit this compact group, called the store, and there are only two privies for them. There are two taps and a well, and municipal regulations allow only 8 pots of water for each family.

The slums in Lubbay Lane, Singartop, and in Jalalkuthri are far worse. In Jalalkuthri I find a Mahomedan hut occupied by the parents, 4 grown-up boys and one ailing baby. The hut is $8 \times 8 \times 5$ and carries a rent of Re. 1-2-0. In another hut, which is so dark that one cannot see anything even in the noonday sun, there live a mother, and three adult daughters—all prostitutes—in a close space of $10 \times 6 \times 10$. There is a kitchen partitioned out within the same hut occupying nearly half of the total space. The rent is Re. 1, payable in advance.

The tragedy is, however, deeper, when we see the rise of some of the worst slums of India in one of our most beautiful ancient temple cities. In Madura, in Ponnagran, for instance, not very far from the temples of Meenakshi and Sundareswar, there have developed some of the worst lodgings, indescribable in their filth and squalor. The average size is now reduced to $6 \times 5 \times 5$. On account of an increase of the municipal tax on the whole block, the land-owner has increased the house-rent from 4 as. to 6 as., from 6 as. to 8 as., and from Re. 1 to Re. 1-2-0, according to the size of the rooms. In one room, which is $6 \times 8 \times 10$, there are a couple and two

stunted and diseased babies. The parents have gone to work in the factory, the father earning Rs. 10 and the mother Rs. 6 a month. The babies are left in charge of their decrepit grand-mother. Here and there in this block have accumulated green sheets of water emitting a foul stink and covered with rags and rubbish. There is only one privy for 300 persons in the block. This privy, again, has not been built by the municipality. The workmen have themselves built it by communal subscriptions. The walls have now crumbled down, and there is no decency. All the workmen complain of this and also emphasise that the huts nearer the privy are all uninhabitable because of the loathsome smell.

The greatest misery and degradation associated with the new social and economic conditions have been witnessed by me in the commercial city of Mattancheri adjoining the Cochin port. The terrible congestion in a narrow space, the agglomeration of heterogeneous peoples, the white Jews and the black Jews, the Eurasians and the low class Mahomedans, as well as the peculiar form of marriage associated with Nair life and customs, have all contributed to uncleanness and filth and general social and moral deterioration. In a compact block of land, which belongs to the famous Jewish Synagogue, and which has been leased by a Mahomedan landlord, there have grown lines of huts—dark, dingy and gloomy. In a small hut of 10 x 4 x 5 there live together the husband and the wife, the husband's grown up sister and also a grown up brother. The rent is Re. 1-4-0. There is a baby in the family, who is suffering from an unclean disease. Adjoining are the prostitutes' sheds of 7 x 5 x 6, each carrying a rent of Re. 1-4-0, and in one of which there is a sickly baby uncared for, crawling in the

dark and dirty floor. From another in the same block an unfortunate woman has been expelled for her inability to pay rent for three months, and she is standing outside the whole day in the hot sun with a child in her bosom. Such a woman is coming to be more and more known in any large industrial city in India, given over to what in the irony of words thoughtlessly employed is called sport. In Mattancheri she is more in evidence than her more hardworking but virtuous sister, the coolie woman. In the *bustees* and *chawls*, she is more in evidence and in some cities she is seen in the street day and night and in some quarter fairly in herds. Along with the overcrowded workshops and congested slums, the grogshops and the



Slums of the Middle-class Brahmins in Trichinopoly.

tea and coffee shops as well, she seems to be regarded as much of a requisite as industrialism and the flimsy finery of city life.

The breathing of the vicious atmosphere, the want of room for proper environment, the lack of sufficient sunlight and proper ventilation have everywhere serious effects on bodily growth and development. It has been estimated that the average boy of a one-room home loses at least 4 inches in growth, and at least 11 lbs in weight by

comparison with the average boy reared in a home of four rooms. The general dinginess and dirtiness of the slums also steadily react upon the hopes and habits of the people and induce that lassitude of mind which reacts again upon the health of the body. All this leads not only to a physical waste of energy and general innervation

but also to a low standard of health and low resisting power which play directly into the hands of immorality, intemperance, gambling and other vices rampant in all our slum areas. Indulgence causes more and more of the squalor and thus the vicious circle with which we are so familiar in the social problem goes on its evil round.

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE.

THE FORTUNES OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

BY BENOY KUMAR SARKAR, M.A.

REVOLUTIONS AND REACTIONS.

THE Chinese Republic is now in the throes of another civil war. Just at present there are two governments in China. The one is the established Government at Peking in the North, the other the rebel Government at Canton in the South. The Northern Government is the one recognized by the Powers and has been an associate of the Allies in the war against Germany since August 14, 1917. It is this Government that is one of the fourteen states represented at the Congress of Versailles, and that has been a signatory to the draft of the constitution of the League of Nations announced by President Wilson on February 14, 1919. But the authority of the Peking Power is not acknowledged as legitimate by the constitutionalists of Young China. Ever since the illegal dissolution of parliament to which President Li Yuan-hung was forced to assent under a *coup d'etat* of General Chang Hsun on June 13, 1917, they have been in open revolt against it. The resistance of the constitutionalists at first took the form of representations to Peking to reconvoke the dissolved parliament. On the failure of the repeated representations to bring about a parliamentary regime, the five rich and populous provinces of the South, viz., Kwang-tung, Kwang-si, Yun-

nan, Kwei-chow and Sze-chuen declared their complete independence from the jurisdiction of the North. In seven other provinces, such as Hu-nan, Hu-peh, Fu-kien, Shan-tung, Ho-nag, Shen-si and Che-kiang, constitutionalist armies are masters of large portions of territory and have the moral support of numerous cities and districts. The most powerful portion of the Chinese navy also is on the side of the constitutionalists. It is on behalf of this recalcitrant Government with headquarters at Canton that Wu Ting-fang, Tang Shao-yi, Sun Yat-sen and five others have appealed to the Powers for recognition, in their capacity as Administrative Directors. The Government in Canton has convened a parliament which has been in session since August 6, 1918. The objective of the "Constitutionalist Provinces and Forces of China" is not a separation or secession but the establishment of a legally constituted parliamentary government for all China.

The present civil war is the sixth in the series of revolutions and reactions (or rather the seventh, if we count the puerile interlude of the Manchu restoration of July 1-12, 1917, as a serious political event) that have marked the politics of Young China since the bomb explosion at Hankow on October 10, 1911, and the establishment of the republic with Sun Yat-sen as provisional president and General Li Yuan-hung as

as vice-president on December 30 of the same year. The first revolution (Oct. 10, 1911—March 10, 1912) may be taken to have been formally complete with the inauguration of Yuan Shih-kai as provisional president on March 10, 1912, the decision to maintain the capital at Peking and not to transfer it to Nanking, and the adoption of the provisional constitution drawn up by the provisional National Assembly (the "Advisory Assembly") at Nanking, generally known as the Nanking Constitution.

The second revolution (July-August 1913) was directed against Yuan Shih-kai's conclusion of the five-power-loan without the assent of the first Parliament that had been convened on April 7, 1913, and other arbitrary measures. It broke out at Hukow in Kiang-si Province, and at Nanking, Shanghai and Canton. The radicals organized in the Kuo-ming Tang party were responsible for the movement. It was speedily suppressed, however; and General Huang Hsing, Sun Yat-sen and other rebel leaders had to escape to Japan and America.

The first reaction, under the republican regime, had been in evidence in Yuan's attitude towards the Nanking Constitution, and subsequently towards the measures of the first Parliament. It took final form on November 4, 1913, when after his election on October 10 as full president for five years Yuan "purged" the parliament of the radical Kuo-mings (306 Representatives out of the total 596, and 132 Senators out of the total 274). The first Parliament was thus put "in commission" owing to the lack of quorums that needed the presence of half the members in each House, and finally abolished by the president on January 10, 1914, with the support of the "moderates".

The *coup d'état* of November 4, 1913, left Yuan the *de facto* dictator of China for two years and ultimately matured in the plan, secretly manoeuvred by himself, for the formal establishment of an imperial-monarchy. Yuan officially accepted the throne on Dec. 11, 1915, under the title of *Hung Hsien* or "glorious constitutionalism." It was against this projected empire that the third revolution broke out on Xmas 1915 in Yun-nan and Kwei-chow under the

leadership of moderates or conservative progressives of the Chinpu Tang party such as the Scholar Liang Chi-chiao and General Tsai Ao. Yuan was compelled to cancel the empire-decree on March 22, 1916; but the revolution continued to spread from province to province leading to the declaration of independence by each, and really came to an end only with the sudden death of Yuan on June 6, the election of Li Tuan-hung (the General of the first revolution) as president, and the convocation of the second Parliament, which was really the old Parliament of 1913, on August 1, 1916.

The second reaction began in May 1917, over the question of finally declaring war against Germany, diplomatic relations having been broken off on March 14, 1917. General Tuan Chi-jui, as Premier, attempted to coerce the parliament to vote in favour of war, and was therefore dismissed by the president for want of people's confidence in him. Once out of the Cabinet, however, Tuan secretly instigated the military governors of the provinces to declare their independence of the Peking Government. Furnished with this cue they forthwith demanded the reappointment of Tuan, and marched upon the capital in militant expedition. Practically a prisoner within the city, President Li was pressed by the militarists under General Chang Hsun to order, against the law as embodied in the Nanking Constitution, the dissolution of parliament on June 13, 1917.

The revolt of the provinces and the strangling of parliament were followed by another reaction consisting in Chang Hsun's restoration of the Manchu boy-emperor to the throne on July 1. But the monarchy was abolished in less than two weeks through the patriotic move, among others, of General Tuan who "could not bear to see the destruction of the republic without stretching out a helping hand," although after his dismissal he had "resolved," as he said, "not to participate in political affairs." The farce of the restoration made confusion only worse confounded. All authority came to be concentrated in the hands of Tuan, the hero of the hour. He managed to have

himself reappointed premier, restored the militaristic regime that had led to his dismissal, and illegally declared war against Germany on August 14, 1917. It is to this unconstitutional rule of the Cabinet without a parliament that the Southern Government at Canton has been in armed opposition for about two years since the summer of 1917.

NORTH AND SOUTH IN CHINESE POLITICS.

The most characteristic feature of these civil wars or revolutions and counter-revolutions is that invariably they take the form of an *ultimatum* issued from the provinces upon the Central Government, and this is followed immediately by declarations of their independence. This *modus operandi* is the procedure as much of the republicans and constitutionalists as of the reactionaries and militarists. Nothing could be a more natural method in China, as the provinces of today have but inherited the virtual home-rule of the old regime. In normal times these local governments were to all intents and purposes independent of one another without the links of co-operation. They had, besides, no real touch with the supreme authority except only in the payment of "tribute". The mountainous provinces like Yun-nan, Kwei-chow and Sze-chuen are, moreover, all but inaccessible. Further, they are inhabited by semi-savage tribes who were never fully conquered either by Chinese arms or by Chinese culture. Owing to this incomplete assimilation and ineffective "Sinification" these frontier provinces were perpetual storm-centres in pre-republican days. And these are the areas that were generally selected by ambitious viceroys or chieftains who wanted to measure their strength with the Sons of Heaven at Peking.

Altogether, then, the Chinese empires were, practically speaking, *Statenbunden*, i.e., loose federations of free nationalities and autonomous states, except during short intervals under masterful organizers of the Kanghi the Manchu or Tai-tsung the Tang type. The self-sufficiency and decentralization of the provinces were not confined only to the administration of justice

and collection of taxes. During the last days of the Manchus the provinces appear to have behaved even as separate military-naval units. Thus, for instance, in the Korean War (1894-95), the Nanking naval establishment acted almost as if it were indifferent to the fortunes of the northern fleet that was facing the Japanese navy. Automatically, therefore, the Chinese state tends to crumble down like a house of cards as soon as there is an acute misunderstanding between the local rulers and the central head.

This is an inherent constitutional weakness of China. It is due certainly to the vast size of its territory and the consequent distance of the local centres from the metropolis. The Central Government as a rule naturally finds it hard to cope with the disruptive centrifugal tendencies created by this physical reason. And the difficulty is further enhanced by the absence of funds or sinews of war. The deficit in the treasury has been a chronic disease with the authorities at Peking. Any military actions of a sustained and serious character have thus been rendered well nigh impossible on their side. These are the fundamental facts of Chinese polity that explain the quick and spontaneous division of China into North and South with the slightest hitch in the course of affairs.

The strategic advantage in the position of recalcitrant provinces is therefore the first postulate of China's internal politics, and the success of malcontents and rebels an almost foregone conclusion. The general situation from the standpoint of the Supreme Government on all occasions of revolutionary outbreak can be gathered from two of the three abdication-edicts promulgated by the Empress Dowager on Feb. 12, 1912. One edict says that, separated as the north and south are by great distances, the unwillingness of either side to yield to the other can result only in the continued interruption of trade and the prolongation of hostilities. If, however, renewed warfare were to be indefinitely maintained, says the third edict, the general condition of the country might be irretrievably ruined, and there might follow mutual slaughter among the people. Here is a

confession of incompetency on the part of the powers that be, the admission of military unpreparedness that dare not bring the unruly forces to bay. In the selfsame way has the *de facto* government in China had systematically to come down to compromise in the face of a tolerably strong opposition, just as in the industrial strikes of Europe and America the employers have invariably to acknowledge defeat and submit to the demands of the organized labor force.

Whenever, therefore, there is a denomination or class or party in China sufficiently powerful to challenge and defy the established government, it has only to seek its fulcrum at a place far from Peking, e.g., in the frontier provinces, be it in Szechuen or Yun-nan or Shen-si or Shan-tung. Even before the event of Oct. 10, 1911, we find serious political disturbances breaking out in these out of the way regions. It is such areas that furnished the theater for the great Taiping Rebellion (1850-64), the Mohammedan revolts under Suleiman (1855-1878) and Yakub Beg (1866-77), and the Boxer upheaval of 1900.

The South may of course be presumed to be, as it indeed is, comparatively enlightened and progressive, as Macao the Portuguese port in Kwang-tung has been in touch with modern European commerce and culture for a longer period than the other ports opened since the Treaty of Nanking in 1842. It is also not an accident that Kang Yu-wei, the spiritual father of Young China, and Sun Yat-sen, the out-and-out radical, and several other constitutional agitators and anti-monarchist republicans have come from Canton and the South. But the leadership of the South in the events of the past seven years is not to be exclusively interpreted as an expression and proof of its modernization as contrasted with the medieval obscurantism of the North. It is, as has been indicated, the greatness and glory inevitably thrust upon it by physiography, ethnology, provincial separatism, *laissez faire* or imperial impotence, and financial bankruptcy of the central governments. It is not always safe or legitimate, therefore, as is usually done, to identify the South

with liberalism, reform or republicanism, and the North with monarchism, Manchuism and militarism.

THE REPUBLIC TRIUMPHANT.

Among the kaleidoscopic changes in the political fortunes of Young China we have to count two attempts at monarchic regime. The first is that of Yuan Shin-kai who during the latter half of 1915 was systematically "manufacturing the will of the people" in favor of changing the republic into a monarchy. On November 11, 1915, the "administrative council" or "council of state" composed of his henchmen was in a position to announce that out of 2043 votes 1993 were for the immediate enthronement of Yuan. Accordingly, in "deference to the will of the people" the empire was sanctioned by the president or rather emperor-elect on December 11. The second monarchic counter-revolution is the farcical July restoration of 1917. It was the disorder and turmoil in the country owing to the revolt of the northern provinces under the inspiration of Tuan Chi-ui and the eventual abolition of the second Parliament that enabled General Ciang Hsun to raise the Manchu boy to the throne.

Both these attempts failed ignominiously. Yuan was completely humiliated, crushed, and literally killed by the combined opposition of the nation. The "Yun-Kwei revolt" was indeed conducted by moderate leaders of the Chinpu Tang party like Liang Chi-chiao and General Tsai Ao, but it had the backing also of the Kuo-ming radicals like Sun Yat-sen and General Huang Hsing, who since the failure of 1913 had been political refugees in Japan and the United States, of General Li Yuan-hung the staunch republican whom, neither the threats nor the enticements of the monarchists could influence in favor of Yuan's contemplated dynasty, as well as of Kang Yu-wei, the veteran constitutionalist and "China's modern sage." Even the province of Szechuen which was under the rule of Yuan's most dependable friend joined the confederacy of the rebel provinces on May 6, 1916. This event is most significant as Yuan had already canceled

the empire-decree (March 22). The triumph of the Chinese *Min Kuo* (republic) was decisive and thorough.

Similarly did Chang Hsun's *coup* of the Manchu restoration fall disastrously before the united front of the entire nation. Liang came forward once more as the Milton of the armed resistance against the nullification of the republic. And the trumpet-call of this scholar, "moderate" though he be, summoned on to a common platform all the factions that had been mutually opposed. The North advanced to co-operate with the South; even General Tuan, the militarist detested by liberals and legalists, came to the aid of the parliamentarians, because, as he said, "he has had a share, however insignificant, in the formation of the Chinese Republic." The restoration was treated as a national disaster. To a far greater extent than Yuan's dictatorship and projected empire-building, it brought to a head the nebulous and subconscious political tenets of all parties and individuals, whether liberals or conservatives, self-seekers or patriots, autocrats or those working for the inauguration of the reign of law.

Monarchy appears in this way to have been finally rung out from the political psychology of Young China. It is committed for good to the venture and development of the republic. The *elan vita* of Chinese politics lies now, therefore, in the struggle over the constitution. Indeed, it is the constitutional issue that has been the real core of all dissensions and fights since the promulgation of abdication-edicts and the inauguration of Yuan as provisional president in 1912. Nay, this constitutional struggle, of which the most recent phase is embodied in the manifesto of Wu Ting-fang (August 1918) is the result of an evolution the beginnings of which are to be seen in the decade or so preceding the revolution itself.

CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATION UNDER THE MANCHUS.

The pre-revolutionary struggle was naturally focussed upon the establishment of parliamentary institutions that might act as a check on the one-man-rule of the mo-

narch. The St. John the Baptist of Chinese constitutionalism is Kang Yu-wei, the "modern Confucius", Editor of *News for the Times*, and he succeeded in becoming for a few months the "guide, philosopher and friend" of Emperor Kwang Hsu (1875-1908). It is to Kang's studies in modern history and comparative politics, especially the British constitution and the *Meiji* (enlightenment) era of New Japan that the twenty-seven Imperial reform-edicts of July 1898 owed their inspiration. The reform movement succumbed, however, through the *coup* of the Empress Dowager. Kang and his foremost disciple Liang Chichiao had to escape with a price on each head.

But the signs of the times were unmistakable after the failure of the Chinese Boxers in 1901 and the success of Japan in the Russian War. So in 1905 a commission was sent to Europe under the presidency of Prince Tsai-tse (cf. Japanese Prince Ito in 1882) to study the conditions for a representative government suited to the problems of China. This commission was followed in 1908 by the Imperial promise of a parliament to be convoked in 1917. In 1909 were constituted the first Provincial Assemblies of China, and on October 3, 1910, the Imperial Assembly or Senate of two hundred members (one hundred being drawn from the Provincial Assemblies) also sat in Peking for the first time. The agitation of these two new bodies proved to be powerful enough to wrest from the Crown the promise that the first parliament would be called in 1913 and not so late as 1917.

It was at this stage of China's constitutional experience that the bomb explosion at Hankow on the Yang-tsze, which was to be the signal for the subversion of the monarchy, took place on Oct 10, 1911. The monarch tried to save the situation for the Crown on Nov. 3, 1911, by issuing the "Nineteen Articles", which provided, among other items, the parliamentary control over the budget, the Cabinet's responsibility to parliament, and limitations on the power of the Emperor by the constitution. Had these articles been acceptable to the rebels, Chinese politics would have

taken the same course as those of Young Persia since 1906 and of Turkey since 1908. But within a month of the rising in Wuchang zone fourteen provinces declared their independence. Their delegates met quickly at Nanking in convention and proclaimed China a republic on December 30. The officers and representatives of the monarchy had no mind or might to put up more than a feeble or sham resistance to what they accepted as a *fait accompli*.

It was therefore easy to force an edict from the Empress Dowager on February, 12, 1912, to the effect that "the hearts of the majority of the people are in favour of a republican form of government." "From the preference of the people's hearts," the edict went on to say in conformity with the teachings of Mencius, "the will of heaven can be discerned. How could we then bear to oppose the will of the millions for the glory of one family! Therefore, observing the tendencies of the age on the one hand, and studying the opinions of the people on the other, We and His Majesty the Emperor hereby vest the sovereignty in the people and decide in favor of a republican form of constitutional government." The first phase of the struggle over a constitution was thus brought to a successful end.

THE STRUGGLE OVER THE CONSTITUTION IN REPUBLICAN CHINA.

Constitutionally speaking, then, the revolution came only to give a fillip to the movement that had been set on foot in 1898 or rather in 1905. It did not take China by surprise. The Throne being abolished, the leaders of Young China have proceeded since then to the reorganization of a crownless state on a popular basis. The parliament that was to have been called in 1913 by the Crown happened to be anticipated by the Convention of Nanking (December 30, 1911), that gave way to the Advisory Assembly on January 28, 1912. This assembly prepared the provisional constitution at Nanking, inaugurated Yuan Shih-kai as provisional president (March 30) and later moved on to Peking (April 29). It was finally replaced by the First Parliament which sat on April 7, 1913.

The first constitutional struggle in republican China was waged over the group of unparliamentary politics that arose through the dictatorship of Yuan Shih-kai. As provisional president, he made the loan transaction with five powers (including Japan but excluding the United States) to the value of £25,000,000 without the sanction of the Parliament. As Yuan was backed by the Powers, the bankers did not hesitate to grant the loan though the Parliament protested against it as illegal and declared it null and void. Subsequently, as full president, Yuan dissolved the national parliament on January 10, 1914, as well as the provincial assemblies and local associations (March 1). Backed by the political wisdom of Dr. Goodnow, the American adviser, he created in their place a constitutional compact conference, and this recommended laws directly calculated to make the president a virtual despot and leave the legislature a mere automaton or non-entities.

It was through the substantial support of the Powers that Yuan Shih-kai's "tyranny" could get a firm footing. As they were interested solely in the security of the funds supplied by their nationals, their connivance at Yuan's unconstitutional measures was more than mere diplomatic non-intervention. It was tantamount to aiding and abetting their protegee and vassal in his own sweet will. Here was a repetition of the old story of the Stuarts trampling down the rights of the English people with the French despot Louis XIV's "degrading insult and more degrading gold". The European War also for a time contributed to the strengthening of Yuan's single-handed rule by removing from it the public opinion of the world that was absorbed in more vital international issues. But as Japan's Twenty-one Demands (January 18—May 7, 1915) on China after the victory at Tsing-tao would have deprived the Europeans and Americans of their lion's share in the control of Far Eastern politics, they could not by any means remain long indifferent to Chinese affairs. They hastened to do all they could under the circumstances to pose as the friend of China and exploit her as a tool in their own anti-Japanese

interests. Yuan's "patriotic" resistance to Japanese overtures received formidable support from the nations in whose eyes the success of Japan, the only free Asian state, means a loss to Eur-American world-domination. Especially interested were the diplomacies of Great Britain and the United States; and unluckily for Chinese democracy, they served to consolidate Yuan's grip over the people.

Exigencies of foreign politics having thus rendered his position impregnable from an unforeseen angle, Yuan ventured on playing the trump-card and risking a "world-dominion or downfall" on a single stake. He launched the monarchy propaganda in the summer of 1915 and was almost on the point of carrying it through when the opposition of the nation manifested itself in a revolution that swept away the whole system of arbitrary rule. In this instance, at least, Japan has stood for liberalism and constitution in China, for the anti-Yuan movement was hatched and matured by Young China's leaders as guests of the Japanese people.

The second group of unparliamentary politics in the Chinese-republic consists in the problems that have arisen through the autocratic methods of the premier, General Tuan Chi-jui. It is the extremely idealistic advocacy of legal and constitutional procedure on the part of the Kuo-ming radicals that is responsible for the opposition to Tuan's regime which has forced China into the war against Germany. Evidently all the Kue-mings are not opposed to the war itself like Kang Yu-wei, Sun Yat-sen and Tang Shao-yi. But though several of them are pro-war like the Chin-pu Tang moderates headed by Liang Chi-chiao, the extremists have dared risk a regular-armed revolt with the only object of vindicating the constitution. "No pains have been spared time and again," as Wu Ting-fang's manifesto states, "to make clear that the sole aim of the constitutional movement is to uphold the law and constitution and the sole claim is the restoration of the dissolved parliament. If the order for reconvoation be issued today there will be peace tomorrow." This is an interesting phase in Young

China's political development. At Canton are united not only the liberal thinkers of the South but constitutionalists from every part of China. Similarly Peking is the headquarters of all reactionaries, Northern as well as Southern. The issue is not between province and province or North and South but constitution and arbitrary rule.

In the first place, China's declaration of war against Germany on August 14, 1917, is considered unconstitutional by the Canton Government as it was done without the sanction of a parliament rather after a parliament had been forcibly abolished. The "militarists" at Peking are being further charged by the seceding constitutionalists with the misuse of funds set free by the remission of Boxer Indemnity payments (a concession in return for China's joining the allies), the selling and mortgaging of the "richest mines, the stable revenues and the most profitable railways," the revival of the opium traffic, the negotiation of important conventions with foreign powers in which the nation is committed to grave undertakings of unknown extent without parliamentary sanction, and the absolute refusal to publish the contents of the conventions and allay the misgivings of the people in spite of the universal demand. But the position of the Peking Government is unassailable for the time being as it is in alliance with the Entente Powers and the United States in order to make the "world safe for democracy". From the standpoint of the Canton politicians, therefore, it is foreign influence, if not intervention, that has mainly contributed to the present constitutional interregnum in China.

Like the "eleven years' tyranny" of Charles I, both these instances of unconstitutional rule in republican China are marked by the negation and overthrow of parliament. The only period of smooth parliamentary government was that under President Li Yuan-hung from August 1, 1916 to June 13, 1917. By May it had finished drafting the permanent constitution that is to take the place of the provisional Nanking Constitution, but before it could be formally adopted, came the crisis. Curiously enough, in each instance, the reactionary

elements, viz., Yuan and Tuan, have had the support of foreign powers, some of whom at least are democratic and liberal in their own home politics. The republicans of Young China have thus had before them the same double opposition, domestic and foreign, to contend with as the constitutionalists or Majlisists of Young Persia. Not less remarkable is the strange coin-

cidence that like the liberals, reformers or democrats of the Near East and the Middle East looking up to autocratic Germany as the inspirer of their political programs, the republic of the Far East should have found a friend in need in the homes of Imperial Japan bossed by such "blood and iron" premiers as Katsura and Terauchi.

Now York. June 2, 1919.

A LETTER FROM EUROPE

THE following is an extract from a letter written by a young Indian who has been through the War and is still abroad.

".....I am thankful the Punjab trouble seems to be over. We get very little news. I don't know what gain it has brought, except that it may possibly have taught our people at last to face the real facts. It's no use hiding them from ourselves. The facts are these. It is the British who hold the whip-hand to-day, and they can let that hand go out to use the whip whenever they deem it necessary. They are the complete masters of the situation, not only in India—for that after all is not much,—but in Europe and in the world generally. They are now the greatest military and naval power, not merely fully equipped with the materials of war and knowledge of modern warfare, but—what is far more effective—they have through this war got the War Mind. It is only here and there that you meet with British Officers who seem to have any faith in the League of Nations. The rest,—and they are in the majority, *en bloc*,—emphatically have no faith either in such leagues or in the ideals which they represent.

It is therefore best for us who are placed in their iron grip that we should perfectly well realise the mind and the power of our rulers. Whatever ideas of democracy they may have are meant for their own race. Democracy is for them a domestic affair, not for imperial purposes.

If we have fully learnt this lesson,—that is if we have got at last to the point of realising and also acknowledging these *facts* of the present world, then two results may follow :—

(i) It may send through our people a feeling of utter hopelessness,—a sense of the impossibility of making any headway against an absolutely rigid Government which is backed by efficient military force,—combined as this is on our side with the social and religious drag of our own society.—The situation is black enough to cast gloom into the soul of the bravest patriot.

The average man would be quite out of count to grapple with it. He would be either too afraid to risk his own skin, or that of his kinsfolk ; or he would be too shallow to go ahead with the uphill work of national progress and emancipation. And I think we all are in great danger of losing heart, just at this present time.

(ii) Instead of losing heart, the very difficulty of the times may drive our people to realise that our object cannot be reached by politics alone ; that there are other things and other ways of work, which, if persevered in, must make the result absolutely certain. These ways of work are, indeed, the harder and the slower of the two. Political changes, when possible, are always the easiest to work. The educational and economic and social changes are more difficult. But we all know which of the two ways is really the most effective, which of the two really represents the greatest amount of moral freedom and national well-being.

"I, therefore, hold very strongly, that the political destinies of the country had better be left alone, for a while, by our own best men. The wishes of our people,—it is only the educated people who can in any measure express the wishes of the masses in any country,—will be taken into consideration, by our present rulers, only when, in accordance with the will of Providence, they think it advisable to do so,—otherwise the wishes of India as voiced by the educated classes, can go to blazes for all they care. That is our actual condition and we must face it.

"So it is waste of time, energy, talent, and every thing else, to scream and shriek, and shriek and scream, all day long for political changes. We should severely let these things alone and cut them out from our programme,—that is my idea. We should, on the other hand, devote all our powers to educational, economic, and social uplift, and draw all our energies that way.

What a grand thing it would be, if, at the next Sessions of the Congress, there were no

resolutions at all dealing with the political side of the country,—a dead silence! What a store of energy we should have, if that political crying and wailing could have a rest for a bit!

"And then, all the men of ripe experience and trained ability would be able to give their time to the working out of solid, definite developments of educational, social and industrial ideas. They might start by founding, in some place, a true University, which would take in students, who would remain side by side with the noblest and best leaders, gaining their inspiration and counsel. Thus these students would learn, and discipline, and shape themselves for their life-work under the direct guidance and leadership of men of judgment and experience. When their discipline was over, these very students should flow out into the towns, and villages of India, to work for the cause of the people and the land which they hold so dear.

"This, it seems to me, is how we should try to work for the next twenty-five years or so, leaving political changes to take care of them-

selves. Also we should all *unite* in our work, and not fritter away our energy in hopeless, disconnected, single jobs.

"In this connexion we should also carefully endeavour to enlist the aid of the Press. Instead of wasting paper and ink by writing long-winded articles on actual and supposed political grievances,—a comparatively easy thing to do,—the Press should carry on a vigorous campaign, attacking those deep social diseases and educational failures, which are the clog of the wheels of our progress. The Press could and should be a powerful educational help to the public at large.

"Through organised work along these lines,—of education, literature, industrial improvement and social well-being,—we can bring greater real good to India than we can, in the face of present facts, by another century of this political agitation which seems to exhaust all the energy of our noblest men. That is my own candid opinion. What do *you* think?"

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Some Aspects of University Reconstruction.

In the course of an article under the above caption in the July number of *East & West* (Simla), Mr. P. R. Krishnaswami, M.A., writes :

But the one deep influence towards moral training as yet little utilized in our education systems, is religion. Religious instruction has indeed been a thorny question to tackle. Theological pedantry, or the practice of formal rituals can have but little place in an educational system. The difficulty of formulating a religious basis which should pay equal regard to the tenets of all the great religions obtaining in this country, has also been insuperable. The profundity of religious influence is defeated by the adoption of artificial creeds which profess to satisfy equally all the different faiths. But still it may be asked whether the poet and philosopher may not co-operate together, as they have in the instance of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, to ennoble the morals of the atmosphere in which they can exert influence. We want a new race of high-souled evangelists who can offer to everyone the simplicity and firmness of faith in God which our greatest poet has preached everywhere he went. The knowledge that God is within oneself, and that the realisation of Him is through pure and righteous conduct is one which should lie at the foundation of university life. The problem of sin is one which has inspired the prayer of all religions. Cannot

something be done in our universities to train young men in the true spirit of religious prayer?

Continuing the writer observes :—

In the founding of new universities and the providing of first-rate men to man them, the carping criticism is sometimes faced that university men should be examples of self-denial and not demand high rewards for their work. The logical corollary of this will be that educationists should be amateurs, and it needs no effort to point out that education is the last sphere in which amateurishness can be tolerated. Self-denial is not a normal attitude of the human mind, and the life of a university organisation should not be made to depend on abnormalities which are bound to fail frequently. The principle of self-denial is certain to militate against utter efficiency, by leading to compromises in the personnel of the university staff. The university, of all spheres, should be the one in which learning, scholarship, genius, and character should receive adequate material rewards.

The writer continuing says :—

In the appointment of the university staff a principle deserving of early embodiment is an electoral system. The evaluation of a man's deserts in the bestowal of Fellowships, Lecturerships and Professorships should always be a subtle matter, and often it will be safer to trust the decisions arrived by a large electoral body rather than let them depend on a single individual or a very small group of individuals. The principle involved is one of essential fairness, and it is most fitting in a university that the men most

generally appreciated should receive the places which are in the gift of the university. Even granting that undergraduates are not in a competent position to take part in such elections,—though senior undergraduates, say of two years' standing, may exercise their votes wisely in some matters—the graduates of a university should be gradually accorded privileges of determining to a good extent the personnel of the university.

The publication, recently, of the Calcutta University Commission's Report, together with the controversy relating to the raising of the examination fees of that University, seems to have roused much public attention on the question of university education throughout the whole of India.

Indian Women and their Social Position.

In the current number of the *Bulletin of the Indian Rationalistic Society*, published in Calcutta and edited by four gentlemen named Messrs. S. C. Mookerjee, J. C. Sinha, Wajid Ali and R. C. Maulik, representing Hindu, Mussalman and Christian views, there appears an article on Indian Women from the pen of the last named gentleman. He says:—

My compatriots are now *aux prises* with Government for political reforms, and reckon not what happens to their house where all are at sixes and sevens. They think that political reforms should come first. This is putting the cart before the horse with a vengeance. I cannot persuade myself to subscribe to this view, and think that if we put our house in order first, we will be stronger and better fitted to fight for political reforms. The cast-iron rules that govern and regulate the social life of Indians are largely responsible for the emasculation of Indian races. Many of my countrymen share this view, but they dare not avow it lest they should incur the displeasure of the orthodox party which reigns supreme in the land. They have become so bloodless—so imbecile, that when the question of improving the society presents itself, the courage of their convictions hies into the background, and they speak like a mouse in a cheese. I, therefore, undertake to deal with the most important of all social questions, namely, the social position of women.

The writer, after dwelling at considerable length on the various disabilities the Hindu women suffer from and the social fetters that bind them, observes:—

In this connection I should mention what Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, a transcendent savant, did to relieve the misery of the Hindu widows. He inchoated

a movement in favour of the remarriage of widows and proved beyond doubt by extracts from the Shastras that the Hindus were perfectly justified in remarrying widows. This incensed the utmost ire of the orthodox section of the community; and they hauled him over the coals. A few years ago Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, another great man, had to encounter a similar opposition when he proposed to remarry his widowed daughter.

The life of a Hindu widow is wretched in the highest degree. If she falls into this condition when young without any provision being made for her against the rainy day, either by her father or her husband, she becomes a slave to the family where she lives. Albeit while her parents are alive she is protected, to some extent, by their natural affection from the cold winds of indigence and servitude, yet their death deprives her of her last *point d'appui*.

The tenets of the Shastras make it incumbent upon the relations of their husbands to maintain her as long as she lives; but, save in very rare instances, she groans under abject slavery and its consequent tribulations. She does not get the pittance of food and clothing without working hard from early morn to dewy eve; and the cup of her afflictions overflows its brim when she is regarded as a dead-weight upon the purse. When a man dies without leaving his wife any property or sons, she then visualises her position clearly, all its hideous desolation, its iron servitude, its clanking chains of duty, its dreary labour, its complete hopelessness. Nailed to the cross of suffering with "soft silence and submissive obedience," to the agony of ills that are writ for her in sour misfortune's look.

The Advent of the Parsis in Indian.

In the course of a learned paper on "The Great Sage of Persia and His Followers" which appears in the July number of *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore) from the pen of Royhintan N. Fram Mirza, A.M. I.C.E., &c., occur the following interesting details relating to the exodus of the Parsis from Persia to India, where they now form such an important part of the population, by their unity and culture, though not by their numbers.

The Conquest of Persia by the Arabs.—It was in the year 641 A.D. that the Arabs in the full flush of their new faith of Islam ran over Persia, defeated Yazdagard III, on the field of Nehavand, 50 miles to the south of the city of Hamadan, thus causing the termination of the Persian dynasty.

The Exodus of the Parsis.—The Conquest of Persia by the followers of Islam now leads us to the exodus of the Parsis from Persia into India. At the outset, I must make it clear that there are proofs to show, that this was not the only cause of driving the Persians outside the country. Persecution *there must have been*, causing exodus on a greater scale, for Prof. Jackson tells us that even now, the Zoroastrians in Persia are often persecuted in various ways. It is

not right to believe that the conversion of Persia into Mahomedan faith took place all at once, for Dr. Speigel observes with certain amount of surprise that Parsism still flourished in Iran quite three centuries after the Arab conquest.

Ancient Religious Connection between Persia and India.—Mr. M. M. Murzban points out in his "Parsis in India" that there was religious connection between Zoroastrians and India even as far back as 600 B. C. There is a Hindu account of the advent of a fire-respecting priest from Persia into Dwaraka (in Kathiawar). In historic times, the Punjab formed part of the Persian dominions from its conquest by Darius Hystaspes about 510, till 350 B. C. About the beginning of the Christian era, the Kanerkis, the Indian Scythian rulers of the Punjab, seem to have adopted the religion of the Magi (Lassen in the Journal of the Beng. Asia-Society, XI, 456), as indicated by the picture of fire altars, stamped on their coins. During the reigns of the Sassanian Kings the relations between India and Persia were closer. Mr. Murzban states that according to one account, early in the seventh century, a large body of Persians landed in Western India, and Wilford states that one of the leaders was a son of King Khosru Parviz, and believe that the family of Udeypur has sprung from this stock.

Excavations at Pataliputra or Modern Patna.—Dr. D. B. Spooner has carried out recently excavations at Pataliputra, or Palibothra (Megasthenes), Kusumpura or Pushpapura of the ancient Kingdom of Magadha, modern Patna. He has discovered the remains of a hundred columned palace, or throne room corresponding to the Persepolitan one of Darius the Great. Further Dr. Spooner points out that a wave of Persian advance in India must have taken place even in times anterior to Chandragupta, even as far as Orissa and Assam. He says that the Yavans, mentioned in the temple records of Jagannath, as invading Orissa between 458 and 421 B.C. were a "Zoroastrian tribe from some part of the Persian Realm." Thus there were Zoroastrians in India in the Achæmenian times.

Many Migrations of Parsis towards India.—Much more can be written on this subject, but it is not possible here to enlarge upon it. Briefly then, we may say that there must have been many such migrations of Parsis towards the east, at different periods and very naturally, it must have reached a much greater magnitude when the Arabian persecution was at its worst, and with this particular exodus we are for the moment concerned with.

Where did the Refugees Land in India.—We do not exactly know the modes of their departure from the Persian Gulf at the persecution. The only information we can collect on the subject is from a book called Kisseh-e-Sanjan which might have been written by a Mazdean priest in the year about 1,600 named Bahman Kaikobad Sanjana, who lived in Nowsari, (now a railway station on the B. B. and C. I. Railway), north of Bombay.

According to him the refugees first landed at Diu, a small town on the Gulf of Cambay to the south of the Kathiawar Coast, and then a little later on, changed their residence to Sanjan (25 miles south of Damman) ruled then by a Hindu prince called Jadai Rana. Before allowing them to settle, the prince desired to know something about this new race, so the most

learned amongst the refugees drew up 16 Shlokas in which are summarised the duties enjoined by their religion.

They were permitted to settle down provided they adopted the language of the country and the Hindoo dress for the women, and the men should no longer carry weapons and that they should perform the marriage ceremonies at night according to the Hindoo custom. The exiles, anxious for peace and rest agreed to all this. They settled down in a large tract of land, not far away from Sanjan, and built an altar for lighting the sacred fire and from that time onwards, Zoroastrian rites and ceremonies began to be performed on Indian soil.

When did the Refugees reach India?—The date of the landing at Sanjan has great controversies, as some hold it was in 716 A. D.; while as per calculations made by Mr. Cama it is stated as 936 A. D. For nearly 300 years, the Parsis lived peacefully at Sanjan some migrating to Cambay, Ankleswar, Variaw, Vankaner, Surat and Thana.

Another Fight and Massacre.—About 1305 A.D. they fought with the Rana against Mahmood Shah or Ala-uddin-Khilji. In the great fight the Rana perished and Ardeshir a Parsi hero died and once more, many Parsis fled to the mountains of Bahruit 8 miles east of Sanjan, taking the Sacred Fire with them, which they had lighted after their first landing in Sanjan.

What happens to the Sacred Fire Commenced at Sanjan.—Mr. Murzban mentions: "The grotto, where the Sacred Fire was deposited, is still to be seen." The fugitives remained there 12 years, and then went to Bansdah. In 1331, they conveyed the Sacred Fire to Naosari, where many Parsis had settled long time ago. From Naosari, the fire was removed in 1733 to Surat temporarily for 3 years. From there it was taken to Balsar but at last it found a final resting place in Udwarda on the 28th October, 1742, where it is to-day.

The Spread of the Community.—The continuation and further spreading of the Parsi race is but natural, and it is not necessary here to go into the various details describing various migrations of the Parsis from one place to another in India, and the details of how such and such family flourished. Such details and minute histories can be obtained from various books and publications by European and Parsi historians.

Religious Education in India.

Mr. Doreswamy Iyengar, B.A., from whose interesting article on the above subject in the June number of the *Hindustan Review* (Allahabad) we made extensive quotations in our August issue, continues his theme in the current (July) number of the same magazine, which amply repays perusal. He sums up with the following words:

We have seen that neither the present system of education is so immoral and bad as is made out, nor does religious education possess the magical power of

showering countless blessings on our country. The evils attributed to the present system of education are largely the result of other factors, and unless a series of revolutionary changes occur in our system of life and our national character, no moral education can be profitably undertaken in India. The pursuit after religious and moral education is a wild goose chase, and it is attended with immense practical difficulties. It is not certainly worth the cost or the effort necessary to organise religious education in our schools. The country as a whole is apathetic towards it and those who are very anxious to have it must seek it in the private educative agencies. If these are now effete and useless why not reform and purify them? Certainly that would be far easier work than establishing religious education in the schools, and if successful, these agencies will be far more effective in saving the cause of religion. And besides, why should we confuse between religious education and moral education and advocate the one as if it were the other? If we seek some moral instruction for our youths, the existing educational agency can be easily adjusted to supply it. But this will not be possible if religious education comes up. Religious education is thus quite untenable in theory as well as in practice.

A Plea for Freedom for Indian Women.

Under the above caption an article appears in the July issue of the *Hindustan Review* in the course of which the writer, Mr. Mukandi Lal, B.A. (Oxon.), observes :

...And the custodians of this social tyranny are our womenfolk. Therefore, in order to be enrolled in the list of living and progressive nations of the world we will have to give freedom to our women, to educate themselves, so that they can help our men to break down the caste barrier, to stop the decay of our society. It is not for political reasons that I plead for freedom for women but social and national reasons. I am one of those who know and believe that a nation may

keep slaves, may keep women in bondage, may hide them within pardah walls, yet it can be politically free. Women of European countries have lived in bondage long after these countries were politically free or established Parliaments. Turkey was politically free with her women in the Harem. China was free with the ladies' feet cramped. And Turkey is not free when women have come out. Egypt is not free when her women parade in the streets and make political demonstrations. But she was free when her women never came out into the public. China can hardly be called politically sovereign to-day though they have cut off pigtails and stopped crippling their women. I can conceive of India politically free or self-governing and yet under the same vicious social system—breeding a race of pigmies, dying at the first blast of any epidemic. Home Rule will not stop our race-suicide. Very few of us realise, the Indians as a people are bound to disappear in the course of a few centuries if they do not change their social habits, their mode of living and eating. How can you expect the people to be healthy and strong when every third man or woman has got to do her or his own cooking under most insanitary conditions, when one has to go without a meal rather than take it from one of different caste. When one has meals at all sorts of times; and when millions of people have only one meal a day—and that too of least nourishing food. How can you expect strong and healthy children when they are not fed or clothed properly, when children go to bed with their parents as late as 10 to 12 at night and get up at 5 or 6 in the morning. How is it possible to proceed with the social reconstruction of our society unless our women agree to it and take it into hand. It is very easy to say "women are the foundation of our future greatness" and talk glibly about the emancipation of women or their education and so forth. What we have got to bear in mind is that in every country women are the foundation of home and family, consequently of society. And no nation can achieve greatness unless the women of that nation work for that national greatness; and that can be done only by truly well educated mothers.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Spiritual Basis of the New World Order.

In the April number of *The International Review of Missions* (London) Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, D. D., in the course of an article under the above caption, writes :

Equality seems an impossible and an undesirable ideal for human society. Life with its differences in maturity, in gifts, in temperaments, is evidently contrived to render equality unattainable. The greater the variety of ages and natures and talents in any community, the richer its life will be. The

forms of democratic organization which attempt to bring all workers or students or artists or believers to one level are impoverishing tyrannies. But there can be brotherhood without equality among the older and younger members of a family, and among the more or less developed peoples of mankind. Wise parents lead but do not drive their children and bring them to self-control and self-determination. Mother countries can do the same with colonies or protectorates.

Comments on the above are superfluous.

The Bose Institute.

Sir J. C. Bose's discovery of the

response of plants to Wireless stimulation seems to have roused keen interest in Europe and it is expected that practical application will soon be made of this discovery. *Nature*, in a review published in the current number, says :

India is to be congratulated upon the foundation and generous endowment of an institute of this character, which is intended to include departments for physics, plant physiology, animal physiology, and psychophysics, as well as their applications to agriculture and medicine. The address (of Sir J. C. Bose) outlines the events leading up to the organisation of the institute. It is pointed out that the two ideals before the country are complementary and not antagonistic. There is first the individualistic ideal of winning success in all affairs, of securing material efficiency and of satisfaction of personal ambition. These are necessary but by themselves cannot secure the life of a nation. The weakling who has refused the conflict, having acquired nothing, has nothing to renounce. He alone who has striven and won can enrich the world by giving away the fruits of his victorious experience. The ideal of giving, of enriching—in fine, of self-renunciation in response to the highest call of humanity, is the other and complementary ideal. In many of the papers Sir J. C. Bose was assisted by his research students. The records upon which the conclusions of the Calcutta laboratory are based are on an entirely different level. In those, skill in manipulation, and the most ingenious clockwork and electrical device have been combined to evolve methods whereby the minute movements of response to carefully regulated stimuli have been recorded on the same chart as their time relations. In order to cut out errors arising from the variation of factors other than the one under consideration, the observations are in most cases made only for a short period of time. This is possible with the aid of the great magnification employed ; the latter is obtained by combination of levers coupled with the disturbance of equilibrium in a magnetic field due to the motion of the steel lever in it. The massed attack of the workers in the Bose Institute has in a very short time cleared up much that was obscure in the phenomena of response.

The Democratization and Emancipation of the Orient.

In *The Philippine Review* (Manila, P. I.) for March 1919 under the caption "Facing the Situation" there appears an Editorial Note under which the writer observes :

When the time, therefore, has come that the Philippine Republic shall see its rebirth, the death-knell for colonialism in the Orient will have been rung. Already the forces of a great democracy had made their way through in neighbor countries, from the Philippines. The American policy in this country and in China bears unusual meaning with regard to Korea and the older policies pursued in Java and in India. The war has accelerated the momentum fo

this new movement towards national consciousness. The passing of the old order in Europe has its natural counterpart in the East. If the war has been fought in the Old World for the defense of the rights of weak nations, China and Korea and Java and the Philippines should not be excluded from the pale of the principle. This is fundamental. No world harmony can exist that is based on schisms of interests between East and West. "The East will begin attentively to listen to the West as soon as the West begins to listen attentively to the East", to quote from the editor of the defunct *New East*, Mr. Robertson Scott. There is actual and imperative need of erasing every living vestige of race prejudice, to make this world livable. As Mr. Dennett has expressed it, "*It must be perfectly clear * * * that the traditional attitude of the European toward the Asiatic race must give way before new policies and methods in keeping with the ideals for which the war in Europe is being fought.*"

Such is the basis to a world democracy, and, in the Orient, it resolves itself as to whether we Orientals are to continue encroaching upon one another's interests. To kill forever every form of Western exploitation of the East and to inject permanently the idea of altruism into the current of colonial thought, it is basical that purification must begin at home. Happily, the Peace Conference has committed itself ardently to this task. But what the inter-Allied convention alone can do will not suffice. It is necessary that the purest and most genuine force of democracy be implanted in Oriental thought. More than Japan, more than China, more than any other country in the East, the Philippines is called upon to push this task, because it is her fortune to have been bred in American ideas and ideals, which are inherently democratic. Such is the Filipino people's position in the East. They are bound to open the way to real Oriental emancipation.

What Constantinople means to Britain and Islam.

In an article under the above caption in the July number of *The Asiatic Review* (London) Lt.-Col. A. C. Yate writes :

We are indebted to the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali for an article in the June (1915) number of the *Contemporary Review*, which, coming from his authoritative pen, gives, so to speak, chapter and verse for the statements which have been made from time to time by His Majesty's Ministers on the subject of the Caliphate. Ministers said that Islam must settle the Caliphate, and Mr. Ameer Ali explains why and indicates how. Nay, more ! It is made perfectly clear that to annul a tenure of four centuries' duration is a drastic measure which would seriously perturb the Mohammedan world.

Constantinople stands upon a site so vitally associated with famous incidents and decisive movements in the world's history, that a moment's thought must convince mankind that the transfer of its possession involves religious, political, strategic, and commercial interests and powers of the gravest moment. It may be the Trojan War, fought, some say, for the right to navigate the Hellespont ; it may be the voyage of the

Argo, bent on winning for Hellas the Golden Fleece at Colchis; it may be Persia invading Greece, or Greece subjugating Persia; it may be Frank challenging Islam, or Turk menacing Christendom; be it Roman Emperor or Sassanian monarch, the base or goal of their efforts was the City of Constantine. Agamemnon, Jason, Xerxes, Alexander, the Empress Helena, Constantine, Julian, Justinian, the Comneni and Palæologi, Godfrey of Bouillon, Baldwin of Flanders, Dandolo, Mohammed the Second, Selim the First, and Suleman the Magnificent—each name is witness to the part played in the history of the world by Constantinople, the Metropolis first of a Roman and then of a Greek Empire.

After dwelling on the various points of importance as a social, political or commercial centre, of Constantinople, the writer concludes his article with the following characteristic lines:—

We come back to the thought that the Ottoman Caliphate has endured for four hundred years, and that all Islam respects the prescriptive rights of the

Sultan as Khalifa. "All Islam" means three hundred millions of people, of whom one hundred million at least are subjects of His Majesty King George the Fifth. The Empire that rules one-third of the votaries of a great religion cannot ignore the other two-thirds. During the Balkan War the Moslem population of India were deeply moved, and watched with unfeigned anxiety the threatened disruption of the Ottoman Empire. Islam, our statesmen have declared, must settle the Caliphate. It is not impossible that, between conflicting interests and perilous ambitions, the voice of Islam may decide the fate of Constantinople.

India day by day becomes more and more a voice heard in the counsels of the Empire. "Mr. Montagu, the Aga Khan, the Maharaja of Bikanir, and members of the Council of India who have been asked to give their views, all express their opinion that the removal of the Sultan from Constantinople would have a deplorable effect in India." I do not think that Christendom realizes what it owes to the unstinted fidelity during the critical juncture of the war of the vast Mussulman population which acknowledges the way of Britain and France.

THE CROSS OF HONOUR

(FROM THE FRENCH OF HENRI BARBUSSE)

OUR entry into the village of Karakou (or some such name) was a fine surprise effect. The village only contained women, children and old men. The Lolobe fighting men (the fellows were called something like that, but I am not quite sure what) were by chance all away hunting that evening.

Thanks to the thick dusk,—and also to the fact that one of our men had discreetly knocked on the head an old fellow with a face as wrinkled as an old polished shoe, who was crouching near the enclosure and thought he was guarding the village,—we crawled up to the edge of the central square without raising an alarm. Hidden behind the huts, we loaded and pointed our rifles in order to kill all these shadows, who suspected nothing.

Some were sitting on stones, or on the ground; others were walking about opposite me; on a bench placed against a wall two niggers sat still and silent, close together. As I aimed at the one on the

right, I wondered what it was they were *not* saying to each other. . . .

The signal! The thunder of our rifles broke out from all sides at once. It was not long,—all these ink-black shadows were gathered to their fathers in two minutes. They seemed to plunge into the ground, or to be blown away like smoke.

I must confess we then finished off, rather roughly, the few men and women who had escaped our salvo, sticking in their huts like mules. This excess, quite natural and human in the war zone, was excusable because of the joy of victory,—and also because we were drunk, having discovered in the chief's hut a barrel of *tafia* sold to these same Lolobes by some wretched English agent.

I should say, as my excuse, that I have only a very confused remembrance of what happened then. But yes,—there is one detail,—those two savages who were opposite me when I was aiming, and at one of whom I fired. I saw them again.

I almost fell over them. They made one corpse at the foot of the bench where one moment before they had been so oddly silent in each other's company. It was a negro and a negress, stiff and twisted together like two clutched hands,—*two lovers*! In spite of myself the thing haunted me; so much so, that I could not help joking about it, several times, on that historic evening.

After that my memory fails — the orgy, our cries, dances, grimaces and gesticulations,— and suddenly a sharp pain in my skull — I fell — and then no more. . . .

I only recovered consciousness six weeks after, in the hospital at St. Louis. I opened my eyes, one morning, to a white ward and a smell of iodoform. They told me then, in bits, what had happened. Our column had foolishly delayed in the village, and slept on the site of their conquest. And thus had the Lolobe fighting men massacred them all on their return,— every man jack of them.

"And I?"—I asked.

They explained to me that I had been saved by a lucky chance. A hut had come down, and stunned me, but hidden me in its ruins. The next day our main body had come back and razed the village to the ground. They killed off all the Lolobes and dragged me out by the feet from the protecting rubbish.

But there was better still. The Governor had come to my bed, to tell me, himself, that I had been appointed a Knight of the Legion of Honor.

All my comrades killed, and myself decorated! I fell asleep that day in an indescribable state of emotion and unmixed bliss.

I was not long in getting better,— in such a hurry was I to go back to my village with the cross I had won. I dreamt how they would all look — father, mother and neighbours. My former friends, poor wretches, would not dare talk to me, and the foreman of the works would be very friendly. Who knows whether even the rich Miss Mounier, in spite of her age, would not agree to marry me?

The day so long expected came at last. One July morning, I got down at Villeneuve

with dragging limbs and head held high, with my old greatcoat and my new cross.

Lord, what a reception! The station was cram-full of music. There was a row of girls, the little ones in their first communion dresses, and the elder ones as brides, with flags and bouquets. A man, packed into a little frock coat and red as a peony, greeted me while I was still on the foot-board. The Count of Vilvert, who owns the chateau and was in hunting kit, smiled at me. People jostled and pushed each other, saying: "That's him!" just as one says: *God save the king*. And in the crowd my relatives preened themselves, unrecognisable in their Sunday clothes.

They dragged me off to lunch at the town hall. There were speeches before the meal and after it. I was the hero of the occasion. They called me "The glorious survivor of Karakou" and "The hero of Senegal." They related my exploit to me in many different fashions, and had a way of suddenly mixing up with it things about France and civilisation.

Towards evening, as the lunch was drawing to its close and things were quieter, a journalist came up to my chair and asked me to tell him, myself, for his paper, the fine things I had done.

"Well," I began, "it's like this — I —"

But I could not finish and only gaped at him. My arm that was waving in the air grew still. "I do not know —" I had to confess.

"Well answered!" exclaimed the fool. "The brave fellow does not even deign to remember his feats."

I smiled. We all rose from the table. There was another procession to the end of the village — speeches — drinks all round, stood by old Barbat. Then, after a general embracing we separated. And at last I found myself alone in the dusk near the factory.

Then I took the little road that goes round the church, to get home. Although it was growing dark, my eyes were dazed and blinking, and my feet felt heavy. My head was empty and dull, and yet something was tormenting me.

Yes, that crude question of the newspaper

man was driving into my poor head like a nail — "What fine thing did you do?"

Yes,— what indeed? I must have done something extraordinary,— there was the cross to prove it,— but what?

I stopped abruptly in the middle of the darkening road and stood stuck there like a mile-stone, trying to think, and worrying because I could not. Had they confused my ideas with all their champagne and their involved reasoning? Anyhow, there I was, like those people in novels who have forgotten a part of their life,— I had absolutely forgotten my striking action and seemed never to have done it!

I set off again homeward, very uneasy. Then, at a turning, I saw in the twilight, on a farm bench, two people sitting close to each other. They must have been holding hands, and they were not talking, but they seemed engrossed in their mutual silence. One could see very little of them in the dusk— only that they were human beings and that they were exchanging something better than words.

"Ah —" said I, stopping again . . . and suddenly, with eyes fixed on this remote corner of our village, I saw another village, now destroyed and wiped off the earth with all its inhabitants,— especially the two little black figures that had palpitated together before me, only showing me their human forms and the silence in which they were wrapped. And this indistinct couple, because of the darkness, were exactly like those two shadows,— *those shadows, those negroes!*

How stupid it was to find any resemblance. But I could not help it. When one has drunk too much, one becomes somehow silly and simple. And I must have been very drunk; for, this odd resemblance which ought to have made me laugh, made me cry; and I lifted my hand to my cross and hid it swiftly at the bottom of my pocket, — like something that had been stolen.

Translated by

PRAMILA CHAUDHURI.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

SHIVAJI AND HIS TIMES—J. Sarkar. Pp. 508. M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, Rs. 4.

Of late, Maratha history has attracted more attention than before, and no less than three volumes dealing with the rise of the Marathas, have been published in rapid succession. Of these Prof. Sarkar's work is decidedly the best. He has tapped all the available sources of information, with the single exception of the Portuguese. An eminent Persian scholar, Prof. Sarkar is perhaps the best person in India for such a work. The Marathi Chronicles or *Bakhars* lack chronological arrangement, and are mostly unreliable, as has been so ably pointed out by Mr. V. K. Rajwade. Consequently Prof. Sarkar had to depend mainly on Persian Historical works and contemporary English and Persian Correspondence; but he has not failed to utilise the *Bakhars* and the published Marathi records. In his work, we get for the first time, a careful and chronological narration of Shivaji's achievement. The date of

every event has been carefully ascertained, and every source of information scientifically examined. But this forms at the same time the strong as well as the weak points of the present volume. For at times the reader is confronted with such a formidable array of facts, as can hardly be interesting to him. In spite of this defect Prof. Sarkar's Shivaji will always be considered as a very important contribution to Indian Scholarship.

Excellent and authoritative as the work is, we have to differ from the views of the illustrious author on some minor points. When he says that, "The period of Maratha ascendancy has not left India richer by a single grand building, or beautiful picture, or finely written manuscript," Prof. Sarkar seems to have overstated the fact. We have seen very beautiful illuminated manuscripts in the museum of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal of Poona that, as specimens of the calligraphist's art, can well be compared with the best Persian manuscripts. Very fine portraits of Nana Fadnavis, Mahadji Sindhia, Sawai Madhava Rao and

Baji Rao I., have been exhibited by the B. I. S. Mandal, and there is no reason to suspect that the painters were not Marathas.

As an illustration of their lack of polish, Prof. Sarkar points out that the Marathas have "no respectful mode of address like the *ap* (your honour) of Northern India, all ranks are *theed* and *thoued*." The Marathas both in their correspondence and everyday conversation, make a careful distinction between *tu* and *tumhi*—you and thou. And the usual practice of addressing every correspondent as *Asheshha gunalankarana Akhandlakshmi-alankrita Rajamanya Rajashri*,—clearly shows that the Marathas were not incapable of expressing ceremonial courtesy.

We do not understand why Prof. Sarkar converts Ganga into Ganga Bhatta. Visheshvar alias Ganga had a pet name as every other Maharashtra Brahman of his time. These pet names like Nana, Baba, Bhau, Bapu are not corrupt forms of Sanskrit words. We also fail to understand why he thinks that the title of Hambir Rao was conferred on Ananda Rao. Makaji Ananda Rao was a natural son of Shahaji and a half-brother of Shivaji. As such, it was quite possible that he succeeded Pratap Rao in the Sarnobatship. But the title of Hambir Rao has always been associated with the name of Hansaji Mohite.

Cautious and careful as he is, Prof. Sarkar has at least once been carried away by the eloquence of the Maratha *Bakhar* writers. Among the distinguished officers who accompanied Shivaji to Haidarabad, Prof. Sarkar mentions Tanaji Malusare (p. 375). Tanaji however died seven years earlier in 1670 (p. 209) in his assault on Kondana.

Finally, we cannot agree with Prof. Sarkar, when he tells us that the Marathas did not produce a single banker or businessman of repute. In Chitnis *Bakhar*, mention has been made of Sheshava Naik, a banker of renown with whom Maloji had deposited his treasures. In the Peshwa period all payments were made by *Hundis*. *Hundis* were given for even such a small sum as Rs. 13-8 (See Rajwade—*Marathyancha Itihasanchi Sadhanen*, Vol. X) and we cannot understand how *Hundis* could be so popular, if there were no good banks and bankers. We also know that during the Peshwa period, Maratha merchants not only settled in the coast towns of Arabia, but their ships often plied between China and India (Rajwade, Vol. X). Finance ministers like Ram Chandra Baba Shenvi and Nana Fadnavis would have done honour to any country.

Prof. Sarkar seems to think that caste rivalry formed the principal cause of the downfall of the Marathas. No doubt it was one of the causes, but it was by no means the main cause that brought about the disruption of the Maratha empire. In spite of its prevalence the Maratha Empire grew in extent and power

for more than a century. The chief bane of Maharashtra was feudalism, and the Maratha Empire fell because it had no opportunity of reforming its feudal organisation, before it came into conflict with the English.

But these are mere minor points. "Shivaji and his Times" will considerably add to Prof. Sarkar's well deserved reputation, and he will be regarded as an authority on the subject. The volume will repay careful study, and we can confidently recommend it to every student of Indian History. This work has cost the author not merely labour but considerable money as well. He has at a very great expense obtained copies of Bombay and Surat Factory Records. His collection of Persian letters is unrivalled in India and we confess that we do not feel ourselves competent to review his book.

S. N. S.

THE SILK INDUSTRY AND TRADE by Ratan C. Rawley, M.A., M. Sc. (Econ). P. S. King and Son, Ltd., London. 12s. 6d. net. Pp. 172+XVX.

The book has been written from the standpoint of the British and French master weavers and spinners. It contains the general features of the weaving and spinning industries of the above two countries. The object of the author is to help the exploitation of India by advising her to export raw silk and silk waste suitable for European looms and spinning factories.

Many are aware of the fact that India was once a great silk manufacturing country. The industry was nearly killed by the jealousy of the British manufacturers after the advent of the East India Company (*Vide* "Industrial Arts of India" by Sir George Birdwood). "The winders of raw silk called Nagoads* have been treated with such injustice that instances have been known of their cutting off their thumbs to prevent their being forced to wind silk" (*Vide* "Considerations of Indian Affairs," London 1772, by William Bolts). India is gradually importing increasing quantities of raw silk and silk fabrics and exporting decreasing quantities of raw silk and silk goods though the quantity of silk waste exported by her is being increased. There is a demand for Indian raw silk in India. Indian weavers of Kumbakonam, Mayavaram, Conjeevaram, Trichinopoly, Madura, Salem, Coimbatore, Shikarpur, Benares, Sualkuehi (Assam) and other places are anxious to get Indian raw silk but there is no regular supply of it. Imported raw silk from China and Japan is being utilized by the weavers of Bombay, the Punjab and the United Provinces, but there is no market for Indian raw silk in these places. Want of any commercial organization to push Indian raw silk on the market is responsible for such a state of things. There are many commer-

* A caste in Malda whose occupation even now is silkworm rearing.

cial agents, firms and brokers for Chinese and Japanese raw silk, but no such agencies exist for advertising Indian raw silk. In many places Mysore raw silk is not known at all and in others the quantity and quality of Bengal raw silk required, is not available. It will not be economic to produce finely-reeled silk with the multivoltine cocoons of Mysore, Bengal and Kollegal for European markets as suggested by the author, when there is a considerable local market for comparatively thick thread for which multivoltine cocoons are particularly suitable. The more raw silk India imports and the less of silk fabrics, and the more manufactured goods she exports, the better it is for her. It should be noted that China and Japan consume a large quantity of raw silk produced by them and export their surplus stock of raw silk, whereas France and Italy consume almost all the raw silk produced by themselves and import a large quantity of it from Japan, Turkey and Brucia, etc., for keeping their looms engaged. If our demand for silk goods can be met in India by increasing and cheapening the Indian raw silk and by organizing the weaving industry, there would be no cause for regret even if the French and British markets for our raw silk were never recovered.

Pierced mulberry, tasar, eri and muga cocoons (waste silk) have been spun into thread by village women from time immemorial and many old women of Bengal, Assam and the Central Provinces earn their livelihood by this industry. Many poor women will be out of employment if all our waste silk is exported, but there is no reason why our surplus waste silk should not be exported until some enterprising men establish silk spinning factories in Bengal, Mysore, Assam and Kashmir, like the Chhoi and David Sasoon silk mills of Bombay. There is a great demand for handspun fabrics both in India and abroad, and the more waste silk is spun in India the better it is for her.

We are quite at one with the author about the evils of State control and the merits of private enterprise aided by State capital described by him on page 143 and about the establishment of a 'silk conditioning House' in India on page 103. On page 58 the author is anxious to maintain the prestige of India in other countries within the empire by exporting to the United Kingdom increasing quantities of raw silk and silk waste, which she can ill afford. To this we are firmly opposed.

The potentiality of the silk industry in India is great, and every encouragement should be given to local products by granting subsidies for cocoons, reeled silk and manufactured goods, as is done in France and other countries. A small tax should be imposed on the export of cocoons, and raw silk waste, thereby stimulating their utilization in the country. This, however, would not hold good for Kashmir so long as, unfortunately, there is no weaving industry

there. But there is no reason why an artist like people like the Kashmiris should not take to silk weaving, if proper initiative is given to them by the Durbar. A tax should also be imposed on imported silk goods, but cocoons, raw silk and silk waste should be imported free of charge. A central sericultural Institute should also be established with branches in suitable places to advise those who are engaged in this industry.

T. R. S.

THE TRADITIONS IN ISLAM, by Rev. Goldsack. Published by the Christian Literature Society for India. Pp. 105. Price As. 8.

The book, says the author in the preface, has been written, primarily, for educated and intelligent Muslims who, as he exhorts them, "ought no longer to be content to take on trust the extravagant claims made for the traditions" (p. vi).

The author thinks his is a pioneer spadework. Says he:—

"Books, in the English language, dealing with the Quran are not rare; but so far as the author is aware, no critical study of the traditions of Islam has yet appeared in English."

This may be true or not; but the book is certainly a novel production, inasmuch as it sets out to prove what nobody has ever denied. The writer has taken enormous pains to prove the following three propositions:—

First, a great part of Muslim tradition is false in claiming to be the record of what Muhammad said and did.

Secondly, many of the traditions disagree with the Koran.

Thirdly, some of them are full of puerility and absurdities.

Let alone the enlightened section of the community, even the orthodox Muslims would find themselves in full accord with the author in these respects. It is precisely on the grounds above set forth that no Muslim accepts the traditions as gospel truth, unless he has satisfied himself of the genuineness of a particular tradition on its own merits. In fact, it is a commonplace canon in Muslim theology that all the traditions of which the authenticity is not strictly proved, or which are in contradiction either with the Quran or reason are not to be taken as genuine. We sympathise with the author in his misspelt labours. It is just as ridiculous as it would be to demonstrate to a Christian that the four Gospels were not actually written by Christ.

It must, however, be added that much of the evidence on which the writer has based his collateral conclusions is of an exceedingly flimsy nature and ought not to have found place in a book professing to emanate from an earnest student.

A. M.

GIBRALTAR, OR THE FOREIGN POLICY OF ENGLAND—By Richard Congreve, M. A. London, Watts & Co.

This is a reprint of the valuable paper written in 1856 by Dr. Congreve, the eminent English disciple of Auguste Comte, under his direct inspiration. Though the problem of Gibraltar is not pressing, especially in this age of world problems, yet the principles of international relationship formulated are so inspiring and the presentation so candid and bold that students of history might read the paper with profit even after this half a century of interval between its first publication and the present reprint.

INDIAN LABOURERS IN FRANCE—By Captain P. Kashi Nath of the Indian Labour Corps. Oxford University Press, (1919).

A highly interesting and well-written narrative of the experiences of our Indian soldiers in the world war. The concluding remarks of Captain Kashinath is significant: "This trip has thus unconsciously been to these men an agent for loosening the prohibition against crossing the 'black water' removing many vague superstitious terrors, freeing them from superfluous caste restrictions and opening their minds to a better comprehension of higher forms of religion; and it will prove in its effects a great civilising and educative influence not only to themselves but to those vast multitudes they will come into contact with."

THE HISTORY OF A VILLAGE PANCHAYET—By E. V. Sundara Reddi, M. A., B.L., The Kanara Press (Madras).

This is an economic enquiry into the Panchayet organisation of the village of Rambakkam situated in Villupuram Taluk, South Arcot District. The purpose of the writer is "to find out the circumstances that are essential for the growth and development of the institution of village Panchayets generally." The aim of the author is noble and his method of investigation thorough and scientific.

IF ZOROASTER WENT TO BERLIN! OR THE LADDER OF PERFECTION—By M. Pithawalla, B.A., B.Sc. (Poona).

This essay, as the author professes, "is an earnest attempt to bring into relief the vast potentialities of a 'Faith long dim' for the modern world; to crystallize all that is the very best in old Zoroastrianism for the new era that is now dawning upon us"

AN EMPIRE-BUILDER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—By L. F. Rushbrook Williams, B. Litt. etc. (Longmans).

A searching enquiry into the original documents of Moslem History is slowly undermining the chief early reconstructions like those of Malcolm and Elphinstone. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar is the predecessor of Mr. R. Williams in this field of enquiry. While Prof. Sarkar is delving deep into the Aurangzebe archives, our Allahabad Professor is opening his fieldwork

with the first systematic narrative of the political career of Babar. The founder of the Mogul Empire is a romantic personality. His portrait painter must be a subtle colourist. But here we get from Mr. Williams a fine study in black and white, a vigorous portrait no doubt in dry light, but lacking the poetry of personality and the vitality of local colour.

KALHAN.

THE TARAKA LIPI: THE IDEAL ALPHABET FOR INDIA: by N. M. Rama Ayyar, Tutor, National College of Commerce, Madras. Price As. 4. To be had of the Author, 23 High Road, Egmore, Madras.

This is a small pamphlet of 28 + viii pages, in which a plea for a common script for India has been put forward, and, as a solution for the script problem in India, a new alphabet—the *Taraka Lipi*—has been offered. This Alphabet is partly on the model of Pitman's shorthand, but its principle is in the main that of the Indian syllabic alphabets. There have been other attempts before at a simplified system of writing for Indian languages, attempts inspired by the English shorthand of Sir Isaac Pitman: we may mention the *Pandiyan* alphabet of Mr. Thiru Narayana Iyengar, Editor of the *Shen-Damil*, and the *Rekhakshara Varnamala* of the venerable Dwijendranath Tagore, eldest brother of Ravindranath. The above experiments did not aim at ousting the alphabets current in the country, they only sought to supply systems of shorthand for the Indian languages; but Mr. Rama Ayyar's scheme is more ambitious. His endeavours in this direction are quite laudable; but it must be said that his *Taraka Lipi* will after all be regarded as some thing curious, and it can hardly aspire to become the common script for India. Mr. Ayyar forgets the tradition and history behind the Devanagari or Tamil or any other alphabet he wishes to replace—an alphabet which has become a part of the language. Convenience and tradition guide the actions of men more than anything else, even the findings of the most up-to-date science; and Mr. Ayyar's alphabet is not at all up-to-date in its principle. It is simply a new alphabet along the lines of Devanagari—it is new only so far as the symbols are concerned, but the plan is the old ligature and syllabic system of Devanagari. It certainly has an advantage over Devanagari, Bengali, Telugu or Malayalam, in that the characters are quite simple, being made up of circles, lines and loops, which give some of the simplest letters imaginable. But its defects are those of Devanagari and allied alphabets; and the use of a diacritical bar for the unvoiced aspirates *kh*, *ch*, *th*, *ph* can hardly be recommended. Besides, there seems to be no running hand, and the pen has to be lifted at the end of each letter. The symbols are totally unfamiliar, having no resemblance with any existing Indian alphabet. I do not think

Taraka Lipi will meet with any serious consideration.

Any one who has studied the question deeply will pause before inflicting a fresh alphabet upon the world, already suffering from a babel of scripts.

If we are to have one script for India, I would prefer the Roman, which is preeminently the ideal alphabet, both in its intrinsic merit and in its wide currency.

A modified Roman alphabet (preferably that of the *International Phonetic Association*) is the only solution, under the existing conditions, of the script problem, not only in India but also throughout the world. No one would tolerate the patronising 'missionary' attitude of the Rev. Mr. Knowles, but his position as regards the superiority of the Roman alphabet is unassailable; it is not necessary to discuss the subject afresh here.

The question of a common language and a common script seems to loom large in the visions of some of us, but I think too much importance has been attached to it. Hindustani (Hindi or Urdu) has become the *lingua franca* of India without any propaganda, but I fail to understand the zeal to make Hindi or Urdu take the place of a culture language like English, or supplant the other vernaculars. The script problem is not, again, so vital at the present moment as to require urgent attention. Whenever difficulties arise, a solution presents itself. I have seen a Mohammedan survey assistant from Lucknow sending a report to his superior officer, a Bengali Hindu, in romanised Hindustani, the orthography of which ignored all rules of transliteration: but it served its purpose well. The diversity of scripts has been made too much of, I fear. There are in India really 5 great scripts, among the population of 315 millions—namely, Devanagari, Bengali, Telugu-Kannada, Tamil and Urdu-Sindhi (Perso-Arabic), besides 3 minor ones—Oriya, Malayalam and Gurmukhi. From personal experience, I can say that one acquainted with one of the northern scripts (Devanagari or its current hand Gujarati or Kaithi, Bengali, Oriya and Gurmukhi) can pick up the other three in the course of a few days. The differences between them are not greater than those between the Roman and Gothic forms of the Latin alphabet. Tamil is by far the easiest Indian alphabet to master, but Telugu-Kannada and Malayalam are rather difficult, at least in comparison. The Arabic alphabet in modified forms, as used for Urdu, Kashmiri and Sindhi, and occasionally for Panjabi and Lahndi, exists as a relic of the influence of Moslem culture in India, in spite of the utter unsuitability of the Arabic alphabet for a non-Semitic language. But it will remain, at least so long as Mohammedan sentiment will continue to be strong in the matter. Viewed from all points, Devanagari is the representative alphabet of India, just as Hindustani or Hindi

is her representative language. I would gladly advocate Devanagari for all India, as the second best thing that can be done. The Roman alphabet, and failing that, the Devanagari,—we have the ideal alphabet for India there; and I do not think any new-fangled script—the *Taraka Lipi* or any other—has even the ghost of a chance for a general acceptance, in India or elsewhere.

S. K. C.

BENGALI.

WILLIAM TELL—By Sri Benoy Krishna Sen, B.A., Bharati Library, Sirajgunj.

This is an attempt to reproduce the noble history of Swiss independence in Bengali. We congratulate the author on his success in presenting lucidly the career of the immortal Swiss patriot.

SARNATHER ITIHASA—By Sri Brindaban Ch. Bhattacharjya, M.A. (Carmichael College, Rungpur). Price Rs. 1-8 only.

The author is well known already by his various contributions to contemporary journals. As a pupil of Dr. Venis of Benares, he had a unique opportunity to examine thoroughly the Sarnatha ruins *in situ* and to study the archaeological finds under the scientific guidance of the late lamented Doctor. Hence every page of this excellent monograph breathes a laudable spirit of thoroughness and critical enquiry. It is high time that recondite researches of experts in the domain of Indology be made accessible to the general reader in a less repulsive and more inviting form than that presented by the terrific volumes of the Archaeological Reports. Hence the Director-General himself has written popular treatises on "Sanchi" and "Taxila." Our budding Bengali antiquarian goes a step further and presents us with a "documentary history of Sarnath," in his mother tongue, combining thereby the two processes of systematizing fragmentary informations and popularizing the knowledge of Indian antiquities. We congratulate him on his success.

KALHAN.

KANNAD.

KATYAYANI by Venkatesh Tirko Kulkarni. Pp. 40. Price As. 4. To be had of the author at Haveri.

BANDHAVIMOCHAN by Mahadev Shastri Jantali. Published by Venkatesh Tirko Kulkarni. Haveri. Pp. 24. Price As. 4.

These two pamphlets are bound together in one volume. The first booklet pictures the life of Katyayani, the wife of the sage Yajnavalkya. The Rishi, as is well-known, had two wives, Katyayani and Maitreyi. The two wives represent two aspects of human nature. Katyayani is formed for softness, tenderness, piety; simple, innocent, and always busy in managing the household, in bringing up her children and in ministering to the wants of

her husband. Maitreyi is formed for contemplation; and intellectual strength; she is obsessed by her anxious search after truth. Both are friends and their affection for each other is such that specially to Katyayani separation from Maitreyi becomes unbearable.

In this book many phrases and expressions have crept in which are not at all happy. Almost every page is marred by misprints, especially in conjunct consonants. If the book is widely read by those for whom it is written, it will leave an indelible impression on their mind for good.

The second booklet deals with the mind, its purification and its liberation. There is nothing worth noting in its pages, no originality of thought or form, no new way of presentation.

W.

HINDI.

GO-PALANA,—by Bhagawanadas Varmu, Government Military Dairy Farm, Gamber, District Montgomery, (Punjab). Published at the Standard Press, Allahabad. Pages 205. Price One Rupee.

This is the second edition of the book, which was first published in 1915 and was well received both on account of the value of its contents as well as for the clearness and simplicity of its language. As the title suggests, the subject treated is Cow-keeping and the importance of this subject in this country, when the ancient traditions have generally been forgotten owing to a variety of reasons, can hardly be exaggerated. There are five chapters in it dealing with (i) milk and milk-products; (ii) cows and calves; (iii) fodder; (iv) cattle diseases and their treatment; and (v) miscellaneous. There are many illustrations and the paper cover is adorned with a coloured picture representing Krishna under the Kadamba tree with his cows.

SANGITA-PUSHPANJALI, Published by the Gurukul Press, Kangri, Hardwar. Pp. 108. Price 5 annas.

It is a collection of songs both in Sanskrit and Hindi on various subjects in which the Arya Samaj is generally interested. The songs are of the kind usually sung at Arya Samajik lectures and festivities and are of a distinctly sectarian nature. For those who wish to know what are the popular beliefs which find favour with the Arya-Samajists of today, as distinct from the doctrines laid down in books, there is ample material in this little booklet.

DEVANAGARI-KI-PAHALI-POTHI (THE FIRST BOOK OF DEVANAGARI),—by Ramdas Gaud, M.A. (Hindu University, Benares) and Ramkumar Goenka (Calcutta). To be had of the Hindi Books Agency, 126 Harrison Road, Calcutta. Pp. 36. Price 2 annas.

This book is written on a novel plan with a view to simplify the method of acquiring an elementary knowledge of the Hindi language and the characters in which it is written. The book is amply illustrated and the get-up is charming.

THE FIRST HINDI READER, Published by Swami Satyadeva Paribrajaka, Hindi Prachar Office, Madras Pp. 35. Price 2 annas.

This primer is intended for the use of grown-up and intelligent persons in the Madras Presidency who are desirous of learning the Hindi language. It proposes to do away with the necessity of learning English, which has hitherto been the medium for learning Hindi to men in the Southern Presidency. The object is to facilitate the acquisition of a working knowledge of Hindi which is peculiarly fitted by the extent of its adoption and the ease with which it could be learnt to serve as a *lingua franca* for all India.

SAHITYA SUMANA,—by the late Pandit Balkrishna Bhatta. Published by Mahadeva Bhatta, Ahiyapur, Allahabad. Pp. 120. Price 8 annas.

The author is one of the makers of modern Hindi and his language has a stamp of his personality to an extent rarely met with. The present book contains short essays on 25 different subjects which were published in the *Hindi Pradipa*, a paper which the learned Pandit used to edit. The language is classic and a perusal of these essays is sure to benefit all. It will be difficult to find a better book suitable for schools and colleges where Hindi forms a subject of study and the Universities of Northern India will be well advised to introduce this book in their curricula.

TAPA (VIJNANA-PARISHAD-GRANTHAMALA, VOL. II),—by Premavallabh Joshi, B.Sc. Published by the Vijnana Parishad, Allahabad. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. Pp. 96. Price 6 annas.

The Vijnana Parishad of Allahabad are issuing a series of small volumes in Hindi on scientific subjects and the present volume is the second of the series. The idea of making accessible to those of our countrymen who are not able to take advantage of publications in English or other European languages, the results of the investigations of scientists of the past few centuries and thus bringing within their easy reach the knowledge of Nature which surrounds us, deserves every encouragement at the hands of those who are capable of helping the scheme by financial or other support. The present volume is an acquisition to Hindi literature and as well written as a book on such a subject is expected to be. Let us hope for the series a success it fully deserves. The book is devoted to the subject of Heat and is divided into fifteen sections and is amply illustrated with diagrams.

CHUMBAK (VIJNAN PARISHAD-GRANTHAMALA VOL IV),—by Pandit Saligrama Bhargava, M.Sc. Published by the Vijnana Parishad, Allahabad. Pp. 131. Price 6 annas.

This is the fourth volume of the Science series above mentioned and is as good a volume as its predecessors. The subject treated of is Magnet and Magnetism and the book is divided into 13

sections including an appendix, and is written in good Hindi.

"MULA DEVA."

Acknowledgments.

(1) FIFTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SANITARY COMMISSIONER OF THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH for the Year ending 31st December, 1918 and the Twenty-fourth Report of the Sanitary Engineer for 1918-19.

(2) NOTES ON VACCINATION IN THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH for the Year ending 31st March 1918.

(3) THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CALCUTTA ORPHANAGE, for the year 1918—a record of the valuable work done by the Orphanage during the year under notice.

(4) A SEA-PORT FOR H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS: Masulipatam suggested—By P. Venkayya.

(5) THE KING OF TRUTH—Life of Jesus Christ—By W. E. Tomilson.

(6) INDIAN CIVILIZATION AND THE PEACE CONFERENCE—By E. Raghava Reddi, B.A., B.L.—an ably-written pamphlet containing valuable suggestions well worth the serious attention of all.

(7) WHY NOT A LEAGUE OF RELIGIONS?—By Kate Simmons.—A well-written and suggestive leaflet worth serious reading.

(8) THE FEDERATION OF INDIA—By B. Houghton, Indian Civil Service, Retired: Published by the Academy of Political Science New York—The author concludes this brilliantly written brochure with the following significant words:—

"The problems raised by the memorable report of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford are indeed worthy of all the statesmanship, all the genius of Parliament and the nation. Their settlement has admittedly been too long delayed. Though Orientals are proverbially patient, there may be limits even to their self-restraint. The gravity

of the situation in India is still quite unrealized in England, but that it is grave, any false step inspired by reactionary counsels will quickly make manifest. It will not do to belittle, to ignore or to despise Indian nationalism. We are face to face with a gigantic movement, the greatest save one in human history. But yesterday it was feeble; today it is strong, it electrifies all the confines of India; tomorrow it will be overwhelming. Can we set bounds to the march of three hundred million souls or bind with cords the swelling force of an empire? The only way to success, the only way compatible with statesmanship and with the fair name of England, lies, not in listening to the prattle of ex-officials, dreaming of a dead past, or to the sophistries of a government that clutches at departing power, but in honestly joining hands with India and helping her forward." This would tend to show that every member of the Indian Civil Service is not necessarily a bureaucrat nor is he opposed to "Indian Reform."

(9) PAIKPARA AND KANDI RAJ—By H. W. B. Moreno, B.A., Ph.D., M. R. A. S., Calcutta—This booklet written in an interesting style and manner reminds us of the famous "Tagore Family Album" written in the eighties of the last century by Mr. Furrel, then Editor of *The Englishman*. The Paikpara Raj family of which Dewan Ganga Gobinda Sinha, born in 1146 B.E., was the founder, and of which Krishnachandra Sinha of sacred memory (born in 1182 B.E.), popularly known as "Lala Babu" and his pious spouse Rani Katyayani were revered throughout the country for their many qualities of head and heart—is well-known all over Bengal for their piety, numerous acts of private charity and public munificences of all kinds. We are, indeed, pleased to find that a book has at last appeared recording concisely the career of this really distinguished family of Bengal.

(10) SOME ASPECTS OF NAYAR LIFE—By K. M. Panikkar.—An interesting pamphlet.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

An Inside view of the Hindu University : A Rejoinder.

In his attempt to refute a few of my contradictions to his article, "Inside View" lays claim to "membership of every academic and administrative body of the Hindu University" to show that he has a "more accurate and first-hand knowledge" "than a mere Senator can have." Now the notion of "Inside View" of truth and untruth "must be diametrically opposed to that of all honest men", for the small connection with the University that I can lay claim to, gives me opportunities to know *first hand and most accurately, without, the least fear of challenge*, that there never was, nor has been till now, a

single member of this University, belonging to every academic and administrative body. "The reader can judge the veracity of a writer" who arrogates to himself an *impossible* position, in order to establish his credit. The mere Senator, admittedly, did not belong to the committee *appointed to bring out the results*; and if Mr. Gurtu made any irrelevant statement at this Committee; whose proceedings are essentially confidential, how is a mere Senator expected to know it unless Mr. Gurtu himself took him into his confidence? Mr. Gurtu's declaration in the Council is an event which took place when "Inside View" and "Senator" had already written their articles, and it is difficult to

discuss causes and effects; and "Inside View", who appears to have been in the confidence of Mr. Gurtu, is very unfair when he expects me to have known a thing which had yet to come when I was writing the reply.

As to the "show" of correction imputed to me I would refer the reader again to this Review p. 356, 2nd column, lines 14 to 23, and p. 21, first column, lines 3 to 15, and would appeal to them to judge for themselves whether my contradiction is a *mere show* of correction or it contains corrections *still unrefuted and unchallenged*.

The so-called "rhapsody" is my statement of facts regarding what the Honourable Mr. Malaviya has been doing for the University, and no amount of calling names or abusing can be taken as a contradiction or refutation. It was a reply to the unjust imputations of "Inside View" against the Hon'ble Pandit and the sacred name of the late Sir Sundar Lal should not have been dragged into this controversy. While the subject of talk is Mr. Malaviya, it is not *always* necessary that all other workers of the University should also be named, or even "rhapsodied." When Mr. Malaviya's sacrifices are being acknowledged and no reference to or comparison with other men is made, does it imply that all other men have made *no* sacrifices or their services have been *belittled*? Precious arguments like this and ridiculous formulae of the sort indulged in by "Inside View" do not of course lend *any* weight or credit to what "Inside View" has written.

As to the so-called "capricious" changing of the starting time of the college day, I may point out that "Inside-View" has been trying all the while to hit hard on this, to him the vulnerable, point. When I read his imputation in the June number, I made an enquiry with as many professors as were accessible to me then. Some of them seemed to have no impression of very *sudden* changes. They were, (and *all* the professors I know *are* still,) unanimous on the point that, instead of any inconvenience being caused, the changes were frequently made as the *seasonal changes* required, on *request* from both the staff and the students and added very much to their comfort and convenience. Their impression is that the changes were introduced with due notice to *all*. It is, however, very exceptional for a professor to keep a diary of the sort required to be kept by schoolmasters, so I regret I had no access to any diary. On reading the results of the investigation of the editor himself, I formally requested the Principal to show me certain papers. The order-slips on the notice-board seem to be missing, but there are applications from the students *on record* asking for changes, of course much more frequent than "once in six months", as "Inside View" would have it. It appears, however, that our young men are more sensitive to seasonal changes than "Inside View" and they *feel* sudden

fluctuations of temperature in the approaching summer of these provinces perhaps more than an unconcerned critic. As to the mistake in the ringing of the bell noted down only *once* by the professor in his diary, I should congratulate the Principal of the College on only one black entry against him in this respect, for I have been in some of the best Colleges, where I have had imprinted on my memory many such entries against less busy European Principals who devoted, not ten, but only two hours daily to the college work.

The inconvenience and disadvantage to which the staff and the students in the chemistry classes are said to have been put are by no means *peculiar* to the shift system. I can say from personal experience that such disadvantages and inconveniences as are mentioned by Professor Nag are experienced by better equipped laboratories even in the absence of the shift system. The arrangement of a time-table in a big Institution can never be a *summum bonum* and a spirit of real co-operation and large-hearted self-denial make such little inconveniences look small; and only the greatest good of the greatest number can be aimed at by the best practical administrator. For the rest, of course, I am in perfect agreement with the "Impressions" of the Editor.

"Inside View" has indulged again in his usual cavilling in his article entitled "The Working of the Hindu University", and the ground traversed is more or less the same as that in his previous article, (which has already been replied to,) with statements of other facts with half-truths as usual. This member of every University body seems to be totally ignorant of the fact that the "law," *viz.*, that if a quorum is not formed within fifteen minutes of the opening of the meeting the president has to dissolve the meeting as void,—is only for the meeting of the Senate and not for the Court at all. Yet for the adjourned meeting of the Senate which was to be held on the 1st of November 1918, Rai Bahadur G. N. Chakravarty, the then Pro-Vice-Chancellor, waited with 13 members for nearly two hours without finding a quorum and they had to disperse for want of *one* member. "Inside View" will admit that the Senate consists of a comparatively larger number of local members than the Court. The fact is that a University which does not *pay* its members for attendance in some way or other, can not expect greater success than those which do pay, and it is anything but fair to fling accusations upon personalities for matters purely constitutional. The experiences of "Inside View" must be confined to the Hindu University and to purely *official* committees, and he fails to realise the everyday experience of meetings where honorary non-official members are required to meet. To those used to non-official public life, his complaints would be evidently no peculiarity with the Hindu University. With all this, one may ask "Inside

View" where is the difficulty in the work? What material harm have these imperfections of the University constitution done to the University? Has "Inside View" taken any trouble to compare the delays and postponements of older and long-established Universities, where the work is being done in an established groove? Is there nothing to appreciate in the work of the University? Is their no brighter aspect of the whole affair? In fact "Inside View" is so perverse that he has neither a single good word for this national institution nor can he bear to hear anything said in favour of it. The "Outside Critic" sounds a true note when he says that "Inside View" presents the matter "in a manner from which it is improbable that any good can come."

I am behind nobody in my respect to and admiration for Babu Bhagavan Das Sahab, to whose articles several references have been made, but I am sure he does not regard himself infallible and there are several points in his sober article with which men of my ways of thinking would respectfully differ.

Benares City:
12th August 1919.

A Senator of the Benares
Hindu University.

Reply by "Inside View".

1. The "Senator" of the Hindu University asserts that there never has been a single member in this University belonging to every academic and administrative body. Now, the *bodies* created by law are the (1) Court and (2) Council,—both administrative, (3) Senate and (4) Syndicate,—both academic, and (5) Board of Appointments and (6) Board of Studies,—both advisory. A reference to the Minutes of the Hindu University since its creation in 1916 will show that several gentlemen have been members of all these bodies, either concurrently or in succession. The endless committees and sub-committees are not *bodies*.

2. "Senator" categorically denied Mr. Gurtu's intended departure from the University. It was a matter of common knowledge all over Benares that three hours' silver eloquence poured into his ears in the palace opposite Ramnagar in May last had failed to shake Mr. Gurtu's resolution; he had learned to estimate oratory at its true worth. And yet Senator had the brass to assure your readers in the July number, "It is *plain untruth* to say that Mr. Gurtu is going away."

Now that Mr. Gurtu has gone away, the Senator pleads ignorance. Dr. Ganesh Prasad and several other Senators were present at the meeting of the Results Committee at which Mr. Gurtu reiterated his resolution to resign,—his statement *not* being a part of the confidential work of the Committee.

3. Equally emphatic was the language of Senator in contradicting my statement about the capricious change in the starting point of the

College day. "The starting point of the College work is not changed from time to time, but from season to season with regular notice, and the allegation of Inside View is pure untruth."

Now that an independent inquiry has proved my statement to be true, Senator takes refuge behind the students who are alleged to feel sudden fluctuations of temperature in the United Provinces. It is conveniently forgotten that the boys of the Queen's College in the same time and belonging to the same race do not require to have the starting point changed every week or so in summer. They seem to be framed in a more heroic mould. Or, is it their Principal?

4. I have already made my contention with regard to Mr. Malaviya quite clear. If the money-catcher insists on ruling the University, he must be resident on the spot and cease to play the additional role of a peripatetic platform orator, who will not attend necessary University meetings nor let those who attend do their work. Secondly, greed of money should not dominate the policy of the University and no promise should be made to intending donors which is either impossible to carry out or opposed to true academic principles. A very ancient book warns us that "Cupidity is the root of evils."

5. My motive in drawing public attention to the existing defects and mischievous working of an institution based on public subscription from *all* parts of India and supported, to the extent of one-third of its present recurring expenditure, out of public taxes, needs no justification. Man-worship has ruined many Indian sects and it will ruin the Hindu University too, unless that institution is made truly national and placed above one-man rule,—and that man an absentee landlord.

The reformer knows what reception to expect from a certain class among his people. As another *maharajji* (from outside India) said long long ago, "If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land. But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword"—of the after-war economic reconstruction and rejection of shoddy goods, animate and inanimate, however brilliantly labelled.

"Which say to the seers, See *not*; and to the prophets, *Prophecy not unto us right things, speak unto us smooth things, prophecy deceits: Get you out of the way, turn aside out of the path.*"

It is significant that the Senator differs in several points from Babu Bhagwan Das's recently published views on the abuses in the Hindu University and the means of reforming them, and still more significant that there are other men of his ways of thinking. Our consolation, however, is that among the donors of the Hindu University have been Babu Bhagwan Das and, on a humbler scale,—

INSIDE VIEW.

Note by the Editor.

We had no desire to enter into any details regarding "the shift system", the duration of the periods of work, &c. But since "Senator" has made very positive statements, we are constrained to quote from letters received from persons whom we have no reason to consider less trustworthy or less capable of correct observation than "Senator".

One writer informed us :—

"It is not true that the working periods have always been 40 and 48 minutes each. They were changed to all sorts of durations during the year—one can't remember all the varieties."

"Changes of season cannot account for the many changes in the starting point of the work of the college. Sometimes the changes were within intervals of very much less than a week, and the seasons could not have changed with such rapidity. The changes were very much oftener than necessary."

"The members of the staff were often given no notice. Often the changes were indicated in a notice sent round to the professors at the college, the very day the changes began and even that notice did not reach all. Sometimes the changes were put up on the notice-board and the professors were expected to go and see the notice-board every day. A common experience of— was to go to the college to find that the period has already begun, though it was not time, or that it would not begin though it was time. So much so that it became—practice—to look into the college office room and find out as soon as—reached college, when—period would begin and how long it would last. Owing to these constant changes, the clerks and peons also did not know the periods easily, and the clerk in charge had to look into the new slip for the day and give the information after calculation."

"Members of the staff have complained about the shift system. A member of the Syndicate had occasion to mention it at a meeting and he was not allowed to pursue the matter. The late Vice-Chancellor was so impressed by the grievances that on more than one occasion he said that the matter was one which should be gone into thoroughly."

"The account of 'Inside view' must be considered very mild, by all those conversant with the actual state of affairs at the University....."

We proceed now to quote from another letter.

"The starting point was changed from time to time (but not many times) to suit the seasons as the duration of the day varied. Timely information about such change was not always sent to the Professors, at least not to—and—had to suffer some inconvenience on that account.—can't say whether the information was sent to other members of the staff. The length of the periods during the second part of the college work was occasionally reduced on Saturdays whenever there was to be a "parliamentary" meeting—a debating club of the students".....

".....certain that one member of the staff complained against the shift system.—can not say whether others did or not."

We shall quote from one other letter.

"The morning periods of work at the C. H. C. were fixed to be 40 minutes, and the day periods 48 minutes. But they did use to change suddenly on certain days (specially on Saturdays) to other durations."

"The starting point of the college work during last year did change oftener than seasonal changes would necessitate.—never found any method followed in changing....."

"As for sufficient early notice being given to members of the staff,.....good many notices did not come to—at all.—got to know these changes either from the student or from the clerks by going to the office. Sometimes—used to wait for a long time for...class to come but to find in the end that the students had been given holiday for some reason or other and no intimation had been sent to the professor concerned. The Principal expected the professors to come to the College-Notice Board and look out for all notices. Often—wrote to the Principal enquiring about holidays and other changes in the time-table, but—seldom got any reply. Prof. N. C. Nag had the same experience,..."

"As for complaints against the shift system,—was the first man to protest against it. The chemistry professors too joined—.....chief complaint was against the duration of the periods and the fact that the—professors had to come both morning and afternoon."

"—pointed out the drawback of the shift system in writing to the principal. But—did not get any reply.....ultimately—had to approach Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar and he promised to make a thorough enquiry into the whole thing. The science students also (specially the 3rd year B.Sc. students who were most affected by the shift system) made a representation to the Principal without any effect..... It was a great hardship on the laboratory servants."

This controversy is now closed.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

Who Painted "A Picture of Shakoontala" ?

It is written in Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar's article on "Humanism in Hindu Art" in the *Modern Review* for May 1919, p. 518, that "Chatoorika, a court lady, is asked to paint a picture of Shakoontala." Pandit Srikrishna Chatterjee has sent us a very learned contribution contradicting this statement. We regret that its length and somewhat technical character stand in the way of its publication in this *Review*. From his study of eight different recensions of Kalidasa's drama he shows from internal evidence that Chatoorika was not a court lady but a maid-servant, and that it was not she but King Dushyanta himself who painted the portrait.—Ed., M. R.

NOTES

Punjab under Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

We have already quoted in our July number (p. 89) the opinions of Sir Henry Cotton and Mr. J. R. Macdonald on the reputation which the Punjab enjoys among the Indian provinces in the matter of reactionary methods of administration. Here is another remarkable prophesy by Mr. Bernard Houghton, a Burma civilian, who wrote as follows in 1913 in his well-known book on *Bureaucratic Government* (p. 90).

"Since both the summer and winter capitals will be in the Punjab, it (the Government of India) will in practice—though not, perhaps, in theory—be recruited by civilians from that province. Now, the Punjab is educationally the most backward province in India, and its officials are influenced in a special degree by militarist as opposed to popular traditions. This argues ill for the supremacy of progressive ideas in the counsels of Government."

We find from the papers that the Hon'ble Mr. Chanda of Sylhet is going to move a resolution in the Imperial Council for the removal of the summer headquarters of the Punjab Government from Simla. It is no doubt a consummation devoutly to be wished.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer's letter and memorandum on the proposed constitutional reforms, published at pp. 228-66 of the Government of India's First Despatch of March 5th, 1919, gives us a very good insight into his mentality, as well as into some of the Punjab methods of administration. In the July number of the *Hindustan Review*, Mr. Alfred Nundy, writing on the etiology of the Punjab disorders, says that Sir Michael's humiliation in the Imperial Council at the hands of the non-official members in the autumn session of 1917 roused his anger against political agitators, and that it was commonly believed that in his recent dealings with them he was paying off old scores. This belief derives support from the following passage in para 8 of Sir Michael's memorandum.

"The proceedings of September last in the Simla Council, the release of Mrs. Besant, the attitude of the Government of India in the simultaneous examination and in other debates, were however interpreted to mean that the Government of India would not allow local Governments to interfere with their policy of conciliating the extremists. The small section of advanced politicians in the Punjab—hitherto quiescent—were encouraged to assert themselves, and to come into line with other Provinces."

That Punjab methods of recruitment had also much to do with the late disturbances there, as shown by Mr. Nundy, may also be inferred from the memorandum. Speaking of 'violent political agitation' Sir Michael says that "the Punjab Government had even before the outbreak of the war taken strong measures to prevent its spread. The war and the necessity of excluding any influences that would interfere with recruiting made a continuance of that policy essential." It is no wonder that as a result of this, as Sir Michael naively puts it, "till a few months ago political agitation was at a discount in the Province. Even the Secretary of State's announcement in August 1917 caused little stir."

Indeed, Sir Michael's feeling of violent antagonism towards the lawyers and the public men of the Punjab reveals itself everywhere in these two communications, which are as rabidly anti-Indian in tone as the leading articles in the Anglo-Indian press. In the words of Burke, he compares them to 'grasshoppers under a fern making the field ring with their importunate cries'. The politician's "influence for good is generally *nil*, but he can and sometimes does add to the trouble by injudicious or malicious interference." It is not on them, but on the 'quiet men of local influence' [The essential thing is that they must be 'quiet', the rest does not matter] that Government has to depend. The claims of the politicians to represent the masses are futile. They lack practical experience, though skilled in the dialectics of constitu-

tional discussion. [The acquisition of practical experience can easily be prevented by continuing the present policy, but how obnoxious is this skill in dialectics to bureaucratic extremists!] The special precedence which is granted to the Additional Members of the Council under the Warrant of Precedence should be done away with, for "at present, it not seldom happens that at functions held at the headquarters of divisions, the man who ranks highest is not the Commissioner or the local Brigadier, but some obscure pleader who has been elected to the Legislative Council" (p. 237).

A curious sidelight on the sort of people on whom Punjab administrators depend for information is thrown by the following.

"A recent calculation made by the Lieutenant Governor shows that about seven out of every ten non-officials to whom he grants interviews either know no English or are unable to express themselves in that language. Yet these are the men to whom the present Lieutenant-Governor [Sir Michael O'Dwyer] and his predecessors have invariably appealed—and rarely in vain—for support and co-operation in times of stress and difficulty" (p. 230).

The result of drawing his inspiration from uneducated *ap-ke-wastes* was that on the 5th November last Sir Michael could calmly write to the Government of India that "occasions for widespread popular agitation would probably be very rare in the Punjab" (p. 245).

There are many choice passages in Sir Michael O'Dwyer's letter and memorandum which might be presented to our readers for their delectation, but space permits us to make only one or two more extracts. Among the few liberal principles of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme which have Sir Michael's support, are the proposals for the appointment of more than one Minister in the Provincial, and two Indian members in the Imperial Executive Council. And the reasons given for such support betray the man.

"...If there are more ministers than one, it is unlikely that they will all belong to one religion, or the same political party, and each will act as a counterpoise to his colleagues" (p. 231).

In the Imperial Executive Council, 'one great advantage which the Lieutenant-

Governor anticipates from the appointment of a second [Indian] member' is that the opinions of the two "will operate mutually as correctives", "if care were always taken to select the two members of the Council from opposite schools of thought" (p. 247).

"Throughout we have to keep before us the solid interests of the masses of the people"—with these words Sir Michael O'Dwyer concludes his memorandum, and the same idea is expressed by other provincial rulers in their minutes. Our bureaucratic rulers are hanging on for dear life to the thrice-exploded myth that they and not educated Indians are the true well-wishers and therefore the rightful spokesmen of the masses. For more than a century the bureaucrats have had full power to do what they like with the moral and material resources of India, and yet the people of that country are the poorest, most illiterate, and the most liable to fall victims to sporadic and epidemic diseases, among all peoples governed by civilised men. The classes, for this reason, frankly do not want the bureaucrats, and so they have to justify their existence by relying on the masses, who being inarticulate, cannot repudiate the claim put forward on their behalf. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, in the Public Services Commission Report, said: "It is difficult to conceive how such a reckless claim has come to be urged." The Hon'ble Mr. Chaubal said in the same report: "This is rather a shallow pretence—this attempt to take shelter behind the masses." And both of them were high officials, not pestilential agitators. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald truly said in his *Awakening of India*: "The greatest of all the delusions under which our officials live is that whilst they are distrusted by the professional and educated classes, they are regarded by the uneducated villagers as their friends and protectors." Sir Sankaran Nair has exposed the bureaucrat's self-cumplacent theory by appending brief reviews of the Champaran and Kaira cases at the end of his minute of dissent. And an extract from Lord Bryce's book on *The American Commonwealth* will be found printed below which will show that even in Europe the masses or the

people are represented by the classes, and not by men taken from their own ranks or by an alien bureaucracy.

"In Europe there has always been a governing class, a set of persons whom birth, or wealth, or education has raised above their fellows, and to whom has been left the making of public opinion together with the conduct of administration and the occupancy of places in the legislature. The public opinion of Germany, Italy, France, and England has been substantially the opinion of the class which wears black coats and lives in good houses, though in the two latter countries it has of late years been increasingly affected by the opinion of the classes socially lower. Although the members of the British Parliament now obey the mass of their constituents when the latter express a distinct wish, still the influence which plays most steadily on them and permeates them is the opinion of a class or classes, and not of the whole nation. The class to which the great majority of members of both Houses belong (i.e. the landowners and the persons occupied in professions and in the higher walks of commerce) is the class which chiefly forms and expresses what is called public opinion. Even in these days of vigilant and exacting constituencies one sees many members of the House of Commons the democratic robustness or provincial crudity of whose ideas melts like wax under the influence of fashionable dinner-parties and club smoking-rooms. Until a number of members entered the House who claimed to be the authorised representatives of the views of working men, the complaint used to be heard that it was hard to 'keep touch' with the opinion of the masses."

Cause of the Downfall of Burma.

"I may here say that the idea that the feebleness or wrong-doing of the Burmese government was the cause of the downfall is a mistake. If the Burmese government had been the best that ever existed, the annexation would have happened just the same. It was political necessity for us." [The author was in Burma during the annexation of Upper Burma and took part in the war]—*The Soul of a People*, by Fielding Hall, ch. VII.

Private Actions and Official Actions.

"Men will do in the name of government acts which, if performed in a private capacity, would cover them with shame before men, and would land them in a gaol or worse. The name of government is a cloak for the worst passions of manhood."—*The Soul of a People*, by

Fielding Hall, ch. VII. [These remarks are specially applicable to the proceedings of numerous officers in the Punjab during the late disturbances there.]

India Home Rule League of America.

The Secretary, India Home Rule League of America, has sent us the following for publication :—

Within the period of two years that the India Home Rule League of America has been established we have endeavored to carry on educational work in America through lectures, publications, and an Information Bureau which is at the service of the American people ready to tell the truth about India and to guide all students along the right path of research and study of the Indian problems. The great amount of misinformation that is circulated we have endeavored to combat and to refute. Owing to war conditions it has been extremely difficult for us to do our work very efficiently but we have kept on as well as we could, publishing regularly a monthly magazine, "Young India", and lecturing to American audiences on conditions in India. The magazine is the only one of its kind in America and the only source of true information about our country.

Since the establishment of the League, in October, 1917, we have organized thirteen branches and have secured about 1000 members and subscribers. Each of our branches has become a center of information and education.

Through the work of our officers, particularly of Dr. N. S. Hardiker, we have secured the attention of thousands in audiences throughout the country. We have spoken before labor, religious and educational groups. In a recent trip Dr. Hardiker addressed groups in all the states of the Middle West and the East.

Many newspapers and magazines have opened their columns to us and have assisted us in spreading the truth about India. But the work we have done so far is but preparation for more extensive educational work which we propose to carry on. The press and politics of America have not sought to open the eyes of the people to the true conditions in India and for the purpose of permanently spreading the truth about our country we have opened an office at 1400 Broadway, where the editing and publishing of our magazine is carried on. A book shop has been established in conjunction with our work, and this has made it possible for friends to procure books on India. We shall be pleased to furnish books to any of our countrymen in India, since we have trade relations with all book-p publishers. Through the courtesy of the Indian press publishers we have been able to open a reading room, and are now in the process of collecting books on India for a library. As

soon as we have a sufficient collection we shall open the library to the public.

We have also established an Information Bureau, through which lectures are arranged, advertising is done and all information requested by Americans is disseminated. The Information Bureau is also ready to supply all our countrymen in India with information concerning the educational, commercial and political institutions of America. We shall be pleased to advertise Indian goods in American papers and to procure American advertisements for Indian papers.

In view of the work that is being done in the interests of our countrymen we feel that the Indian public should be made to realize that it must very early assume responsibility for our activities, and must be willing to support the organization which is working in this country.

Causes of the Afghan War according to the Afghans.

The following is in part the written statement of Sirdar Ali Ahmad Khan in reply to the speech made by Sir Hamilton Grant at the opening of the Anglo-Afghan Peace Conference :—

"Reports moreover showed that owing to the introduction of Martial Law and certain legislative measures by the British Government, disturbances had occurred on the Peshawar frontier. This excited the people of Afganistan, who had temporarily been kept quiet by the late Amir, and stirred up the same ideas with even greater force. The fear was entertained that these disturbances might affect the Afgan frontier, as it was the beginning of the Amir's rule. It was considered necessary to take certain measures for the protection of the Afgan frontier, and detachments of troops were posted at different places on the frontier. The detachment intended for the Eastern border reached its destination and was making a tour in the district to inspect the frontier. This caused an apprehension to the British troops and misunderstandings on both sides which led to the war."

The above extract would go to show that the Rowlatt Act and Bill ("certain legislative measures") and the declaration of martial law in the Panjab were, in Afghan opinion, among the direct and proximate causes of the Afghan war. To what extent, if any, that view is right or wrong, we are not in a position to determine, as correct and adequate information is wanting.

Lawyer Oligarchy.

"The much abused bureaucracy would not, they [the opponents of progress] say, be replaced

by democracy but by a narrow lawyer oligarchy, which is infinitely further removed from true democracy, as understood by western nations, than the spirit which has animated British rule in India for the past fifty years....There is much that is true in all this, but it is an argument for caution rather than for the perpetuation of the present regime. After all, the educated classes are the only classes that can express their aspirations, and in all countries it is the educated who give the lead. The maintenance of the present system is against human nature. It is not practical politics to stand still...."—*Letter from the Government of Bihar and Orissa to the Government of India*, quoted at p. 305 of the First Despatch of the Government of India on Indian Constitutional Reforms.

In the most advanced democracy of the world, that of the United States of America, the majority of members of the Senate, which is the upper house of the Congress, and "has drawn the best talent of the nation, so far as that talent flows to politics, into its body" (p. 116), are, or have been, lawyers (p. 121). In the lower House of Representatives, "lawyers abound" (p. 131). "The bar has usually been very powerful in America...Politics has been largely in its hands... For the first sixty or seventy years of the Republic the leading statesmen were lawyers, and the lawyers as a whole moulded and led the public opinion of the country" (p. 267, vol. I). "The lawyers...are of all classes that which has most to do with politics. From their ranks comes a large part, probably a half, and the better educated half, of the professional politicians" (p. 306 vol. II, *The American Commonwealth*, by Lord Bryce, 1917).

Western Democracy in Practice.

Whatever may be the theory of "true democracy as understood by Western nations", the actualities are not always inspiring. See on this point the whole of chapters XLIV and LI, vol. I, Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, on the working of State and City Governments. A few short extracts must suffice. The special Bills introduced by private members of the State Legislatures "are one of the scandals of the country", "they are a perennial fountain of corruption" (I., p. 542). "There has followed in Pennsylvania

and New York such a Witches' Sabbath of jobbing, bribing, thieving, and prostitution of legislative power to private interest as the world has seldom seen" (I., p. 546). "The more educated and thoughtful citizen ... is apt to be disgusted by the sordidness of many state politicians and the pettiness of most." (I., p. 582). Bribery exists among about five per cent. of the members of the Congress and fifteen to twenty per cent. of them take considerations other than money (II., p. 166). "There is no denying that the government of cities [municipalities] is one of the conspicuous failures of the United States.... The faults of the State governments are insignificant compared with the extravagance, corruption, and mismanagement which have marked the administration of most of the great cities." (I., p. 642).—Nowhere is "municipal government so wasteful, inefficient, and impure" (II., p. 690). This is illustrated by the crimes of the Tammany Ring of New York and similar other organisations, in ch. LXXVIII, vol. II. [See also the chapters on 'Rings and Bosses,' 'Corruption,' 'Spoils,' Part IV, II].

Need for Self-Government.

"...it is contrary to human nature that three hundred million people should acquiesce in the perpetual domination of a small body of foreigners from a distant land, however high-minded and efficient the latter may be. The present regime cannot continue for ever, and British rule will have failed of its purpose in India, if it does not draw out all that is best in Indians and helps them to build up a fabric of self-government, which will stand unshaken on its own foundations. In this view a step in the direction of responsible government may be regarded as essential."—*Letter from the Government of Bihar and Orissa to the Government of India*, quoted at page 288 of the First Despatch of the Government of India on Indian Constitutional Reforms.

The Punjab Indemnity Bill.

When some time ago Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya told Mr. M. K. Gandhi that an Indemnifying Bill would be shortly introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council for preventing all officers concerned in quelling the imaginary "rebellion" in the Punjab from being brought to book in any way, the Pandit was not misinfor-

med; for the *Pioneer* writes in a recent issue:—

"A preliminary list of some of the Bills which are to be submitted to the Imperial Legislative Council next month has already been published, but it is far from exhaustive and, as a matter of fact, some twenty-seven measures are likely to come up for discussion. Among these is the indemnifying Bill which is invariably passed after martial law has been in operation. Certain members who have already objected to the measures found necessary to suppress the rebellion in the Punjab will no doubt take the opportunity of reiterating their objection when the Bill is brought forward and we hope and believe that they will be met firmly and effectively. The Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Council should be of exceptional interest, seeing that since the last session we have had not only grave disturbances in India, but an attempt at invasion by the Amir of Afghanistan. The insensate opposition to the Rowlatt Act has a direct bearing on these two grave events and this should not be forgotten if the policy of Government is challenged or the action of a great public servant is impugned. We have already had too many mean attacks on Sir Michael O'Dwyer and any attempt to carry on this contemptible campaign in the Council Chamber at Simla should be sternly deprecated."

Of course, all that has been done in the Punjab in recent months is so "noble" that it is undoubtedly "mean" to do anything which is opposite to the worship of O'Dwyerism. The campaign carried on against O'Dwyerism and its patrons and followers is also unquestionably contemptible; else why all the attempted and proposed plans, official and non-official, to frustrate it! Whoever else may act in a mean, contemptible or cowardly manner, a bureaucrat never does so, even when his fellows try to obviate the necessity of his having to face the music.

The much-talked-of enquiry into Punjab affairs has still to be held. In the meantime comes the Indemnity Bill to place all Punjab officials beyond the reach of any possible conclusions or recommendations of the proposed Committee of Enquiry. Even if the Privy Council appeal judgments and the Committee of Enquiry's Report disclose acts of injustice and barbarities, no one must be punished or censured! This is quite logical. If even the hair of nobody's head in Punjab officialdom is to be touched, why take the trouble and incur the expense to conduct an enquiry?

The Punjab Enquiry.

Even if all the members of the Imperial Legislative Council who are now in England, were here to take part in the debate on the proposed Indemnity Bill, the passage of the Bill would be sure. The only difference now would be that in their absence Indian opinion would not find comparatively full expression in the council chamber.

From the answer given by Mr. Montagu to the question of Mr. Lunn in the House of Commons, it is now quite clear that the proposed Commission or Committee to enquire into the Punjab disturbances is to be appointed or at least to be nominated, entirely or partly, by the Viceroy. Mr. Montagu said, in part: "I expect to hear shortly from the Viceroy as to the enquiry *which, as I have stated to the House, he intends to institute*" [italics ours]. As the Viceroy was responsible for sanctioning and supporting the Punjab policy, as he refused to allow the counsel chosen by some of the accused in the Punjab trials to enter the Punjab and defend them on the imaginary ground that His Excellency was only a civil authority, and as he refused to stay the execution of some capital sentences in some cases pending the result of appeals preferred in other cases and pending also the conclusions arrived at by the promised Commission or Committee of enquiry, His Excellency himself and Sir Michael O'Dwyer are the two principal actors in the Punjab tragedy who are arraigned at the bar of public opinion. For him, therefore, to choose the judges cannot be defended on any known juristic principles. The Committee or Commission should be appointed by the Cabinet in London. The best course to adopt would be to appoint a Royal Commission with at least half the members chosen from non-official Indians with a reputation for independence. No European who has ever had anything to do with Indian administration should be a member—certainly no member of the Indian civil service, retired or still holding office. But, perhaps, it is only in the fitness of things that the series of tragedies in which numerous accused were deprived of the right to be defended

by counsel of their own choice (a right which is to be enjoyed even by the ex-Kaiser, who is, according to his British and other conquerors, the greatest malefactor in history), should have in their penultimate scene the conceding to the most eminent of the officers whose acts are to be enquired into, the right to be judged by judges of his own choice.

But we do not at all complain. This *Review* never asked for any Commission or Committee of enquiry, because of the improbability of any really independent inquiry being held, and because of the utter inaccessibility of some of the most important evidence owing to the death (on the gallows or by rifle fire or by bombs) of many who would otherwise have been able to give first-hand information, and owing to the terrorisation of very many more by the frightfulness of Martial Law. Even a Royal Commission cannot now bring out the whole truth. Far less can a practically white-washing Committee appointed by the Viceroy satisfy the public.

Egypt Commission Postponed.

The mentality and aims of bureaucracy are similar in all countries, though the methods may be different. We have not yet heard that an Indemnity Bill has been drafted for Egypt for the safety of all official wrong-doers there. But a different procedure has been adopted, which will be clear from the following Reuter's telegram:—

London, June 25.

In the House of Commons replying to Col. Wedgwood and Mr. Benn, Sir Cecil Harmsworth states that on the advice of General Allenby, Government had decided to postpone the despatch of a Commission to Egypt until early autumn. Meanwhile General Allenby was appointing a Commission in Egypt to collect evidence which would be useful to the Commission, when it arrived. The composition of the Commission was not yet definitely determined.

Is it permissible to guess that in the sentence, "Meanwhile General Allenby was appointing a Commission in Egypt to collect evidence which would be useful to the Commission when it arrived", the words "for the elimination of inconvenient evidence" after the word "Egypt" have inadvertently dropped out?

Martial Law in Jamaica.

Our readers should be able to guess what we expect as the result of the Panjab enquiry. Of course, we should be very glad if our anticipations should prove false. But in order to enable the public to be duly optimistic or duly pessimistic, we may be allowed to draw attention to the result of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, which is well known, and to tell briefly the story of Martial Law in Jamaica, which is not so well known. This story we shall tell in the words of Mr. Herbert Paul, author of "A History of Modern England" in five volumes (Macmillan). Our own comments will be brief, and in some cases interposed within square brackets in the course of the narrative. The italics also are ours. Our readers, it is to be hoped, will not mind the length of the extracts, in view of their importance. They are made from the third volume of Mr. Herbert Paul's history.

Lord Palmerston had only just been buried when a despatch arrived at the Colonial Office from Mr. Eyre, the Governor of Jamaica, which required the immediate attention of the Queen's Ministers. Governor Eyre, writing on the 20th of October 1865 to Mr. Secretary Cardwell, described "a most serious and alarming insurrection of the negro population." Although the negroes of Jamaica, by far the largest part of the inhabitants, had been legally free for more than thirty years, they distrusted their planter magistrates and resented their own exclusion from the soil. *The Governor's language, however, was exaggerated and misleading.* [So was Sir Michael O'Dwyer's.] *There was no general insurrection in Jamaica, though there was a dangerous local outbreak at Morant Bay.* On the 7th of October the magistrates then and there sitting to try an agrarian case, ordered into custody a man named Geoghegan for interrupting the business of the Court. Geoghegan was protected, by the bystanders, and the police were unable to arrest him. This was on a Saturday. On the following Monday warrants were issued to apprehend Paul Bogle, an influential negro, and others of less note, for riot and interference with justice. The police who attempted to execute the warrants were overpowered by a mob of armed negroes, and some of them were severely beaten. This was the signal for a general rising throughout the district of St. Thomas-in-the-East, where Morant Bay is situated. Paul Bogle sent out an inflammatory proclamation, and on Wednesday, the 11th of October, the volunteers, *after the Riot Act had been read,* [Was the

Riot Act read anywhere in India during the recent disturbances before the crowds were fired upon or bombed?], fired on a crowd of blacks who were marching on the Court House. The blacks, however, were not dismayed by this timely display of vigour. They routed the volunteers, burned the Court House, and murdered about twenty white men. There can be no doubt that these acts of violence were premeditated and part of a scheme for getting possession of land at Stony Gut, near the Bay, which the negroes alleged to be theirs by right... The rising had, of course, to be put down whether the grievances were well founded or not, and in the work of suppression the Governor acted with creditable promptitude. General O'Connor, who commanded the British troops in the island, sent a hundred soldiers to Morant Bay, and a man-of-war was also despatched from Port Royal. By these and other measures the rebellion was confined to the bay and prevented from spreading throughout the island. On the morning of the 13th, martial law was proclaimed by the Governor, *after consulting the Chief Justice* [Was any Chief Justice consulted in India before the proclamation of martial law here?] at a Council of War, under authority of a local statute. Before Sunday, the 15th of October, the rising had been entirely quelled, and then *the work of vengeance began* [So British officers are not incapable of "the work of vengeance"!]. Upwards of four hundred persons were put to death by martial law, and about six hundred, *including women*, were flogged. At a place called Bath men were flogged by a horrible instrument of torture composed of wires twisted round cords. No fewer than one thousand houses were burned. The infliction of these punishments was continued long after resistance to authority had ceased. On the 30th of October the Governor stated that "the wicked rebellion lately existing," not throughout the island of Jamaica, but "in certain parts of the county of Surrey," had been subdued, while in his despatch to the Secretary of State he said that his "first night of quiet and rest" was the night of the 15th. The Courts-Martial went on sitting for weeks after peace had been restored, and much indignation was excited at home by the discovery that women had been flogged.

But the case which attracted most public interest was the execution of George William Gordon on a charge of high treason. Gordon was a coloured man, by religious profession a Baptist, a landed proprietor, though in embarrassed circumstances, and a Member of the House of Assembly. He was disaffected to the Government, disliked the Governor, and encouraged the negroes in their agrarian demands. His vanity was more obvious than his capacity, and he flattered himself that while using incendiary language he could keep within the limits of the law. *He forgot that martial law has no*

limits or only such as military men chose to set upon their own power. There was no evidence that Gordon had been directly concerned in any murder or in any rising. Governor Eyre ordered him to be prosecuted, because in his opinion he had been guilty of misrepresentation and seditious language. Misrepresentation and seditious language are not capital offences. Gordon, however, was taken from Kingston, where martial law did not prevail, to Morant Bay, where it did, and put on his trial before three officers. Lieutenant Brand, who presided, was a man quite unfit to sit in judgment upon his fellow-creatures..... On Saturday the 21st October, after six hours' inquiry, Gordon was sentenced to death, and on the following Monday he was hanged. *Although Governor Eyre approved of his execution, history must pronounce it to have been murder without even the forms of law.*

The Government would indeed have been wanting in regard for the rights of His Majesty's coloured subjects, to say nothing of public opinion at home, if they had allowed such a category of horrors to pass unnoticed. Nearly four hundred and fifty persons had been shot or hanged, six hundred had been flogged, and a thousand houses had been burnt, in a rebellion, *if it deserves so grandiose a name*, of which Governor Eyre said that "not a single casualty has befallen any soldier or sailor." [In the Panjab "rebellion," too, not a single casualty had befallen any soldier or policeman.] Mr. Cardwell, the coolest and most sagacious of Colonial Secretaries, while giving the Governor full credit for his promptitude in measures of suppression, as well as for the high character he had hitherto borne in respect of justice and humanity, reserved, after the receipt of Mr. Eyre's first despatch, his opinion on what occurred when the rising was over, and *as soon as the whole truth had become known at the Colonial Office a Royal Commission was sent to make inquiries on the spot.* Thus the condemnation of a public servant without a hearing was avoided, and proof was at the same time given [almost entirely in theory] that black men, equally with white, enjoyed the protection of the law..... The authority of Governor Eyre was superseded, and complete executive authority throughout the island was vested in Sir Henry Storks..... the Cabinet of Lord Russell were completely vindicated by the Report of the Commissioners. This able and impartial document, written in a spirit of studious fairness and moderation, acknowledged the services of the Governor and his military colleagues in preventing the spread of the seditious movement. The Commissioners found that there was nothing like a general conspiracy throughout the island, but that there was abundant evidence of a premeditated rising at St. Thomas-in-the-East..... The proclamation of martial law they held to be in the circumstances justifi-

able, and in accordance with the terms of the local statute. In the great majority of cases the Courts-Martial were pronounced to have acted justly and upon sufficient evidence. But some grievous abuses came to light, and showed, in the opinion of the Commissioners, that the evils of martial law were extremely grave. Thus at Port Antonio two men were executed because each said that the other had confessed to a murder, though there was no corroboration in either instance of the alleged confession. The affidavits of persons who might have been produced in Court were accepted as evidence. Five persons were convicted on the simple testimony of a man who had himself been sentenced to death as a spy. The Court which tried Gordon consisted of two naval lieutenants, and an ensign in the West India Regiment. "The evidence, oral and documentary," appeared to the Commissioners "wholly insufficient to establish the charge upon which the prisoner took his trial," namely, high treason. Governor Eyre, however, concurred in the justice of the capital sentence, and the necessity for carrying it out. The Commissioners held that martial law had been enforced too long, that proper instructions had not been given to the officers administering it, and that many suffered from it who had nothing to do with the disturbances. They visited with just reprobation the flogging of women. Finally, they found that the punishment of death was unnecessarily frequent; that the floggings were reckless, and at Bath positively barbarous; and that the burning of a thousand houses was wanton and cruel. The Report..... of course necessitated the recall of Governor Eyre. It also involved the just censure of some naval and military officers. "We cannot conclude our inquiry," the Commissioners wrote, "without expressing regret at the tone of levity which is to be found in the letters and language of some of the officers while engaged in serious and responsible duties." These words are certainly not too severe for men like Lieutenant Adcock and Captain Ford. Adcock wrote to Colonel Nelson, "on returning to golden Grove in the evening, sixty-seven prisoners had been sent in by the maroons. I disposed of as many as possible, but was too tired to continue after dark." Ford wrote, "We made a raid with thirty men, flogging nine men and burning their negro houses. We held a court-martial on the prisoners, who amounted to about fifty or sixty. Several were flogged without court-martial, from a simple examination..... This is a picture of martial law. *The soldiers enjoy it*—the inhabitants here dread it. If they run on their approach, they are shot for running away." Such is the temper fostered by arbitrary power in young and inexperienced minds. One of Governor Eyre's agents, Colonel Hobbs, was so much affected by the criticisms of the Commissioners in their Report, *gentle as they were*, that he committed suicide by throw-

ing himself overboard on his way home. [One may be sure that this Colonel had never eaten the salt of India.] The publication of the Report, though the horror and disgust it excited did not for a long time subside, and though it led to violent disputes, conduced ultimately to the peace of the Empire, because it showed that the arm of the central Government was long enough to guard the Queen's most distant possessions against injustice and wrong.

The language used by the historian in the last clause of the last sentence quoted above, seems scarcely justified. The Report did not show that the arm of the central Government was long enough to *guard* the Queen's most distant possessions *against injustice and wrong*. It only showed that the central Government could not prevent injustice and wrong in those possessions, but, *after* wrong and injustice had been done, could only recall one officer and censure some others,—punishments utterly inadequate for the reckless and unwarranted shooting, hanging and flogging of men and burning of their houses. The inability of the central Government to guard distant possessions against injustice and wrong has been proved by recent events in Egypt and the Panjab. Nothing but self-rule can prevent such wrong and injustice.

But to proceed with our narrative.

The outbreak in Jamaica, and the measures taken for its suppression, did not divide the front benches in the House of Commons. The new Government adopted the Report of the Commission and the recall of Mr. Eyre. Indeed Lord Carnarvon condemned the cruelties practised upon negroes and negresses more strongly than his predecessor.....After the Report of the Commissioners had been published the subject was brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Charles Buxton, son of the famous emancipator; and the House, without mentioning names, unanimously "deplored the extensive punishments which followed the suppression of the disturbances of October 1865 in the parish of St. Thomas, and especially the unnecessary frequency with which the punishment of death was inflicted." *But if the House of Commons, much to its credit, was unanimous, the country was not.* On the twelfth of August 1866 Mr. Eyre arrived at Southampton, and immediately became the object of flattering attentions from enthusiastic admirers. In Southampton he was entertained at a public dinner, where the Reverend Charles Kingsley, by the caprice of Lord Palmerston Professor of Modern History at

Cambridge, spoke in the strange company of Lord Cardigan, and selected for special praise *the humanity displayed by the guest of the evening*. A more illustrious personage came forward on the same side. *The great hero-worshipper of the age found in Mr. Eyre a congenial hero. All the light that had yet reached Thomas Carlyle on Mr. Eyre and his history in the world, "went steadily to establish the conclusion that he was a just, humane, and valiant man, faithful to his trusts everywhere, and with no ordinary faculty for executing them; and that his late services in Jamaica were of great, probably of incalculable value, as certainly they were of perilous and appalling difficulty."* "The English nation," as he truly remarked, "have never loved anarchy." But neither have they loved cruelty, and all the charges made against Governor Eyre related to things done after anarchy had ceased to exist. For the reasons which he thus expressed, and perhaps also from his dislike of "Quashee," as he called the negro, Carlyle became chairman of the Eyre Defence Fund, to which Tennyson and Ruskin were among the subscribers. The Government refused to prosecute Mr. Eyre for murder. They regarded Eyre as a strong man who had put down a rebellion by his promptitude, and prevented its renewal by his severity. But in England prosecutions may be set on foot by private individuals, and a Jamaica Committee, with John Stuart Mill as Chairman, was formed for the purpose of bringing Eyre to justice. Mill was earnestly supported by Huxley, by Thomas Hughes, by Herbert Spencer, and by Mr. Goldwin Smith, who had lately resigned the chair of Modern History at Oxford. It was in furtherance of the Committee and their aims that Goldwin Smith delivered his incomparably brilliant lectures on the "Three English Statesmen," Pym, Cromwell, and Pitt, though Pitt would have transported the Committee, and Cromwell did far worse things than Eyre. A Government, said Mr. Smith, *should uphold their representatives, in difficulty always, in error sometimes, in crime never.* Zealots cited the precedent of Joseph Wall, Governor of Goree, who was hanged in 1802, after twenty years, for murders committed in his official capacity. It was certainly not Mill's desire that Governor Eyre should perish on the scaffold, but that the honour of the country should be vindicated by an authoritative exposition of the law.

Was it a mere accident that some of the prominent men who were associated together for bringing Eyre to justice were not Christians but were variously styled agnostics, positivists, atheists, &c., and that none of the leading supporters of the Eyre Defence Fund were agnostics, &c.? If it was an accident, it was a rather

strange accident. But let us go on with the story.

Few subjects so little discussed in Parliament have so sharply divided public opinion as the conduct of Governor Eyre. Political leaders took the line of treating the Report as conclusive, and desired that no more should be said about it. But neither those who elevated Mr. Eyre into a hero, nor those who execrated him as a tyrant, were content with this middle course. The working classes were for the most part hostile to him, and burnt him in effigy on Clerkenwell Green. The upper and middle classes, especially such of them as were Conservatives in politics, regarding him as the saviour of Jamaica, subscribed freely to his defence. The Jamaica Committee, however, a Liberal, though not altogether a democratic body, were determined to enforce the law. The first proceedings were taken against Lieutenant Brand, the president of the Court martial which convicted Gordon, and Colonel Nelson, who confirmed the sentence of death, afterwards approved by the Governor. As they resided in London, they were brought before Sir Thomas Henry, the Chief Magistrate of Bow Street, who committed them for trial at the Central Criminal Court.....the magistrates refused to commit Mr. Eyre, and he was discharged. *This decision cannot be seriously defended; for the facts were not in dispute, and the grave constitutional issues which they raised were quite beyond the competence of half-a-dozen country gentlemen to determine.* The question next came before a far higher authority, but it did not come in the most convenient form. The trial of Nelson and Brand at the old Bailey was fixed for the April sessions.....Between the defendants and their actual trial there was still a venerable institution called the Grand Jury, a number of substantial gentlemen, varying from twelve to twenty-four.....The Lord Chief Justice of England [Cockburn] went down to the Central Criminal Court and charged the Grand Jury himself.

The charge, which took six hours in the delivery, has ever since been regarded as a paper of great value to all students of the British constitution. "...the Chief Justice ... declared all commissions for the trial of British subjects by martial law to be unlawful." As "the incitements to rebellion of which Gordon was accused were earlier in date than the establishment of martial law," therefore, the Chief Justice held, they "did not bring him within it." The historian proceeds:

The Grand Jury slept over this charge, and considered it for three hours the next morning. The result of their deliberations was startling; if not unexpected. The substance of Chief

Justice Cockburn's argument was that they should find true bills, and that martial law was unknown to the British Constitution. The Grand Jury ignored the bills, and recommended that martial law should be more clearly defined by legislative enactment.

Next, the Committee formed for the purpose of bringing Eyre to justice brought him up at Bow Street, and procured his committal for trial. This time the Grand Jury was charged by Mr. Justice Blackburn. "The Grand Jury threw out the bill....., and the matter dropped. Mr. Eyre was not further molested, except by a civil action for damages, which failed. But though he lived to be an old man, he was never again employed in the service of the Crown." Let us see how Sir Michael O'Dwyer is treated. He has already been appointed a member of the Committee which is to enquire into the administration and organisation of the army in India.

As it has been alleged that martial law has been cruelly administered in the Panjab, it may be incidentally observed that, *compared with what took place in Jamaica*, what has been done in the Panjab must be regarded as humane. For, in addition to the details to be found in the extracts printed above, we find it summarised from Chief Justice Cockburn's charge (1867) that "The history of Jamaica for the last hundred years showed that martial law, with or without authority, had been often proclaimed, and that rebellious negroes had been punished with the most horrible cruelty, being often burnt alive."

The Calcutta University Commission.

The Report proper of the Calcutta University Commission consists of five volumes containing, in all, more than 2,000 pages. The summary of the recommendations covers 54 pages. Eight more volumes, containing the evidence and various appendices, have still to be published. Such a bulky report cannot be discussed adequately within the compass of a long Note or even of a long Article. A series of articles should be written on the Report, for it is not only bulky but also very important. And it is intended to influence and will influence high education not only

in Bengal but in the other provinces of the Indian Empire as well. For the present, we will make a few general observations.

The Report is written in an interesting manner and makes instructive reading. The tone is, generally speaking, gentlemanly, though we have in the course of a cursory examination of volume V found a passage which reads almost like a sneer.

The problem of education in our country should be dealt with as a whole; elementary education should by graduated and co-ordinated stages lead naturally to the university stage. The Commissioners were alive to the fact that the educational problem should be treated as a whole; for they write :—

“Although our reference bids us primarily to consider the needs of the system of University training, we have found it impossible to consider this problem without at the same time taking into account the needs of secondary education, and especially of that higher branch of it—the intermediate stage—which is at present carried on by University institutions. And this inevitable enlargement of our purview brings us up against a problem of great difficulty: the problem of the relative emphasis that ought to be laid upon, and the relative scale of expenditure which Government and the people ought to be urged to undertake in regard to these two branches of the educational system; nor is it possible to ignore the fact that the development of the system of primary education will necessarily involve an immense and an increasing expenditure. We should fail in our duty if, in putting forward claims on behalf of university education, we did not also hold in view the not less important claims of the other educational grades upon the resources available for educational purposes.”

But though the Commissioners did not in their investigations and deliberations forget the existence of primary education, there does not appear to be in their report recommendations relating to the reform, reconstruction and extension of that grade of education like those regarding secondary and higher secondary education. There is also, consequently, no suggestion, proposal, or recommendation to show what, in the opinion of the Commission, ought to be done to co-ordinate primary with higher grades of education. As matters stand at present, boys and girls in High Schools have often to learn again in English

what they had already learnt in their vernacular schools through a vernacular medium. This is an avoidable and not irremediable waste of money, time and energy.

The Commission's Educational Proposal.

It may be said in general terms that the purely educational recommendations of the Commission relating to education in the arts and (theoretical) sciences, if given effect to, would undoubtedly improve instruction in colleges and secondary schools. But it is also unquestionable that education would in that case become far more expensive than it is at present. Who is to meet this increased cost? Without, for the present, entering into details, we agree with the Commissioners in holding that “Government will have to pay a larger proportion of a substantially larger expenditure, if the evils we have described are to be amended, and the reforms we have advocated are to be carried through.” Now, even in independent and free countries like England State control of universities is considered detrimental to the cause of the progress of knowledge and education. It impairs freedom of teaching and freedom of learning. It must also go against the maintenance and growth of civic virtues,—particularly in a dependent country like India. However, leaving aside these vital considerations, we may admit that in those branches of knowledge which Government may not object to foster, in those theories of political science and economics which Government may choose to inculcate and in that kind of history which Government may be interested in teaching, instruction would be better in the reorganised and reconstructed secondary schools, colleges, and universities than in existing institutions of those grades. The physical health of the students may also improve. But if things are done for them by an alien bureaucracy, but not by their own countrymen, it would not be good for their manhood and the manhood and self-respect of the country. State control and State subsidisation of education does the least injury when the people are self-governing. Therefore, if Government, that is to say, the tax-payers, must

pay the greatest share of the expenses of the education of all students, let us resolve to be self-ruling, so that we may not be compelled to give up any part of the little liberty we have in exchange for Government educational grants.

We have made remarks on State control, because though the Commissioners have expressed the view that "there are many drawbacks to the system of direct and detailed State control," they have yet held that "the State ought to remain ultimately responsible for the inspection and supervision of higher education" (p. 134, vol. iv); and Indians know what this inspection and supervision by the foreign bureaucracy in a dependent country would mean and imply.

"Government Sitting Upon Inexhaustible Treasure-chest."

Though the Commissioners say, "It is no part of our duty to suggest how the money is to be found," they leave us in no doubt as to the means they would like to be adopted. They clearly suggest and advocate fresh taxation when they write :

"On all hands, during our travels in Bengal, we have heard the demand that Government should give more for education. Often enough those who make this legitimate claim seem to figure Government as sitting upon a huge and inexhaustible treasure-chest, from which it dispenses niggardly bounty, and they seem to imagine that it is greater 'generosity' on the part of Government which is required. But if Bengal is to have a better system of education, Bengal must pay for it; and what Government has to show is not 'generosity', but courage in levying the necessary taxation; a courage not to be expected until it is plain that those who will have to pay the taxes are ready to do so. Either in the form of fees, or in the form of gifts, or in the form of taxes, Bengal must pay more if it wishes to escape from the vicious circle of its present education, and to give to its youth a training which will fit them more adequately to play their part in the world."

We emphatically deny that without fresh taxation it would be impossible to adequately finance education. Neither in the civil nor in the military departments of Government is there the least attempt made at economy or retrenchment. Expenditure has been going up by leaps and bounds excepting in such vital matters as

sanitation, education, industrial (including agricultural) development, technological training, &c. We never ask Government to show greater 'generosity.' Our demand is that Government should be just and righteous. Government may not be sitting upon a huge and *inexhaustible* treasure-chest; but whenever any expenditure, however large, is required for the military needs, not of India but of the British Empire, whenever the clamour of the British exploiters of India has to be silenced by very costly programmes of railway construction, whenever the Imperial Services have to be propitiated by exchange compensation and other allowances and increased rates of pay, whenever new capitals have, for political reasons unconnected with the welfare of the people of India, to be built, whenever for political reasons provinces have to be partitioned, repartitioned or regrouped, and districts have also similarly to be partitioned, and whenever police and C. I. D. expenditure has to be increased, Government spend money on so lavish a scale that they do really seem to be sitting on an inexhaustible treasure-chest. It is only when the people think that for their welfare more money should be spent on education, sanitation, &c.,—it is only then that Government suddenly become aware that the resources of the public treasury are limited.

Let us take the case of the phenomenal growth of military expenditure. We will first give the figures for some years when no one even imagined that there would be a great European war.

Years	Military expenditure in crores of rupees.
1884-85	16.96
1887-88	20.41
1890-91	20.69
1894-95	24.09
1902-03	25.91
1903-04 (revised)	26.78
1904-05 (budget)	28.66

The above figures show that within a decade, during which India was internally quiet and at peace and had not to fight any aggressor, military expenditure had nearly doubled itself, the increased cost of

the army being about 12 crores of rupees. Why have not similar crores been ever available for a righteous and courageous educational policy? Let us take another set of figures.

Years	Military charges in crores of rupees approximately.
1915-16	33.39
1916-17	37.48
1917-18	43.56
1918-19 (budget)	43.50
1918-19 (revised)	65.88
1919-20 (budget)	61.79

From 1884-85 to 1918-19, a period of 34 years, the military charges had quadrupled, the increase being 49 crores of rupees. The income, neither of the people of India nor of the Government of India, has even approximately quadrupled during the same period. Why is it *never* even *imagined* that it is possible to spend a few extra crores for making India literate and giving her a most improved and up-to-date form of educational organisation?

We will now give a few figures relating to railway expenditure. In the budget for 1919-20 more than 36 crores of rupees have been provided for capital expenditure on new construction and renewals from revenue. In his budget speech in 1907 the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale said: "Still 13½ crores is a very large amount to spend in any one year on railways and yet the Hon'ble Member has thought it necessary to be apologetic in making the announcement!" In the same speech he also said: "the total of these surpluses during these nine years stands at the high figure of 37 crores of rupees, or about 25 millions sterling, and nearly the whole of this amount has been spent as capital on railways." Nearly the same amount is going to be spent in the one year 1919-20, *not in nine years*, against which Mr. Gokhale raised his voice in vain!

Great increases in the expenditure of various civil departments—increases out of all proportion to increased incomes—can be shown. But facts, figures and arguments are of no avail. As the people have not the power to control expenditure, whatever expenditure the alien bureau-

crats incur is pronounced indispensable, and whatever expenditure the people ask to be incurred is considered optional! And in addition the people are treated to the sneer that they consider the Government treasure-chest inexhaustible, a sneer against which the two Indian members of the Calcutta University Commission have not protested!

The fact is, with the present income of our Government, education could be adequately financed, if the people had the power of the purse and if they could consequently prevent the present squandering of public money. But the people have not that power. And now that India is going to be given the 'boon' of 'responsible government,' the great spending departments of the army and the railways and the Imperial Services, &c., are going to be placed beyond the control of the people's representatives! Moreover, if in the Provinces there be divided purses, as the Governor would first take all the money he required for his reserved subjects, it would not be of very great advantage to the people even if education of all grades were made a transferred subject under the charge of the Indian minister. For the latter would not have enough money to spend for the adequate improvement and expansion of education. Fresh taxation, however unrighteous and impolitic, would thus be inevitable. For secondary, higher secondary and University education, by which only a small fraction of the people would directly benefit, it would not be right to tax the mass of the people anew. A special education *super-tax* would be the most appropriate form of taxation.

Technological Education.

Liberal education, culture, &c., are very fine things, no doubt. But the bread problem is far more vital and fundamental. The Commissioners have not laid practical stress on this problem, inasmuch as they have not made any insistent and adequate recommendations relating to agricultural and technological education like those relating to general education. Education in the arts and (theoretical) sciences, however excellent, manufacture only con-

stomers, not producers. Similarly vocational training like that which lawyers and medical men receive, also turns out only consumers. It is only agricultural and technological education which can fit men to become producers of wealth. But the Commissioners have practically poured cold water on education of this kind. Let us examine what they say about technology. They "have been deeply impressed by the general disregard among university students in Bengal of the possibility of finding careers in practical—professional and technical—work, other than law and (to a less extent) medicine; by the deficiency ['utter lack' would be the proper expression as regards most branches of technology] of opportunities for obtaining training for such careers, and by the consequent overcrowding of courses of purely literary study." They held that this 'disregard' "must be amended; and any scheme of educational reform which does not place in the forefront the need for such an amendment must fall short of the country's needs."

Now for their recommendations.

They admit that "there is something to be said for" the view "that if only the University offers degree courses and examinations in practical and technical subjects the prejudice against careers of this type will be overcome;" and they also say that "undoubtedly action ought to be taken by the universities, and will have a useful influence upon opinion." Before we proceed to consider the Commission's subsequent *But* and *If*, we must say that "the prejudice against careers of this type" is, regard being had to the present-day social sentiment and opinion on the subject of industrial careers, largely a figment of the imagination of the powers that be, who have found in it an excuse for their own sins of commission and omission relating to the industrial condition of India. If they had offered efficient agricultural and technological training to our young men with corresponding careers suited to the education received, and if our boys had failed to take advantage of these, a prejudice could have been said to exist. But the Commissioners themselves admit "the deficiency

of opportunities for obtaining training for such careers." And even when training has been obtained, for example, in agriculture, by Indian State Scholars in England and by other scholars in America, the students trained in England have been in some cases made deputy magistrates, and in all cases where those trained abroad have received agricultural appointments, these posts have been lower than those given to European men of similar and sometimes of inferior qualifications. This must hurt the self-respect of our young men. Therefore, as in all other countries, they choose careers for which training is easier to obtain, which are somewhat independent, and which do not wound their self-respect. The fact that many Indian students go to Japan, Europe and America for agricultural and technological training at great cost and personal sacrifice and in spite of the uncertainty regarding careers on return home, does not show that there is a strong prejudice against industrial careers. The case, reported in the *Independent*, of Mr. Amar-nath Bery, who had highly qualified himself in England as an electrical engineer but who in spite of the support of the Durbar could not get a suitable post in Kashmir, shows that there is something else which stands in the way of our students adopting industrial or business careers, even if it be granted that there is some prejudice.

Now for *but* and *if*. After stating in general terms what the University ought to do, the Commissioners nullify the effect of what they had said before by observing:—

"But in this sphere even more than in others, it is training above all which is needed [which nobody has ever denied], and as training is costly and demands elaborate equipment in nearly all vocational subjects, no course of study should be defined until there is a responsible assurance that the necessary provision of teaching and equipment is forthcoming."

The question is who is to give this "responsible assurance"? In the case of ordinary secondary and university education, the Commission do not wait for any such responsible assurance forthcoming. They chalk out an elaborate, intricate and revolutionary scheme of reconstruction involving a capital outlay and recurring

expenditure of crores of rupees, for which Government is asked to raise a special loan and resort to fresh taxation. But as regards technological training they require "a responsible assurance"! Why this difference in their attitude? So, we again ask, whose business is it to give such an assurance? We have heard again and again and are sick of the specious platitude, repeatedly uttered as if it were gospel truth, that industries must first spring up which can employ experts, before the establishment of institutions for the training of experts. But Japan did not wait for any "reponsible assurance," nor did she pay any attention to the argumentation in a vicious circle as to whether industries should come first or experts should come first. The Japanese were builders of their own destinies, and, therefore, instead of logic-chopping, they earnestly busied themselves both in building up industries and in founding institutions for the training of experts. In the book called *Evolution of Japan and Other Papers* Lala Lajpat Rai has given some account of what Japan did. But as the Lala is not a *persona grata* with Anglo-Indian officials and non-officials, we quote the following passages from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition, vol. XV, pp. 198-9:—

".....the second advent of Western nations introduced to Japan the products of an industrial civilization centuries in advance of her own from the point of view of utility, though nowise superior in the application of art. Immediately the nation became alive to the necessity of correcting its own inferiority in this respect. But the people being entirely without models for organization, without financial machinery and without the idea of joint-stock enterprise, the government had to choose between entering the field as an instructor, and leaving the nation to struggle along an arduous and expensive way to tardy development. There could be no question as to which course would conduce more to the general advantage, and thus, in days immediately subsequent to the resumption of administrative power by the emperor, the spectacle was seen of official excursions into the domains of silk-reeling, cement-making, cotton and silk spinning, brick-burning, printing and book-binding, soap-boiling, type-casting and ceramic decoration, to say nothing of their establishing colleges and schools where all branches of applied science were taught. Domestic exhibitions also were organized, and specimens of the country's

products and manufactures were sent under government auspices to exhibitions abroad. On the other hand, the effect of this new departure along Western lines could not but be injurious to the old domestic industries of the country, especially to those which owed their existence to tastes and traditions now regarded as obsolete. Here again government came to the rescue by establishing a firm whose functions were to familiarize foreign markets with the products of Japanese artisans, and to instruct the latter in adaptations likely to appeal to Occidental taste. Steps were also taken for training women as artisans, and the government printing bureau set the example of employing female labour, an innovation which soon developed large dimensions. In short, *the authorities applied themselves to educate an industrial disposition throughout the country*, and as soon as success seemed to be in sight, they gradually transferred from official to private direction the various model enterprises, retaining only such as were required to supply the needs of the state.

The result of all this effort was that whereas, in the beginning of the Meiji era, Japan had virtually no industries worthy of the name, she possessed in 1896—that is to say, after an interval of 25 years of effort—no less than 4595 industrial and commercial companies, joint stock or partnership, with a paid-up capital of 40 millions sterling.

[The italics are ours].

It should be borne in mind that under the old, i.e., pre-Meiji, regime in Japan trade and commerce were looked down upon, the Samurai or the fighting class occupying the highest place in the social edifice. It is such a country which has been made industrially predominant in the East. With regard to Japanese industrial enterprises being gradually transferred from official to private direction, it may be incidentally observed that such a policy has been to some extent followed in India, too, with this vital and fundamental difference that in every such case of transfer, it was the foreign exploiters of the country who obtained the benefit of the experiments made at the expense of the Indian taxpayers. For example, take the case of the tea plantations. How the tea-planters were assisted in this industry will be evident from the following question put to, and the answers given to them by Mr. J. Freeman who appeared before the Parliamentary Select Committee of 1832 on the colonization of India :

"1922. Are you not aware that both in Assam and Kumaon the Government established tea plantations for the express purpose of trying experiments, for the sake of the settlers, and with the avowed object of handing over these plantations to the settlers, as soon as the experiment had been shown to be successful, and as soon as settlers could be found willing to take them?—That is what I refer to; that in the first mootings of the cultivation of tea the Government took the initiative and encouraged it, and went to some expense in taking the necessary steps towards it".

Government also very generously offered to assist the iron manufacturers of England if some of them were to come to settle in India. Thus the same witness was asked :

"1927. Are you aware that the Government have recently sent out a gentleman conversant with the iron manufacture, and with him several assistants, to the province of Kumaon, to introduce the iron manufacture there?—I have read of it, but we offered to do everything at our own expense..

"1928. And the Government have stated that, as soon as the experiment is shown to be successful, they are willing to hand over the works to any Englishman that will undertake them?—Yes, that may be,....."

Even at present Government are doing much in the way of experimenting to help the European indigo-planters and sugar-planters; and the experiments are carried on with Indian money.

There is no reason, except the unrighteous selfishness of those Britishers who have official, industrial or commercial connection with India, why everything that the government of Japan did and are still doing for the Japanese cannot be done for Indians by the government of India.

The Calcutta University Commissioners want "a responsible assurance that the necessary provision of teaching and equipment is forthcoming." Why could they not recommend that Government should at least come forward with a big capital and recurring grant on the condition that the public should contribute a similar amount? Not to speak of what the state has done in Japan in the past, let us mention one technological institute recently founded in that country. "To encourage technological investigations bearing on various branches of industry the Diet adopted in

1915 the representation of prominent business-men and scientists in Tokyo to create a free laboratory modelled on the Wilhelm Institute or the Carnegie Institute. The Institute shall be established with a fund of 8,000,000 yens [equal to Rs. 1,20,00,000] of which 1 million to come from the Household, 2 from Government and 5 from public donation and that required buildings be partially completed in 1917 and the whole by Oct. 1918." (*Japan Year Book*, 1918.)

As the Commission as a body has made no definite and practical recommendations for training in technology, there is, we think, much to be said in favour of the suggestion made by Drs. J. W. Gregory and Zia-ud-din Ahmad in their joint note that the University College of Science might be appropriately developed as a college of applied science, since the two munificent endowments of Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rash Behary Ghose which led to its establishment were both intended especially to promote work in applied science.

The Bogey of Excessive Manufacture of Technological Graduates.

The Commissioners express a fear that "unfortunate results may follow, and the whole movement towards practical careers suffer a check, if men are turned out in large numbers with an equipment of a kind for which there is very little demand. There is a real danger in the idea that, if an examination is provided and a degree course defined, all that is necessary is done." There is a real danger in that idea, no doubt; but the educated public of India have no such mistaken idea. We want Government to provide technological training and also to do all that *national* governments in *free* countries have done and are doing for the development and encouragement of industries. If that were done, there would never be an excess of trained technological experts in the country. At present, there has been some industrial awakening in the country. It is not great or sufficient; but Indians are more alive to the needs of the situation than their government. If Government were equally alive so far as the interests of

the children of the soil are concerned, so many industries would be started by Indian capitalists, that the difficulty would be not to find employment for technological experts but to find a sufficient number of them for the work to be done. But supposing there was a real fear of over-production of experts, the Commissioners could easily have suggested, as they have done in the case of agriculture, "that the greatest care should be taken (a) not to admit more than a reasonable number of students, and (b) to provide for them a scheme of training which would fit them for other cognate occupations should a purely [technological] calling not be available."

Number of Highly Trained Scientific Experts Required.

The following sentences penned by the Commissioners are likely to convey a wrong impression :—

"Degree courses in technical and professional subjects, other than those for the established professions of medicine and law, are required by a comparatively restricted number of persons even in highly industrialised countries. The highly trained scientific experts whom the industries of a country can absorb—and it is only with the training of such that a university should be concerned—must always be relatively few in numbers."

That highly trained scientific experts whom the industries of a country can absorb are smaller in number than the other men engaged in industrial pursuits, is strictly and literally true. But the whole paragraph from which we have quoted above is calculated to produce the impression that the university-trained experts are a handful in such manufacturing countries as Germany, England, &c. That is not true. There are numbers of Works each employing hundreds of university-trained experts. Four big Works in Germany employ some 1,200 such experts. In England British Dyes Limited employ over 120 such experts, and Levinstein Limited some 160 such experts. In India large numbers of such Indian experts would be required to man the new Works which are bound to come into existence at no distant date, and many such should be required also to

replace foreign experts when the periods of contract of the latter expire. Considering that it would take years to train even the first dozen of such Indian experts, it appears to us superfluous and rather alarmistic to talk of the dangers of turning out too many technological graduates, when the Commissioners have not urgently recommended the establishment by Government of any institution to train even one such expert.

What should be done.

If Government can find money both for the reconstruction and improvement of secondary and university education and for the promotion of the highest technological education, let them do so. But if, as appears from the Report, nothing is to be done for the highest technological training unless and until private benefactors make it possible [we do hope they would not be wanting], it would not be proper to spend large sums for general high education. We are not opposed to the improvement of the latter. But all the improvement which the keepers of the public purse of the country can afford to pay for without fresh taxation, can be effected by the education department and the university strictly enforcing their existing rules and regulations. Should it be decided to levy an education tax in the interests of high education (we do not admit that it is absolutely necessary), the proceeds of the tax should be devoted to the furtherance of the highest technological training. As the capital outlay required for the buildings and equipment required for such education must be heavy, a special loan may be raised for the purpose, the interest being paid from the education tax, which should take the form of a super-tax. It is necessary to repeat, what we have said before, that it is quite possible to pay for all sorts of general and vocational education from state revenues without fresh taxation if the people possess full control over expenditure; we speak of taxation only as, in the present circumstances of foreign domination, the largest portion of our revenues is spent for imperialistic purposes, for the benefit of foreign exploiters and for the

advantage and comfort of the imperial services,—all such expenditure being beyond our control.

Fate of Private Colleges.

The Commissioners have proposed to separate the intermediate classes from the existing first-grade colleges, and constitute them into separate intermediate colleges. Private colleges cannot possibly continue to pay their way with the fee-receipts from only their B. A. and B. Sc. classes. There are only three ways in which they can obtain a sufficient income: (1) private benefactions; (2) increased tuition fees, and (3) Government grants. There is not much prospect of any considerable or appreciable private benefactions. If the tuition fees of students are to be raised, to derive a sufficient income from them they would have to be raised to at least double their present amounts. This would be a great hardship to the students and their guardians;—for the Commissioners themselves say: “it must be recognised that the Bengali student is usually poor; that he seldom has money even to buy a few books; and that any substantial increase of fees would in most cases tell hardly upon him” (Vol. V, p. 266); “Higher education in Bengal is being bought at the price of self-denial and, in many cases, of actual hunger” (Vol. IV, p. 4). And, whether the hardship be great or small, most probably if the fees were doubled, the number of students would decrease; so it might not be possible to obtain an adequate income from the fees paid by a diminished number of students. Even if it were possible to have a sufficient income from a smaller number of students than now paying fees at double the present rates, we would not advocate the change, because we cannot under any circumstances support the exclusion of poor students even of average merit from the benefits of high education. The sum-total of national intellectual energy, resources and wealth depends on the largest possible number of a country’s population receiving education. Moreover, many average students have proved in life their superiority to senior

wranglers and others of that ilk. A system of scholarships, however liberal, can never be a substitute for a scale of moderate fees in the matter of providing facilities for study to the generality of students. Moreover, it is not possible for struggling private colleges to grant a sufficient number of scholarships. That scholarships can never be a substitute for moderate fees or free education for all, is also the opinion of the Royal Commission on University Education in London, whose Report (1913) observes:—

.....even if it may be assumed that there are or will be sufficient scholarships to provide for all the clever boys and girls who need them, we do not think that a university education should be denied to the less clever children from these homes, provided their parents are prepared to continue their education and provided the student can qualify for admission to the University. We agree with Mr. Sidney Webb in the opinion that “no promise of free places or scholarships can get over the difficulty presented by such prohibitive fees.”

Whenever people talk of enabling capable poor students to continue their studies by granting them scholarships in sufficient numbers, they assume that examiners and teachers have a clearly defined standard by which capacity can be gauged and that they are infallible judges of capacity; but this assumption is false. Many dull or average boys have done remarkably well in life even in the domains of science and letters.

The last resource left for the existing private colleges to survive would be Government grants. We do not know whether Government would be prepared to pay handsome subsidies to them. Should Government be prepared, it must be at the cost of the already woefully diminished freedom of the private colleges. We cannot contemplate with equanimity the total loss of independence of all private colleges, even under the sort of “responsible government” we are going to have. It would be somewhat like selling our birth-right for a mess of pottage. What Principal Griffiths said in the course of his address at the Education Section of the British Association meetings in 1914 in relation to the freedom of British Univer-

sities applies with double force in the case of private colleges in a dependent country.

"The freedom of the Universities is one of the highest educational assets of this country [Great Britain], and it is to the advantage of the community as a whole that each University should be left unfettered to develop its energies, promote research and advance learning in the manner best suited to its environment. It is conceivable that it might be better for universities to struggle on in comparative poverty rather than yield to the temptation of affluence coupled with state control."

The Commissioners estimate that for the foundation and upkeep of each intermediate College of their approved pattern a capital of 20 lakhs would be needed, and they want some 40 such colleges. They appeal to our rich men that they should singly or by a combination of two or three endow such a college. We have not got a sufficient number of such rich men to provide so many colleges. Our opinion is that those who have money to spare for educational purposes should pool their resources for the promotion of technological education, and Government should also reserve big education grants for such education. For, general education may be somehow financed as it has been hitherto, but technological education cannot be promoted without big donations and grants from private persons and Government.

Are the College Fees Charged in Bengal Small?

The Commissioners have expressed the opinion that "the fees charged in Bengal are small." Coming to details they say: "At the most expensive of the colleges—Presidency College—they are only 12 rupees *per mensem*, or about £10 *per annum*; the normal fee is 5 rupees *per mensem*, or £4 *per annum*;....." Smallness and bigness are relative terms. The Commissioners ignore the fact of the very low income of the vast majority of the people of India and even of the majority of the *bhadralok* class seeking high education. The average income of an Indian is £2 *per annum*. And Sir James Meston, the Government of India Finance Member, said in his last Budget speech:

minimum is now [Italics ours] a serious hardship, and we have decided to raise the taxable limit of income to Rs. 2,000. We estimate that we shall thereby lose 75 lakhs or £500,000; but we shall relieve, no fewer than 237,000 petty assesses, out of the total number (381,000) of people who pay the tax now."

This shows that the great majority of income-tax payers had incomes below Rs. 2,000. Those who formerly were and now are exempt form a still larger majority. It is they whose wards for the most part seek high education. Agricultural incomes being exempt from income-tax, the zamindars or land-holders do not pay that tax,—and they are also as a class not known to be votaries of high education, though there are some graduates among them. So, in order to judge whether college fees in Bengal are small or not, we have to keep in view the average income of Indians and the average income of the middle class *bhadralok* families. A comparison of incomes and college fees in England with those in India will show that fees here are not small but large.

The Final Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in London, known as the Haldane Commission, informs us that in London, "the fees for a full three years' course for a first degree vary from 120 guineas in Engineering to 69 guineas in Arts at University College; from 155 guineas in Engineering to 68 guineas in Arts at King's College; from £135 in mining to £108 in Science at the Imperial College; and from 114 guineas in Science to 87 guineas in Arts at Bedford College." (P. 152.) Further, "the fees charged for a full three years' course for day students at the London Polytechnics vary from £45 at the South-Western Polytechnic to £18 at the Northern Polytechnic for all Faculties." These Polytechnics provide "a course which terminates in the same degree as an apparently identical course" at some of the colleges mentioned above. ".....the charge for a full degree course at the East London College in any Faculty is £10 10s. a year." Thus the highest fees in London for three years are 155 guineas or £162 15s. and the lowest £18. In Bengal the highest fees in three

"There can be no question that the Rs. 1,000

years are £30 and "the normal fee" for three years £12. But the average annual income per head in India is £2 and the average annual income per head in England is £42, that is to say, *twenty-one times as much as in India*. Therefore, the highest fees in London ought to have been 21 times the highest fees in Calcutta, or £630, instead of which they are only £162 15s.; or to put it another way, the highest fees here ought to have been one-twentyfirst of the highest fees in London, i. e., £7 15s., instead of which they are £30. (All the above figures are for three years.) Therefore comparatively our highest fees, instead of being small, are about four times as high as the highest fees in London. Let us now look at the lower fees. The lowest fee in a London College is £10 10s. *per annum*. Therefore the lowest annual fee in Calcutta ought to be 10s., but it is in fact £4, that is to say eight times as much as it ought to be according to the London standard of cheap university education. The lowest fee in a London polytechnic for a degree course is £6 *per annum*. This is very low. This standard of cheapness of education ought to make college education available in Calcutta for 5s. 3d. *per annum*, instead of £4 *per annum*, which is more than fifteen times what it ought to be.

Some Anglo-Indian journalists and others have said that in recent years the income per head of Indians has increased; but even they have not put it at a higher figure than three pounds *per annum*. Were this figure correct, which we doubt, the average income of Englishmen would still be fourteen times as high as the average income of Indians; and therefore our highest and lowest college fees should be one-fourteenth of the highest and lowest London college fees shown above, but they are far larger than that. Considering that the highest famine prices of former years have now become the normal prices of commodities, even a 50 per cent. increase in our average incomes should not be considered a real increase, as the cost of living is at present at least thrice as much as before. It must have been in view of this fact that Sir James Meston said in his last budget speech that "there can be no doubt that the Rs. 1,000 minimum [of taxable income] is now a serious hardship."

that the Rs. 1,000 minimum [of taxable income] is now a serious hardship."

The London University Commissioners have expressed the opinion that "these fees [from 155 guineas to 68 guineas for a three years' course] are greater than parents with incomes of £500 a year or less can be expected to pay without the aid of scholarships," Accepting the Anglo-Indian figure of £3 *per annum* per head as our average income and bearing in mind that the average annual income of Englishmen is £42, Indian parents whose annual income is one-fourteenth of £500 or Rs. 536 should be considered to have the same pecuniary position as English parents with an annual income of £500 year. And we know that a large proportion of those whose sons are students in Calcutta Colleges have even a smaller income than Rs. 536 *per annum*. It is clear then that if London parents of certain social strata find it difficult to pay the fees in London Colleges, much more difficult must it be for Bengal parents of the corresponding pecuniary position to pay fees *comparatively much higher than the London fees*. And the higher London fees having been considered by the Haldane Commission somewhat prohibitive, they have suggested the reduction of these fees. While the Calcutta University Commissioners have not recommended any reduction of fees they have pronounced the opinion "that any substantial increase of fees would in most cases tell hardly upon him [the Bengali student]."

Dacca University.

Government are going to undertake legislation this month for the establishment of a university at Dacca. This is rather quick work, for the Calcutta University Commission Report in which the details of the proposed university are sketched out was published only on the 9th of August. However, as Government had given a definite pledge to found this university as soon as circumstances permitted and as the Commissioners "strongly urge that the university of Dacca should be established without further delay," in these circum-

the hurry. Whether there is also any occult explanation or not, we do not know.

"Immediate expenses for 1,500 students" would be Rs. 7,00,000 and "additional cost for 500 additional students in Dacca," Rs. 80,000, total Rs. 7,80,000.

The Vice-Chancellor is to be a salaried officer. "Recognising the extreme difficulty of creating a university of a new type we think that Government should be prepared to offer to the first Vice-Chancellor a salary of Rs. 4,000 a month, that, in addition to allowances for such travelling as may be necessary to the business of the university, a house should be assigned to him; and he should contribute five per cent. of his salary towards his retiring allowance, the funds of the university meeting this with an equivalent annual contribution. He should stand high in the order of precedence." All this means that his emoluments would amount to not less than Rs. 4,500 *per mensem*,—more than the salary of a High Court Judge. The reason alleged for offering such a large sum is that "it is essential for the proper establishment of the University that this office should be filled by a man of the highest standing."

The salary of the Dacca Vice-Chancellor would be equivalent at the present rate of exchange to about £4,400 of English money, and, at the former rate of exchange (£1 = Rs. 15), to £3200. There are, besides, the free residence and the university contribution of Rs. 2,400 per annum towards the retiring allowance. The total emoluments are much higher than what those scholars get who fill the combined office of principal and vice-chancellor in Scottish universities. Rev. Sir John Herkless, D. D., principal and vice-chancellor of St. Andrews, gets £1,790; Sir Donald MacAlister, K. C. B., M. D., D. C. L., principal and vice-chancellor of Glasgow, gets £2,000; Very Rev. Sir G. Adam Smith, D. D., LL. D., Litt. D., vice-chancellor and principal of Aberdeen, gets £1,500 and residence; and Sir J. Alfred Ewing, K. C. B., M. A., LL. D., vice-chancellor and principal of Edinburgh, gets £1,610. It is not likely that the Dacca vice-chancellor would be a man of higher standing than these

scholars. Exile and separation allowances added to salary proper ought not to make his total emoluments double the salaries of the majority of Scottish vice-chancellors.

New Education Scheme As a Whole.

If Bengal gets the new scheme of secondary and university education sketched out by the Commissioners, *in its entirety*, including, of course, such large Government grants as would enable not only the present number of students to have facilities for education but would provide for the normal increase in the number of students, then, in spite of certain drawbacks, it will do good in certain directions. But the scheme is so elaborate and intricate that it would be quite possible for bureaucrats to pick out certain parts which would suit their purpose and reject other parts which would be of advantage to the people. If they follow such a policy, the result would be very injurious.

General Education and Technological Education.

English education was introduced into the country by such Indian pioneers as Raja Rammohun Roy. The real and substantial reason why Government wanted to give the people English education was that thereby the English administrators would have English-knowing Indian assistants and the English exploiters would have English-knowing Indian clerks, brokers, &c. There was a deeper reason, too. This is to be found in many publications of the days of the East India Company. One of these is a pamphlet entitled, "Observations on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals; and on the Means of improving it", written by Charles Grant, described as the Christian Director of the East India Company. Towards the end of this pamphlet, he wrote:—*Wherever, we may venture to say, our principles and language are introduced, our commerce will follow.*" This is quite true; for the study of English books and contact and intercourse with Britishers in many ways have created new tastes, fashions and cravings necessitating the purchase and

consumption of goods manufactured in England. So English education (we mean the merely literary and theoretic education) has made us chiefly customers and consumers of British goods, not producers of Indian wealth. Looked at from this point of view, therefore, the imparting of English education to us cannot be objected to by any British administrator or exploiter. It is looked upon with disfavour only because the English-educated Indian is no longer content with being merely a subordinate or an assistant, he wants to be the English officer's equal; he is no longer content with being a consumer of British goods but wishes to make and have swadeshi goods; and above all, he wishes to have political freedom, a natural human desire which English education and knowledge of British and other free nations' history has roused and strengthened in the heart of the educated Indian. Still, as the Indian's political and economic dependence prevents him from being equipped intellectually, morally and materially for fulfilling his heart's desire in all directions, Britishers do not want to stop English education,—it is commercially and administratively so valuable and helpful,—they want only to make it innocuous by political segregation of students, by teaching a particular kind of ancient and modern Indian history, and by inculcating from the early days of the Indian's childhood the cult of loyalty and gratitude to every British man and woman and also to every white inhabitant of the British self-governing dominions. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that England's prosperity does not depend directly on the salaries and pensions obtained from the Indian treasury by English officers; it depends chiefly on England's manufactures and commerce. So long, therefore, as British supremacy remains intact in India for controlling India's fiscal system, her revenues, her railways, inland and foreign commerce, so long as those highest officers who lay down the policy in all these affairs are Britishers, it would not be a fatal blow to British exploiters of India even if most of the other high officers are Indian by race.

But British manufacturers and mer-

chants in Britain and India do not perceive that the giving of technological training to us has any advantages for them, as giving us general education on Western lines has. Technological training would, they think, only create rival manufacturers and merchants. We, on the contrary, think that it is only by technological training that we can create wealth, become economically independent, stop the drain of wealth from India, and be self-respecting on the whole. In these opposite points of view is to be found the average Britisher's and Anglo-Indian's opposition to *efficient* technological training in India; to the show of such training he has no objection.

Australia and India.

We have been permitted to publish the two following letters received from Australia. They relate to Mr. C. F. Andrews' article in the *Modern Review* for August 1918. The Secretary, Y. M. C. A., Calcutta, wrote to Australia to ask if that article was reliable and sound. The letters contain the answer. The first is from Mr. D. K. Picken, Principal, Ormond College, Melbourne, and the second from Mr. Atlee Hunt of the Home and Territories Department of the Commonwealth of Australia.

(1.)

"I was very well impressed with the article; I opened it with some fear that it might prove over-critical of the Australian point of view. It appears to me a very good and a very fair statement of the position, which can do nothing but good to all concerned. If you can get it given some publicity in Australia it would be worth while. And you may certainly assure the National Secretary in India that it is an accurate reflection of the situation in the best possible type of mirror—viz., the mind of an independent investigator deeply interested in the issues at stake.

There is no doubt at all that both Australia and New Zealand are very strongly wedded to something they instinctively feel to be fundamentally sound in their "White Policy"; but there is no strong race prejudice. It is purely a question of practical politics, related to the preservation of a particular form and standard of civilization, which is theirs by tradition, by birth and by pioneer effort.

What is sound in the "White Australia" policy might any day get elevated into a part of something essentially higher and more idealistic.

I am very glad indeed that Mr. Andrews has written as he has."

(2.)

Commonwealth of Australia.
Home and Territories Department.
61 Spring St., Melbourne.
13th May, 1919.

I have your note of the 10th May, forwarding a copy of the August number of the "Modern Review", and have read with much interest the article therein by Mr. Andrews.

I have met the writer on several occasions when he has been passing through Australia en route to Fiji, and have had long conversations with him in regard to the admission of Indians into Australia.

The general effect of what Mr. Andrews states regarding my conversation with him is correct, though I do not remember saying anything that could be construed into a personal desire on my part that Indians should come to Australia. It would not have been proper for me as an official to express any views on that point either one way or another, but I certainly did explain to Mr. Andrews that it was not the fault of our law or its administration that certain classes of Indians did not come here. I showed Mr. Andrews the Parliamentary Paper (House of Representatives 1905, No. 61, copy herewith), from which you will observe that the first communication on the subject was written when Mr. Deakin was Prime Minister, but the arrangement was actually completed under the Government of Mr. Watson. It was shortly afterwards endorsed by the Government, which was not in form an alteration of the law but a decision as to the method of the administration of the law, which had the approval of all the political parties of the day. As far as the paper concerns India, I invite your special attention to the letters of Mr. Watson, 15th August 1904, and Lord Ampthill, 17th October, 1904.

I am unable to speak with personal knowledge regarding the attitude of the Universities, though Mr. Andrews' statements in the article are in accord with what he told me as the result of his conversation with various university authorities.

It will be of interest to you and your correspondent to know that the matter has since the date of Mr. Andrews' paper been advanced a further stage. At the Imperial Conference of 1917 (at which Australia was not represented), a resolution was carried accepting the principle of reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions and at the Imperial Conference of 1918, at which Australia was represented, the matter was discussed more in detail and resolutions were passed of which I attach a copy.

These resolutions having been considered by this Government, a communication was sent to the Imperial Government intimating that with

the desire to give full effect to the spirit which animated the Conference this Government is now prepared to extend the former arrangement so as to permit Indian merchants, students and tourists to be admitted to Australia on passports, and to remain here indefinitely without the need of further application so long as they preserve the capacity in respect of which the passport was issued. We emphasize the importance of adhering strictly to our meaning of the term "merchant", which in our view does not include retail shopkeepers or hawkers, but should be confined to persons engaged in wholesale over-sea trade between India and Australia.

It was further agreed that Indians already permanently domiciled in Australia might bring in a wife and minor children, but nothing was said which would permit of the immigration of Indians of the labouring classes to Australia.

The last paragraph but one of the second letter is very important. The information contained therein ought to have been, but has not hitherto been, officially published in India. It shows that students, merchants and tourists may remain in Australia indefinitely without any registration as long as they keep to their capacity or profession. Before, the law was that they had to register themselves. Now that is done away and they are treated as gentlemen. The last paragraph of this letter is also important. Intending emigrants should note the explanation of the word 'merchant' and also that Indians of the labouring class are not permitted to emigrate to Australia.

New Universities and Lowering of Standards.

With reference to the University which is to be established at Dacca in the not distant future, we find the following passage in the Calcutta University Commission Report :

"Mr. Cunningham fears that competition with Calcutta (unless Dacca is artificially fed by the affiliation with it of colleges from Eastern Bengal) will lead to a lowering of standards. The same fear was expressed in Great Britain when the modern universities were created from 1880 onwards. But those fears have not been realised; on the contrary the standards have steadily risen. We may point out that if it becomes known that a university gives cheap degrees, the holders of these degrees will soon find that they stand less chance in competition for an appointment than graduates of more scrupulous universities and that the University

weakest candidates ; the best students will, in their own interests, both intellectual and worldly, go to the University which maintains not the lowest but the highest standards of teaching and of examination. If Dacca cannot compete in the open market and by fair means with Calcutta in the same way that the new universities in Great Britain compete with London and the older universities and with each other, our scheme will have failed from the inside. But we do not think it will fail."

We have quoted the above with a particular object in view. Among the older universities of India, Calcutta generally shows a relatively high percentage of passes. In the Madras and Allahabad Universities there is not unoften such a high percentage of failures that almost every year there is an outcry in our papers against these universities. On the other hand, Anglo-Indian papers have repeatedly sought to discredit the 'cheap' degrees of Calcutta, and we have not yet forgotten the resolution brought forward by a European Fellow of this university for the appointment of a committee to enquire into the "alarming" increase in the percentages of passes (we do not remember the exact language), though we do not know whether the committee appointed in pursuance thereof have reported or not. When several universities are equally old, it is often difficult to say whether those universities are better which show large passes or those are better which show large failures, without knowing various other particulars. Some universities may be weaker in teaching and at the same time more reluctant to pass candidates, than others. This may account for the apparently different standards of examination or there may be a real difference in the standards. Some universities, again, may, for political or administrative reasons, show great enthusiasm in 'plucking' candidates and some may be zealous in passing candidates for financial reasons or for attracting students.

But when a new university established in the neighbourhood of an old one, passes a higher percentage of candidates than its older neighbour, it is generally thought that it is cheapening its degrees ; though a unitary university which both teaches and examines its own students may be natural-

ly able to show a somewhat higher percentage of passes than a neighbouring big affiliating university, without really lowering standards or contravening correct educational principles ; for in a unitary university the students know what type of questions they may expect and what kind of answers is considered the ideal one.

The occasion for all these remarks is that our attention has been drawn to the fact that though the Hindu University at Benares passed 76 per cent. of its candidates and the Allahabad University below 40 per cent. at the last B.A. examination, nearly all of the Benares candidates had previously passed the Intermediate Examination of the Allahabad University and belonged to the same race and class as the Allahabad B. A. candidates of the year, and also that the B.A. examination of the Hindu University in 1919 was conducted on exactly the same courses and text books as the B.A. of Allahabad in the same year, but by examiners and moderators of results chosen by the Hindu University. The difference in the proportion of passes in the two Universities is, therefore, striking. The authorities of the Hindu University can prevent the outside public from drawing unfavourable conclusions from this difference only by impressing the public with the superior teaching capacity and the high character of its teachers.

British Capital and Reforms.

The British exploiters of India have all along pretended to be afraid that the carrying out of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms would jeopardise the investment of British capital in India. So they have said that in case the reform proposals materialised, they would not only not invest fresh capital in business enterprises in India but would withdraw from the country the capital already invested therein. But in his evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee Sir James Meston has said that "he has no apprehensions regarding the effect of the proposed reforms on the 400 millions of British capital in India." And in fact there is ample proof, independent of the personal opinion of any man, that the fears expressed by British capitalists are false and pre-

tended. *The Empire*, of Calcutta, has furnished this proof. It has in a manner asserted that whereas the representatives, in London, of the Anglo-Indian (old style) community have been agitating in England against the reforms and declaring that they would be fatal to its interests, the members of the community, by not carrying on a similar agitation here and by their conduct in other directions have given the lie to the assertions of their representatives at "home." But let us quote some of the exact words used by the *Empire*.

"And lest it be imagined that our accusation against the community amounts only to a charge of supineness in a crisis, we would again refer to a fact, which has apparently not yet won the notice of any of our daily contemporaries, to prove that this support of the Reforms Bill has not merely been passive. A remarkable phenomenon of the moment is the flotation of literally dozens of new industrial companies in Calcutta and Bombay, and we venture to declare that British brains and capital are responsible for the success of ninety-nine per cent. of these flotations. And so while those who claim to speak for us at Home are assuring Mr. Montagu that the non-official European community in India is so distrustful of reckless constitutional reform as to be unwilling to invest either thought or money in the country's industry, the community is, by its actions, giving its spokesmen the lie."

A lie it is, whoever may be responsible for it.

Indian Evidence before the Joint Committee.

It is encouraging to note that there is complete unanimity as regards one very important point in the evidence of the members of the different Indian delegations who have spoken on it. They have all insisted that the principle of responsibility should be introduced in the central Government also. That is to say, they have rightly demanded that the Government of India must not be allowed to remain an absolute autocracy uncontrolled by the representatives of the people; some subjects should be transferred to the Indian minister or ministers in the Government of India, too. The case for fiscal autonomy, for a joint purse in the provinces, for fixing a brief period at the end of which India should have full responsible Government, and

other important points have been ably put before the committee by various delegates.

We have greatly disliked the special cables sent out by men of this party or that claiming that its own men have splendidly impressed the committee but that some one else has spoiled the whole thing. We wonder what good such cables are likely to do. Were they intended to do any good?

Deficiency of Good Sense and Self-respect.

Mr. Eardley Norton, who can write piquant reminiscences and make money by professional advocacy, recently wrote a palpably spiteful article on Lord Sinha. This has been reproduced even in many Indian-owned and Indian-edited newspapers without a word of comment, as if it was wholly true and as if Lord Sinha has never done anything good for his country or is not doing any good work now. This thing is discreditable and shows deficiency of good sense and self-respect. We do not mind Anglo-Indians denouncing Indian renegades. But Lord Sinha is not a renegade. We have never refrained from criticising his public conduct or utterances, whenever we considered them reprehensible and had space and time at our disposal; but we do not subscribe to the view that he is a man of whom India or Bengal should be ashamed.

The New Education Member.

The Hon'ble Mian Muhammad Sufi, who was at first appointed temporarily to have charge of the education portfolio of the Government of India, has been made permanent. Though his past record has not been worthy of the approbation of his countrymen but rather the opposite, he is now in a position to do good work. Let him make amends for his past.

The Socialist Party on India's Freedom.

Bombay, Aug. 25.

A Poona telegram states:—A special cable to the "Kesari" Poona, from Mr. Kelkar, London, says:—"The Annual Conference of the National Socialist Party, held at Northampton on the 18th August, passed a resolution on Mr. Hyndman's motion asking for the emancipation of India from British domination at an early

date in a manner to be peacefully arranged between the representatives of the overwhelming majority of Indians and the people of the United Kingdom."—"Associated Press."

India is so big a country, its civilisation is so ancient and distinctive, and its potentiality is so great that the only future for it which can be contemplated with complete satisfaction is independence. But it is not yet ready for such a status. Both India and Britain ought to work in peace and friendliness for such a future for India.

High Prices.

High prices rule everywhere in India, though we are naturally in possession of fuller information about Bengal than about the other provinces. It is not food alone which has become very dear, though the prices of food are higher than they were in days of famine in previous years; all the necessities of life have become very dear. A Mymensingh telegram, dated August 24, says:—

The price of rice is daily rising throughout the district. To-day ordinary Balam and local rice is being sold at Rs. 13 to Rs. 13-8 a maund in this town. Reports of a very disquieting nature are coming from the interior where in some quarters prices of rice have risen from Rs. 14 to Rs. 14-8 and supply is not adequate to the requirements of the people. There was a good harvest of "Aus" paddy but the prospect of Aman paddy this year is very gloomy. It is apprehended that unless there be sufficient rains soon, the crop will be a total failure in the district. On account of the abnormal fall of the rivers and want of rains thousands of bundles of cut jute plants have been left upon dry lands and are thus becoming useless.—"Associated Press."

But Mymensingh is not the only district where rice is selling at prohibitive prices. *The Calcutta Gazette* for August 27 states that for a rupee $3\frac{3}{4}$ seers of rice can be had at Mymensingh, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in Brahmanbaria, $3\frac{1}{8}$ in Feni, 4 in Siliguri, Sirajganj, Dacca, Manikganj, Narayanganj, Jamalpur, Kishorganj and Tippera, and only slightly larger quantities in many other places.

Prohibitive prices of food and cloth cannot but affect public health, cloth being so dear in most districts that it is reported that in numerous places women have to shut themselves up in their cottages, huts or hovels during the day literally in a state of nudity.

Terrific Figures of Births and Deaths in Bengal.

The latest birth and death statistics for the towns and districts of Bengal published in the *Calcutta Gazette* are for the month of May. From these we gather that in that month in the 72 towns containing 10,000 or more inhabitants, the number of births was 3,236, but the number of deaths was 7,369. Thus there were 4,133 more deaths than births. There were besides 147 still births. In the districts, excluding these towns, there were 78,721 births and 1,15,698 deaths. The deaths exceeded the births by 36,977. There were besides 3,059 still births.

In order that the population of Bengal may not die out, the first thing necessary is the bettering of the economic condition of the country by the improvement and extension of agriculture and manufacturing industries. The next is better sanitation of towns and villages. The multiplication of trained physicians and of hospitals and dispensaries is also an urgent necessity. Considering the need, the estimate of the yearly increase in the number of doctors recently given by Lord Ronaldshay cannot be considered at all satisfactory. There must be more medical colleges and schools.

Month by month the vital statistics for the whole of India should be published in the *Gazette of India*. Statistics of plague seizures and deaths alone, or the occasional publication of the figures for mortality from influenza, will not do. We must know what numbers are being carried off also by fevers, cholera, small pox, respiratory diseases, diarrhoea and dysentery, &c. The Indian States also should publish such monthly figures. And these statistics should be supplied free to all newspapers.

Persons Killed by Wild Animals and Snakes.

As if malnutrition and diseases were not quite competent to do the bidding of King Yama the god of death, we have quite a number of wild animals and venomous snakes qualifying year after year with commendable regularity for titles, decorations and medals at his hands. In the calendar year 1918 the number of persons

killed by wild animals and snakes in British India was 24,764. Of these wild animals accounted for 2,164 and snakes 22,600.

The case of Dr. Ghosh of Peshawar.

Public attention has been drawn to the great injustice done to numerous persons in the Punjab and they have received public sympathy, because they have had some sort of trial and the judgments against them were published in the press. But the injustice done to Dr. Charu Chandra Ghosh of Peshawar has not received sufficient public attention and he has not been the object of public sympathy, because he has been deported without trial and the grounds on which he has been thus punished are unknown. He is still in detention in Burma. He should be restored to freedom immediately, and ample reparation made for the pecuniary and other loss inflicted on him. We know Dr. Ghosh personally. He is not a fool that he would have anything to do with conspiracies (supposing such existed in the Punjab) for the overthrow of British rule.

Trial of the ex-Kaiser.

The ex-Kaiser of Germany may be all that his victorious enemies say he is; but there have been wicked would-be conquerors of the world before him, none of whom were ever brought to trial by their enemies. Is international law a sufficient reality, and does it sanction such a trial? The trial of the ex-Kaiser would be impolitic in any case. It would be likely to surround his 'devoted head' with the halo of martyrdom and may lead to the formation of a strong pro-Kaiser party in Germany.

Incidentally, it has a tragic interest for us that though numerous alleged political offenders in the Punjab were deprived of the right of being defended by counsel of their own choice, the ex-Kaiser, accused of every possible crime and atrocity and described as the arch-enemy of mankind, is to have that right.

Turkey.

It is feared that the Ottoman Empire may be parcelled out among its victors. As Germany and Austria-Hungary have

not been so parcelled out, nor any of the Balkan states allied with the defeated party, Turkey ought not be cut up and distributed among the victors as spoils of war. The victors cannot point to any crimes or atrocities committed by her which cannot be matched by similar or worse things in the recent history of Germany and some of the Balkan states. As regards past history, western Christian peoples have been notorious for worse and more extensive work of extermination than any that has been alleged against the Turks. As for Turkey's power to govern herself, the Young Turk party has really had no fair chance to prove its capacity. For no sooner were its leaders in the ascendant than European diplomacy embroiled Turkey in two devastating Balkan wars. The Turks are no doubt either Asiatics or of Asiatic extraction and are not Christians, but these facts are not crimes. It would be difficult to point out a worse mockery of 'self-determination' than the dismemberment of Turkey, were it to take place. And it would be highly impolitic, too. Modern discontent, long smouldering all over the Orient, would be likely to blaze up at such an unrighteous blow at the Islamic world.

Relief for Distressed Panjabis.

The families of many of those who have lost their lives in or as a result of the late disturbances in the Punjab or have been transported or imprisoned, are in great distress. The noble appeal made on their behalf by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has been very generously responded to by Bombay. But more money is wanted, which ought to come from the other provinces, though they are all in the grip of penury and famine. Relief is being given by the Allahabad Seva Samiti and Swami Shraddhananda. Contributions are to be sent to Lala Manmohan Das, Treasurer, Seva Samiti, Allahabad.

Expenditure for the Education of the Two Sexes.

From "Indian Education in 1917-18", published by the Bureau of Education in India, one finds that the total direct expenditure in that year for the education of male pupils in all kinds and grades of institutions

was Rs. 7,35,21,383, and that for the education of female pupils was Rs. 1,01,47,168. This shows that the people and Government spent for the education of girls and women less than one-seventh of the amount spent for the education of boys and men. This furnishes one of the measures of our backwardness and weakness. But how can one expect enthusiasm for the education of girls and women, when one finds plenty of admirers for silly, lying and cowardly cartoons and satirical writings directed against educated girls and women? Not that the advocates of women's education and progress care for these nefarious productions. But they create a miasmic atmosphere which prevents the generality of the people from being enthusiastic in the cause.

King's Medals for Police Officers.

Recently the Governor of Bengal gave King's medals to nine police officers in Bengal for conspicuous ability and courage displayed at the risk of their lives. Of these eight were Bengalis and one an Englishman. Indian police officers have shown again and again that they are in no respect inferior to European officers. In the detection of crime in particular their help is indispensable to Government, Colonel Sleemans being rare in British Indian history. Still, the highest grades of the service are a virtual monopoly of white officers. If Indian officers were treated with justice, they would certainly develop still greater ability and intrepidity.

Sir Ashutosh Mukherji's Defence of Post-graduate Teaching.

At a recent meeting of the Calcutta University Senate Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, who is the president of the Councils of Postgraduate Teaching in both Arts and Sciences and is also the president of almost all the Boards of Studies, spoke at some length in defence of Postgraduate teaching as at present given by the Calcutta University. There was much exaggeration and some vituperation in his speech, the elimination of both of which would have strengthened his case. We think it undeniable that it does not argue the highest

competency in the staff that none of them are *practically* thought to be equal in scholarship to Sir A. Mukherji, who has to give his best energies and time to judicial work. If no university professor, whose whole business ought to be research, study and teaching, can equal another man who is a High Court Judge and has to do the administrative work of many Boards, Councils and Committees, set and moderate many question papers, and examine answers in many subjects, the conclusion is irresistible that the postgraduate teachers are mediocrities, in scholarship and manhood combined, say what Sir Ashutosh will. Not being votaries of the cult of neo-saivism, we naturally think that Sir Ashutosh is not a demigod, and therefore he can not be a profound and up-to-date scholar in so many subjects. Therefore, there ought to be many university professors superior to him in scholarship in many subjects. If there be such, why are they not presidents of any council and many boards? If there be not, why speak in superlative terms of the whole staff?

No one ought to be a university professor in Arts or Science who can not give his undivided allegiance to the goddess of learning. Practising lawyers or would-be-practising lawyers ought not to be entrusted with the work of postgraduate teaching. Law is a jealous mistress. Not less jealous is Learning. "Ye cannot serve both" the goddess of learning and Mammon.

Students have personally complained to us of the incapacity of some professors. Other complaints from them have appeared in the press. There has also been much criticism in the press and on the platform. It should not be taken for granted that all the critics are actuated by personal animosity. Complaints ought to be thoroughly enquired into, and what is wrong righted.

We think the best defence of the existing system of postgraduate teaching lies along four lines of argument: (1) A far larger number of students (1589 in 1917-18) now receive postgraduate education than was the case or could be possible under the old system, thus making it possible to add more to the sum total of the intellectual wealth of the country.

before; (2) There is now more original research both by professors and students than under the old system (the work of eminent men like Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray is independent of any system), in consequence of which there is an atmosphere of original thought and work; (3) The existing system and arrangements give greater opportunities to Indian graduates of Indian, American and British universities to prove their capacity as teachers and original workers than the former system (these opportunities are found to react beneficially on the students also, as, if they find men of their own race distinguishing themselves as teachers and original workers, that fact encourages them more in the pursuit of knowledge than the success of foreign scholars in these fields); (4) The present system and arrangements have made the teaching of many more subjects possible than under the old system, thus giving students greater facilities to follow their individual bent.

Reforming energies should be directed to the prevention of squandering of public money and to the weeding out of superfluous and incompetent teachers.

Deaths from Influenza in India and in England and Wales.

Dr. Addison, the British Minister of Health, said in the House of Commons that during the six months ended 31st March 1919, in England and Wales alone there were 136,000 deaths from influenza. England and Wales contain a population of 35 millions. The population of India is 315 millions. So, if the death-rate had been the same here as in England and Wales, in six months the deaths from influenza in India ought to have been nine times more or about 12,24,000; or 4,08,000 in two months. But what is the estimate of Major Norman White, I. M. S., Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India? It is that in one season in 1918 not less than six million persons died of influenza in India, "the vast majority within the space of two months." So the death-rate from influenza in India in 1918 was fifteen times what it was in England. The reasons are not far to seek. We have a much

lower resisting power than Englishmen owing to our lifelong and chronic semi-starvation, and there is woful lack of facilities for medical treatment, to boot.

Higher Salaries for European I.M.S. Men.

Government have not published the report of the Medical Service Committee. It may be published after final orders have been passed on it. That is a peculiar way of consulting public opinion. But as public opinion in India can be flouted with impunity, the report could as well have been published now. In the meantime, in a Notification published in the *Gazette of India*, August 13, 1919, we find the following:—

No. 350.—In accordance with the orders received from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, sanctioning an increase in the pay of officers of the Indian Medical Service in civil employment, the pay of the various appointments concerned will, when they are held by officers of that Service, be fixed at the rates shown in the accompanying statement with effect from the 1st December 1918.

2. Exchange compensation allowance, when admissible, is payable in addition to the rates referred to above.

3. The present classification of Civil and Agency Surgeons as "1st class" and "2nd class" is abolished with effect from the 1st December 1918.

4. The object of the revision is to attract to the service European candidates with the highest professional qualifications, and the question whether Indian candidates entering permanent service after 1st December 1918, shall be eligible for these increased rates of pay, and, if so, to what extent and under what conditions has been reserved for further consideration. All Indian officers already in permanent service on 1st December 1918, will be eligible for the rates of pay now sanctioned.

Of course as India is the country of the Indians, Indian candidates with the highest professional qualifications need not be attracted to the service, and so it has not yet been decided whether they are to get the increased rates of pay. As for attracting Europeans with the highest professional qualifications, the following paragraph from a letter written to *India* by Mr. V. P. Gonsálvez will be found instructive:—

Some years ago, the Government of the then N. W. Provinces enjoyed the services of Mr

Hankin, a scientist of European reputation, on a salary of Rs. 800-1,000 per month, whereas for the same position the military officer draws Rs 1,500-1,800. But the Government of India, acting no doubt on the advice of its medical officers, who are distinguished members of the I.M.S., did not wish such specialists to be brought to India as professors, because, in the words of the resolution, "It seems doubtful to the Government of India if officers so recruited would make as suitable lecturers in medical schools as medical officers of the Army."

Why "doubtful", pray? It is well known that qualified and competent non-service men can be had to do the work of the I.C.S., I.M.S., I.E.S. and other Imperial services on much lower salaries than their members get.

Cancellation of Fiji Indentures Postponed.

In a communication to the press Mr. M. K. Gandhi states:—

"Following close on the heels of the cable from South Africa comes one from Fiji which reads as follows:—'The Indian Imperial Association regrets Fiji Government postpone cancellation Indian Indentures. Association strongly protests.' We thought after the Viceregal pronouncement about Fiji that we had seen the last of Fiji indentures with which Messrs. Andrews and Pearson have made us so familiar. It is evident from the cablegram that the Government in the Fiji Islands had decided upon immediate cancellation and that they have now altered their decision and intend postponing the cancellation. It is to be hoped that the Government of India would throw some light on this change of programme. The public are entitled to view with the strongest suspicion any postponement of the cancellation of indentures."

This is intolerable. Some member of the Viceroy's Council ought to ask a question to give an occasion to Government to make a statement, after which the public will be in a position to decide what ought to be done.

Franchise for Women.

At a public meeting of the women of Bombay Mrs. Petit read out the following telegram sent by her to Lord Selbourne, Chairman, Joint Parliamentary Committee, Government of India Bill:—

"Bombay women favouring women's suffrage have read with pain and surprise Lord Southborough's evidence before your committee stating franchise to women in India is not desired

by women themselves. That belief is not founded on fact. Largely attended Indian women's meeting recently held in Bombay enthusiastically claimed franchise. Similarly various women's representations were submitted to Southborough Committee. Women ask no favour but claim right and justice. If the vote is denied it will mean serious check to women's advancement in India."

Sir Sankaran Nair has promised to advocate the enfranchisement of Indian women during his sojourn in England. The Bombay ladies themselves have sent to England as their delegates Mrs. Hirabai Ardeshir Tata and her daughter Miss Mithibai Ardeshir Tata, B.A., Cobden Medalist. This should advance the cause of women much more than any male advocacy.

The Depressed Classes in Madras.

According to an order issued by the Government of Madras, out of a total of 8,157 schools under public management in the Presidency, the children of Panchamas and other depressed classes are admitted into only 609. This is a very undesirable state of things. The expenditure of public money ought to be for the benefit of all classes of people equally. One main reason for the policy of exclusion is the opposition of the higher castes; but the attitude of the depressed classes themselves raises a difficulty of almost equal dimensions, viz., "the inherited and ingrained reluctance of the Panchamas themselves to assert their claims where they conflict with traditional usage and caste custom." In these circumstances it is some encouragement to learn that some suggestions concerning the educational progress of the depressed classes have been submitted by the Secretary of the Servants of India Society Madras Branch, to the Madras Government. They include among others the starting of Panchama elementary schools throughout the Presidency and in every locality which is inhabited by 100 or more Panchama families within a radius of two miles, and the organization of Co-operative Credit Societies and Stores, especially in urban areas. The removal of the restrictions regarding the use by the Panchamas of public roads, public wells, etc., is also urged.

The N.-W. Frontier Scandal.

The disgraceful and disastrous breakdown of the medical arrangements and other discreditable failures in Mesopotamia have not sufficed to kill the myth of the wonderful efficiency of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. The scandals concerning medical arrangements and provisioning in connection with the expedition to Afghanistan are also likely to give only a rude shock to the myth. But even if killed several times, it will rise again, phoenix-like, from its ashes, and bureaucrats will continue to believe in their own perfect efficiency and in the incapacity of the people of India.

"Chicago Battle."

Mr. P. W. Wilson, the special correspondent of the London *Daily News* wrote from New York on July 30th in part as follows :—

Three days' race rioting at Chicago has resulted in 28 deaths and about 500 certified wounded.

These troubles, following the less serious outbreak at Washington, leave an intensely bitter feeling, especially among blacks, throughout the country. The effect in New York was such that a two days' patriotic concert in Carnegie Hall, where a negro regimental band was to play, only drew an audience of fifteen persons, and despite the recent fame of these coloured troops the demonstration was abandoned.

A NEGRO ON THE BEACH.

In Washington the riots began because offences against white women led to no conviction. There, as in Chicago, the negroes secured firearms and ammunition and did their full share of wounding. In Chicago the ostensible reason for the riots was the accidental presence of a negro bather on part of the lake shore reserved for whites.

But this is not the whole story. Last year Chicago imported about 60,000 negroes for common labour. No special housing was provided by an admittedly ineffective municipal government. The negroes, therefore, overflowed into the white streets, thus provoking the kind of animosity sometimes felt in East London owing to the presence of aliens.

Chicago is quite accustomed to vendettas, especially among Italians, and there is constant strife between Highland and Lowland Persians. Hence her inability to handle coloured people suddenly released from the social restraints of the South. Last July the President issued a grave appeal against lynching. The Chicago riots

occurred on the actual anniversary of this fine document, which, unfortunately, has passed unheeded.

RECORD OF LYNCHINGS.

From 1885 to 1917, 3,740 lynchings have occurred, of which 2,743 were coloured victims and 997 white. During 1918 an additional 68 negroes and four whites were lynched, often under indescribable circumstances.

On the fundamental question of inter marriage the United States takes a view opposite to that of Brazil, where the races mingle freely and are producing an entirely new nation.

The most serious "religious" riots in India pale into insignificance before these facts. Yet there has not been any O'Dwyerism or Rowlattism in America, nor has anybody contended that Americans having proved themselves incapable of self-government, some foreign nation must play the part of earthly providence there.

Are European Officials Friendly to the Depressed Classes ?

The facts brought out in an editorial note in the *Servant of India* relating to the defeat of a resolution in the Bombay legislative council, asking for increased facilities to the depressed classes, should be more widely known than they seem to be. The Bombay Government allowed the official members to vote freely on the resolution ; but

only one member (Mr. Gebbie) exercised the freedom in favor of the untouchables, while as many as seven used the freedom to vote down the resolution. The official Noes were the Advocate-General, Major-General Jennings, I.M.S., Mr. Robertson, I.C.S., Mr. Rieu, I.C.S., Mr. Sale, I.C.S., Mr. Mountford, I.C.S., and Mr. Sathe. The resolution was ultimately defeated by 2 votes to 14, but the decision is indicative of the official and European rather than the non-official and Indian opinion. Left to the non-official Indians, the vote would have gone 13 for and 11 against. It must also be noted that among the non-officials who cast their vote against the resolution is Sir Dinshaw Petit, who only wanted to go farther than the resolution before the Council, and the non-official majority would have increased slightly, if he had recorded his vote in favour of the resolution. Indians' unfitness for self-rule is often inferred from their narrow views in social matters; should not the narrow views in European officials be held to make them unfit for other-rule, i. e., rule over others? In non-Brahman circles Civilians are too readily credited with liberal leanings at least in social matters. The vote can

this resolution should give them furiously to think.

How the Reforms will Increase Public Expenditure.

What advantage the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms may bring to India cannot yet be definitely or approximately forecasted. But that they will lead to the increase of public expenditure is certain. Already, partly in view of the reforms and lest Indians use their power (should they get any) to cut down expenditure in the direction of the salaries of the European services, these salaries have been increased considerably in one service after another, and there is provision in the Reform Bill that no authority but the Secretary of State is to have power to alter them. In addition, a Memorandum issued by the India Office shows the additional expenditure affecting Indian revenues involved by the Bill.

Clause 2. Governor's Salaries.—It is not proposed to increase the salaries of the Presidency Governors or of the Lieutenant-Governors of the United Provinces, Punjab and Behar and Orissa, though the three latter will acquire under the proposals of the Bill the status of "Governor." The increased annual expenditure under this clause will, therefore, be confined to the enhancement of the salaries of the heads of the Central Provinces and Assam. The present pay of the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces is Rs. 62,000 (£4,133)* per annum, and that of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Rs. 60,000 (£4,000). It is proposed to increase the salary of the former to Rs. 72,000 (£4,800), and that of the latter to Rs. 66,000 (£4,400), a total increase of Rs. 16,000 (£1,066) per annum.

Clause 3.—Additional expenditure will be involved by the appointment of Ministers in all the Provinces referred to in Clause 2 of the Bill, and of Members of Council in the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces and

Assam. The salary of neither the Members of Council for provinces where they do not at present exist nor of Ministers for any province has at present been fixed. Under the terms of the Bill, clause 3 (1), the salaries of Ministers are to be determined by the Governor, subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State in each case. The salary of Members of the Executive Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Behar and Orissa is Rs. 60,000 (£4,000) each per annum. For Assam, one Member of Council is proposed on a salary of Rs. 42,000 (£2,800). Assuming that this proposal is accepted and that there are two Members of Council in each of the three other provinces where they do not now exist, and that their salary is fixed at the same figure as those in Behar and Orissa, the annual extra expenditure involved will be £26,800.

Clause 26.—The Bill also provides for the appointment of a Public Service Commission consisting of not more than five members including the chairman. It is contemplated that these will be salaried appointments, but no salary has at present been fixed, and the question of making the posts pensionable is left for subsequent determination.

Clause 27 provides for the appointment by the Secretary of State of the Auditor-General. The salary proposed for this appointment is Rs. 60,000 (£4,000). The salary of the existing Comptroller and Auditor-General is Rs. 54,000 (3,600) per annum.

No estimates are given of pensionary charges likely to be incurred from Indian Revenues on account of appointments of Ministers and Members of Executive Councils. The latter at present draw no pensions if they were non-officials before appointment, and if members of services they fall under the ordinary rules relating to such cases.

[*The sterling equivalent of a rupee is, in all cases in this Memorandum, treated as 1s. 4d.]

Autonomy for Portuguese India.

Autonomy, says the *Bengalee*, has been granted by the Republic of Portugal to Goa, Damao and Diu. The event will gladden the hearts of all lovers of freedom.

An Urgent Request to Our Subscribers.

When writing for change of address, complaining of non-receipt of the *Review*, or on any other business, our subscribers are requested kindly to quote their "Subscriber's Number", *hand-written* on the wrappers of the *Review*.



सङ्गीत

MUSIC

By the courtesy of the artist, Mr. Hiralal Babbanji.

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BUDDHA AND YASODHARA

BY THE SISTER NIVEDITA.

FAR away in Northern India stood the old capital of Kapilavastu. And there, on a day more than twenty-five centuries ago, the city and palace were filled with rejoicings, for the fact that the young prince Gautama was born. The king had given the usual handsome presents to the servants who brought the news, and to everyone who had done anything, however trifling, and now he was seated in an inner room, waiting anxiously while a group of wise men worked over papers, and books, and strange instruments, together.

What were they doing, do you ask? A very funny thing. They were reckoning the position of the stars at the little one's birth, and reading the story of his future life from them! Strange as this sounds, it is a very old custom in India, and is faithfully carried out to this day. This star-prophecy is called a man's horoscope. And I know Hindus who possess the names and horoscopes of their forefathers for thirteen hundred years back!

It took these wise men of Kapilavastu a long time to work out the horoscope of the young prince, for the promise that they read there was so extraordinary that they had to be very sure that they were all agreed, beyond the possibility of a mistake, before they announced it. At last they came and stood before the king.

"Well," said he anxiously, "will the child live?"

"He will live, Maharajah!" replied the oldest of the astrologers.

"Ah!" said the king. "It is well." Knowing that, he could wait patiently for the rest.

"He will live," repeated the wise man, taking up his tale, "but if this horoscope is cast aright, on the seventh day from now, his mother, Queen Maya, will die. And that shall be the sign to you, O King, that your son is either to be the greatest monarch on earth, or, stung by the woes of men, is to abandon the world and become a great religious teacher." Then he handed over the papers to the father and withdrew with his companions.

"The Queen will die—a Great King—or a

religious teacher," these words echoed and re-echoed in the ears of the sovereign, as he sat alone and thought over the prophecy. The terrible event that was to be the sign scarcely seemed more awful to him than the picture that the last words conjured up—"A religious teacher"—a beggar—the words were one and the same. The king shuddered. But stay! The words had been "*Stung by the woes of men* he will abandon the world."—"My son shall never know the woes of men," said the father with determination, feeling that he could thus force him to the destiny that he preferred, that of a mighty conqueror.

On the seventh day the soul of Queen Maya passed away, even as the wise men had said. Every tenderness and care had been lavished on her during that last week, but to no purpose. On the day foretold, she went to sleep like a happy child and woke no more.

Then, amidst King Suddhodana's grief, there was an added feeling of anxiety, for he was sure now that the astrologers had told the truth, and he was determined to save his son from the fate of a beggar, when he might instead of that become the richest and most powerful sovereign in the world.

Those about the boy, as he grew up, could well believe that some wonderful future was in store for him. He was so bright and full of fun, so clever at books and games, and above all he would give so much love in a word or a glance that all who were near him grew devoted to him and he had no rivals. He was "full of pity," as they always said of him. He would nurse a broken-winged bird back to life with endless care; he could never bring himself to shoot dumb creatures for sport with his bow and arrows like his friends, the young nobles of Kapilavastu. He did not think it manly, he said, to rejoice in the pain and sorrow of the little brothers. So he knew the trouble that comes upon one who is wounded by an arrow, but of no other kind of misery had he ever heard. His home was a palace. Round it lay a garden and this again opened into a great park

stretching many miles to the north of the capital in all directions. Outside these bounds he never passed as a boy. Here he could ride and practise archery, and wander for hours together, observing, thinking and dreaming. And here there was no sorrow, or none that spoke loudly to one who had never yet himself known suffering. The spot was a whole kingdom in itself. He never thought of travelling beyond its bounds. And his father forbade any to speak in his hearing of pain or death. So he did not even know that such things could be. For Suddhodana remembered always the words "*Stung by the woes of men,*" and from a knowledge of those woes he sought to guard his son.

The years of study for Indian youths ought to last till thirty. Then a man stands free. Now when the young Gautama drew near this age he might have chosen to leave his home for other countries. None could forbid—for he was now a man—not even the king. So at this point they sought to catch him, as it were, in a network of roses. They suggested to him that it was time to marry and settle down. They felt sure that it was now only a question of time. If he had a wife and children that he loved, about him, he would become involved in such a pressure of pleasure and of business that he would be unable to leave home, and for his children's sake he would wish to be richer and richer till he should become the richest and most powerful sovereign in the world, even as the wise men had said at his birth.

But Gautama was positive on one point. He must see his bride, and choose her for himself. So all the young nobles who had sisters were invited with them to spend a week at court; and morning after morning there would be games of skill, whirling of clubs or fencing or riding. And in the evenings plays or displays of juggling or serpent-charming were given in the palace-theatre, and all enjoyed the entertainments together.

There was one lady whom the king and his ministers and even these guests hoped that the Prince would choose. For her beauty and talents and birth were even more distinguished than those of others. And her name was Yasodhara.

But when the last day came and Gautama stood beyond the doors saying farewell to his guests and offering to each some splendid memento of her visit,—to one a necklace, to another a bracelet, to a third some beautiful gem,—he had nothing at all for Yasodhara, save a single flower which he took from his own cloak. And the onlookers understood from this neglect that he had made some other choice. And all, save the maiden herself, were very sorry. To her, that one blossom seemed more precious than all the jewels of her friends. And when next day, the King of Kapilavastu waited in person on her father to ask her in marriage for his son, it was scarcely a surprise to her. It

seemed only strange that it should be so simple and natural. Perhaps she was already half-conscious of the long chain of lives behind them in which she had always been his wife.

But Yasodhara was one whose name drew many suitors. And honour demanded that Gautama should win her by proving himself, in open lists, the knightliest of all those who aspired to win her hand. Such was the custom of the royal caste. And with this stipulation, the prince's proposal was welcomed by the father.

Gautama was delighted with the reply, and challenged all rivals to enter the lists with him on the appointed day. "Alas!" said his relatives, "how will you, who have always refused to aim at the flying bird or escaping deer, succeed in hitting the revolving boar at a tourney? Or how can you stand a chance against great archers in drawing the gigantic bow?" But he gave no answer save laughter. Fear was unknown to him, and he found great springs of power within himself. When the hour arrived, his confidence was justified, for he distanced all competitors, carrying away every prize.

So came about the marriage of Gautama, the prince, with Yasodhara.

Their future home was made still lovelier than the old. A new palace, spanning a water-course with great arches, was built of rose-red stone and dark carved wood. At one end of the garden the leaping stream surrounded an island of white marble, on which was a suite of cool, white summer-chambers, while numbers of fountains were concealed in the bed of the river to make waterspouts, when desired, all round the summer-house. And the window spaces were filled with fretted woods or perforated marbles, that there might always be air, shadow and privacy, and at the same time perfect ease to view the spreading lawns covered with fruit and blossom trees and flower-filled borders. In a corner of each royal hall, hung from the beams of the ceiling by great chains, was something like a cradle for two—it was a large cushioned swing, with three sides. Here, on hot days, one could swing and feel the movement of air cool about one, or recline idly while attendant maids or pages plied the fan. And the ladies and gentlemen in waiting, by whom the heirs to thrones must be surrounded, were chosen by a minister with scrupulous care, for their good looks and bright spirits.

Never a tear or a groan was to come within earshot of the prince. He was not to see illness or decay in any form. And if he desired to go into the city he was to be diverted from his purpose by fresh amusements and new pleasures. Such had been the strict orders of the king.

But none can turn back the page of destiny. Little did the king dream of the truth—that all his efforts would, when the right moment came, only add strength to the determination that he

dreaded. This was not life in which his son was moving, but a play, a dream. Truth is better than any falsehood, and sooner or later, the thirst for realities must awaken in the prince.

Even so it happened. One day Gautama ordered his chariot and bade the driver take him through the city that lay beyond the walls—his own city of Kapilavastu, the capital of his future kingdom. The amazed charioteer obeyed. It was not his place to refuse. Yet he dreaded the anger of the king when he should know.

They went into Kapilavastu and that day Prince Gautama saw life as it really was, for the first time. He saw the little children at play in the busy streets. In the rows of open shops, called the bazar, the merchants sat and bargained with customers about the goods that lay before them. The embroiderer and the potter and the brass-smith sat cross-legged on their counters, hard at work, while an apprentice would pull the string that worked the bellows hidden in the mud floor,—that the fire might burn up and heat the metal,—or turned the wheel for the potter's use. Up and down trudged the weary-looking carriers with the loads. Here and there a monk passed holding his long staff and glistening white with ashes. Ill-fed dogs snarled at one another over scraps of food, and scarcely moved even for the bullock-carts that trundled in from the country with their loads of fruit and grain and cotton.

There were very few women, and those not young, for the time was towards noon, and the morning bath was over. Yet a girl now and then passed them, perhaps, with her veil down and the great brass jar on her head, in which she was carrying water to her home.

But the streets were full of colour nevertheless, for part of the dress of men in the East is the shawl, or chudder, of brilliant hue, and woven of silk or wool, thrown across the left shoulder and brought under the right arm. Hence, in a town thoroughfare, though there is none of the musical tinkle of women's feet, there is abundance of pale-green and rose, of purple and yellow and turquoise blue, and the passing crowds are always bright to look upon. And Gautama turned to his charioteer and said, "I see here Labour and Poverty and Hunger—yet so much Beauty and Love and Joy are mingled with them,—surely in spite of them, life is very sweet!"

He spoke musingly, as one in conversation with himself, and at the words, the Three Woes of Men—Weariness and Disease and Death—drew near to him. The great moment in Prince Gautama's life had come.

First came Weariness. It came as an old, old man, with bald head and toothless gums and trembling hands. There was no light in his blind and sightless eyes; there was no hearing in his ears. Weariness seemed to have made him

into the grave of a man. Leaning on a crutch he held out a palsied hand for alms.

The prince leant forward and gave eagerly, gave far more than the old man could have dreamt of asking. He felt as if his very soul were drowning. "O Chhandaka!" he cried to his charioteer, "What is it? What is it? What ails him?"

"Nay," said Chhandaka soothingly, "it is nothing. The man is merely very old."

"Old!" said Gautama, thinking of his father's grey hairs, and of the venerable ministers of state. "But old people are not all like this!"

"Yes," said the charioteer, "if they are only old enough."

"My father?" said the prince, though the words nearly choked him—"My father? Yasodhara? We ourselves here?"

"All men," said the charioteer solemnly, "are subject to old age, and old age, if it goes far enough, will end always thus."

Gautama was silent, overwhelmed with horror and with pity. It was only for a moment, however, and there stood beside the chariot, one whose whole skin was covered with pale pink patches, terrible to see, and the hand that he held out had lost many of its joints. Most of us would have covered our eyes and hurried from the spot. But this was not the impulse of the prince. "*My brother!*" he said in rich tones trembling with sympathy and reverence as he gave him a coin.

"It is a leper," said Chhandaka, as the man started in surprise at the gentleness of Gautama's voice. "It is a leper—let us drive on."

"And what is that, Chhandaka?" said Gautama.

"It is one who is overtaken by disease, Sire."

"Disease, disease, what is that?" said the prince.

"Sir, it is an ill that befalls the body, none knows how or why. It destroys comfort. It makes a man cold in the height of summer, or hot in the midst of mountain snows. One sleeps like a stone under its influence, another goes mad with excitement. In some cases the body itself drops to pieces little by little. In others it maintains its own form, but shrinks till the bones are visible. Yet again it swells and grows hideous in its size. Such is Disease. No man knows whence it comes or whither it is driven and none of us know when it may attack ourselves."

"And this is life—that life that I thought sweet!" said Gautama. He was silent for a while. Then he looked up.

"How can men get out of life?" he said. "What friend have they to release them?"

"Death," said Chhandaka. "See! there come the bearers of the dead, carrying one to the riverside to burn."

The prince looked up, and saw four strong men bearing a low bedstead on their shoulders,

and on the bed was stretched, with a white cloth over him, what looked like the form of a man. But he did not stir, under his coverlet, when a foot stumbled, and though the bearers cried "Call on the Lord" at every step, he whom they carried made no movement of prayer.

"But indeed," the charioteer went on earnestly, "men do not love Death. It does not seem to them a friend—rather they think it a still worse enemy than old age or disease. It takes them unawares and they hate it and try to escape it with all their might."

Then Gautama looked closer at the solemn procession, as it passed. Some inner sight seemed to be opened to him, and he saw the reason why men hated Death. It was as if a long series of pictures passed before him. He saw that the dead man yonder had died many times before and always had been born again. He saw that being dead now, he would surely come back into the world. "Of that which is born, Death is certain. Of that which is dead, Birth is certain," he said. "Lo, to the circling of life's wheel there is no beginning and no end. Chhandaka, drive home."

The charioteer turned as he was bidden, but the prince asked no more questions. He sat lost in thought. As they re-entered the palace, all that had seemed so beautiful in the past had become hateful to him—what were grassy lawns and blossoming trees and leaping water but so many toys that kept the child from caring to know the truth? For Yasodhara and he seemed to be children dwelling with their play-things in a garden made over the mouth of a volcano that might break out and destroy them at any moment. And what they were, all other men and women also seemed as such, only others had less reason than they to enjoy the game.

His heart had become, as it were, a great throbbing ocean of compassion for mankind, and not for man only, but for all those living things in whom he saw the power to love and suffer, though they were without human speech.

"Life and Death together are an evil dream," he was saying to himself, "how are we to break it and awake?"

So the Three Woes of men stung him even as the wise men had foretold at his birth, and he could neither eat nor rest. Towards midnight, when all the household was asleep, he rose and paced about his room. He flung open a fretted window and looked out into the night. A wind swept down upon the tops of the trees as he did so, and the earth seemed to shiver. It was really the voices of the great souls of the universe, crying, "Awake! Thou that art awakened! Arise! And help the world!" And the soul of the prince heard doubtless, and understood without translating into words. Then, as he stood looking out upon the stars seeking within himself some way to break the dream of life, so that a man could pass out of

reach of the play of destiny,—as he sought thus, he remembered suddenly the ancient wisdom of his race. "Why!" he cried, "this must be the quest that calls men to leave their homes and live in forests, covered with ashes! They must know something! That must be the way! I too will tread that road. But these never return to tell their wisdom. They keep it to themselves or share it only with the learned. I, when I know the secret, shall return and tell it to all mankind. The lowest of the low shall hear as much as the greatest. The way of salvation shall be open to *all the world*." With these words, he closed the casement and stole to the bedside of his sleeping wife. Gently he drew the curtains back and looked upon her face. It was then that his first struggle began. Had he any right to leave her? He might never come back. Was it not a terrible and cruel thing to make a woman a widow? His little son, too, would have to grow up without a father's care. It was all very well to sacrifice oneself for the sake of the world, but what right had one to sacrifice another?

He closed the curtains and went back to the window. Then light came. He remembered how great and noble the soul of Yasodhara had always seemed to him. And he realised that she had her share in what he was about to do. The pain of her loss would make the sacrifice half hers and the glory and the wisdom half hers too.

He hesitated no longer. Again he went to say farewell. He drew the silken curtains and looked down once more. He dared not waken her and so he stooped, and gently kissed her foot. She moaned in her sleep and he withdrew.

Downstairs, he pushed the sleeping Chhandaka on the shoulder and bade him harness his chariot swiftly and in silence. Then they passed through the great gates stealthily and on the high road the horse broke into a quick pace, till the prince was many miles from his father's home.

As dawn broke, he stopped and dismounted. Then, one by one, he put off the robes and jewels of a prince,—sending them back by Chhandaka with loving messages as gifts to one and another—and assumed the garb of a beggar, the pink cloth and the ashes, the staff and begging bowl. Chhandaka prostrated himself before him with tears. "Tell my father I shall return," said Gautama, turning with a brief farewell, to plunge into the forest.

Chhandaka stood on the spot where he had left him long after the prince was out of sight. Then, stooping with passionate reverence, he lifted the dust of the road where he had stood and put it on his own head, before turning the chariot homeward to take the news to the king.

For seven long years in the forest Gautama pursued his search. Then at last, meditating in the night, beneath a Bo-tree, he discovered the Great Secret and found all Knowledge.



BURDEN OF LIFE.

From a plaster figure.

By the courtesy of the artist
MR. DEVIPRASAD RAYCHOUDHURI.

From that time, other names dropped from him and he was known as the Buddha, or Blessed One.

In that moment of supreme illumination, he learnt that the thirst for life was the cause of all wretchedness. By ridding themselves of desire men could attain to freedom. And he called Freedom by the name of Nirvana, and the life of struggle for it, he called the Way of Peace.

All this happened in the forest, at the place now known as Buddha Gaya, where stands to this day an ancient temple with a great Bo-tree beside it, and to be only second in descent from the sacred tree itself. And Buddha lingered there some days to think out many things, and then he left the forest and came to Benares, where he preached his first sermon in the Deer Park to five hundred monks. From this time, his fame went about and numbers of disciples began to join him; but by the first two merchants whom he met on their way to Kapilavastu he sent a message to Yasodhara and to his father that he was certainly coming home. Their joy was unbounded that at last they had heard from him. The old king would have liked him to make a royal entry, but when the crowds were gathered and the troops arranged about the gateway, with banners floating and horses neighing, a beggar clad from throat to foot in yellow and gathering food here and there amongst the people, happened to pass near the king's tent, and lo, it was he, his son, who had gone out in the night-time seven years ago and came back now the Buddha! But he did not stop till he had passed within the palace and stood in his own rooms before his wife and son. Yasodhara also wore the yellow cloth! Ever since the morning when she wakened to learn that the prince had abandoned

the world and gone to dwell in the forests, ever since that morning, she had done what she could to share his life. She had eaten only of roots and fruits. She had slept always on the floor or some roof or verandah. She had put away all ornaments and the garments of a princess.

And now she knelt reverently and kissed the hem of the left side of his garment. They said but little. He blessed her and went. And then, she seemed to waken from a dream. Hurriedly she called her boy—"Go, ask your father for your inheritance," she said.

"Mother, which is my father?" said the boy timidly, looking at the crowd of men with shaven heads wearing the sacred colour.

But she scorned to give any description. "Your father," she said, "is the lion yonder, that passes to the gate."

And the boy went straight up to him. "Father, give me my patrimony," he said. But he asked three times, before Ananda, chief of the disciples, said, "May I give?" And Buddha said, "Give!" And the yellow cloth was thrown about the lad.

Then they turned and saw the mother behind, veiled, but evidently longing to be with her husband. And the kind-hearted Ananda said, "Master, may a woman not enter the order? May she not be one of us?"

And Buddha said, "Nay, do the Three Woes not come to women as to men? Why should their feet also not tread the Way of Peace? My Truth and my Order are for all, yet this request, Ananda, was for you to make."

Then Yasodhara also was received into the Order and went to dwell near her husband in his garden, and so her long widowhood came to an end, and her feet also were set at last upon the Way of Peace.

THE ARCH FROM EAST TO WEST

A free translation of passages from

ROMAIN ROLLAND.

[The extracts which follow are a free translation of certain leading paragraphs taken from the monograph on 'Empedocles of Agrigentum,' written by Romain Rolland, and sent by him, together with the 'Declaration of Independence of the Spirit,' to the poet, Rabindranath Tagore.

These passages should be read in connexion with the occasion on which they were sent, as illustrating one of those

early epochs in the history of mankind, when the human spirit boldly declared its independence and pressed forward into the Unknown. It may be remembered how the French author expressed to the Indian poet his profound admiration for this wonderful old Greek sage and hoped that the Indian mind would love him also.

In the monograph, Romain Rolland more than once refers to the intimate

relation which he himself believed to exist between India and Greece. He speaks of a 'Fairy Arch,' difficult to trace, which linked East and West together. He refers to the fact that scholars have already recorded the debt owed by the Greeks to the Sankhya philosophy. In another place, he is struck by the kinship of soul ("Something" in Empedocles "that was not Greek at all") with the "dreaming philosopher poets of India."

We in India itself, who read these passages, have no difficulty in tracing the resemblances that seem clearly to prove how the early Greeks used to look to India as the fountain-head of their highest philosophic conceptions. They may not actually have travelled to India, though there are legends that some did even this, but the thought of India filtered through by many unknown and unseen paths.

There is thus opened up by this monograph of Romain Rolland, a field of comparative study, as yet almost wholly unexplored, which may in the future yield notable results in helping to recover from oblivion the true history of mankind. The 'Fairy Arch' from the East to the West, which existed in ancient times, has still to be traced. C. F. A.]

IN the decline and fall of modern civilisation, amid the ruins of Europe, our thought often wander back into the past. We search anxiously for forms, which, in the Perpetual Return, resemble those that surround us, giving us the key to the mystery of the present. We come to those Old Masters of philosophy, whose minds expressed the past ages. We greet them as friends of yesterday, who bid us farewell when we venture out into the storm. Faithfully and silently they wait beside the hearth. But the hearth itself is falling down,—will it ever be rebuilt? Their voice is dear to us, because of their reply to our questionings of yesterday; but can it give us an answer to our problems of today?

The more adventurous spirits among us find no more their full sustenance in the religion of Jesus. The Divine Friend,

whose arms are open to every weary soul of men, offers indeed to the moral life: retreat, pure and profound. But at the threshold, the roarings of the sea die away, the surgings of Nature, the clamours of action, the blood-stained jousts of politics, find no entrance.

Our own age will not shut its ears, or close its eyes. It will not reach its decisions of the spirit behind the walls of a cloister. It wanders freely, and is eager to grapple with the unknown, even though it should ultimately be overcome,—and it is determined not to be defeated.

After a long period of patient analytical work, an imperious desire now stirs the blood of the modern age for synthesis. It can no longer be content with a gradual ascent, cutting steps one by one, with an ice-axe, up the precipitous mountain slope. The men of to-day have learnt to fly. Their eyes have become farsighted, like the eyes of a bird. Their soaring thoughts look out over immense perspectives. They require vast hypotheses from which nothing is excluded. Wrapped in its infinite folds, the Modern Mind, like some Hindu Goddess with a thousand limbs, expands itself, embracing all contradictions which must resolve themselves into some harmony.

In our pilgrimage of truth along the road of all the ages, we descry on the verge of the horizon of Greek History, at a point where Europe, Asia and Africa meet, certain solitary souls, who are the direct ancestors of our own. There were the same world-convulsions then as in our own generation,—the same confluence of peoples, the same melee of millions of human ants, of every colour, race and creed. Fabulous empires rise and fall. Marvellous cities, where the beautiful flower of civilisation blossomed, are cut down, withered and trodden under foot. And these majestic spirits, these demi-gods of the intellect,—Heraclitus, Anaximander, Parmenides, Empedocles, Democritus,—essayed to grasp, in concrete form, the ideal of which we dream, the harmony of all the forces of the soul.

These men were poets, philosophers, and religious teachers, but at the same time, -engineers, physicians, and statesmen. The energy of their forceful spirit, like a stream of lava, blazed across the rocks themselves a turning passage for mankind. It was not sufficient for them to look the Sphinx in the face; they took her by the throat. They were eager to resolve, in action, the riddle which had met them in their inner meditation. For them, life was a whole: to think was to act. The world of the moral order in man was one with the world of Nature. They chanted their hymn,—

*"The Law Universal,
Justice sovereign and supreme,
Reaches out on every side of the world,
Through the vast and ample ether,
In the immeasurable flame of light,
And in the mind of man."*

These Titans of Greek thought set themselves to conquer the unknown God, the hidden principle which governs both the outer world and the inner mind of man.

First of all, Anaximander, amid the fall of Empires, promulgated the law of Justice, the Inflexible Nemesis, which brings back into the Infinite Vastness those beings and things which have gone astray. He writes these words,—

"The beginning of all things is the Infinite Vast. From the Infinite Vast all things proceed, and into it all things return. Necessity is the dissolving factor. Alternately they undergo suffering for their injustice, and release from their injustice. This suffering and this release are accomplished in the time order."

But Heraclitus, the solitary thinker of Ephesus, prophet of a royal race of daring seers, refuses the solution of Anaximander. Justice, with him, is the perpetual shock of opposites. It is eternal war, fraught with eternal pain. Moral grandeur is its flower. He sings,—

*Strife is the Mother of all things and
the Queen.
She sorts out Gods and men, slaves and
free.
Life is a Bow, and the Bow deals Death.
Midway between the passive renuncia-*

tion of Anaximander and the tragic chant of Heraclitus as he plunges into the eternal strife, Empedocles draws us onward to listen to the great symphony of the Life Universal, whose harsh discords, as the cycle ever returns, resolve themselves in light. The hand of past neglect has not been altogether harsh to his verses. Some four to five hundred lines remain complete, out of the five thousand which he wrote. Few enough no doubt, when one thinks of the blank spaces with their unsolved problems, but numerous when compared with the sayings of any other Greek philosopher before Socrates. These fragments of his poems have all the beauty of some marble remains of a great classic statue.

What is apparent to us, in these early quests of Greek philosophic thought, is the Fairy Arch, difficult to trace, which links East and West together. This Arch touches the shores of both worlds. It is half made up of legendary things. Its foundations are laid in the dreams of Asia, in the cosmogonies of Babylon and Persia, in the cult of Mithras, in the Orphic mysteries of Greece, in the wintry spring-time of early Christianity. It has echoes as far away as ancient India; and many scholars have discussed its relation to the old Sankhya philosophy.

At the same time,—it should be noticed,—this Greek philosophy was firmly established in the soil of Science. It had an atomic theory which opened the way to modern discovery in physics. The two great currents flow side by side,—the experimental science of Alcmaeon and his successors, and the metaphysical research of Pythagoras, whom Empedocles celebrated in his 'Lustral Poem'. Empedocles shared this quality of his age. He was no less great in action than in thought. He took part in the struggles of his own city, as a patriot. By the wonder of his many-sided genius, he inspired, in later ages, Plato and Lucretius; Bernardo Telesio the forerunner of Bacon and Galileo, Newton, Leonardo da Vinci, Goethe, Schlegel, Novalis, and above all Schopenhauer. No one, perhaps, has realised like him the ideal of Goethe, the man of many parts.

The sun of Greece had reached its zenith when Empedocles was a child. His heart must have throbbed with the deep emotion which were rousing his country at that time. He was twelve years old when the Greek ships conquered Asia at Salamis and Greater Greece defeated Africa at Himera, in the same year, 480 B. C. This latter victory filled Agrigentum with booty and slaves. The Sicilian city, overflowing with riches and magnificence, reared on high with the labour of thousands of Carthaginian slaves the carved marble of its temples. Pindar sang of it,—

"Acragras, the fairest city of mortals."

Agrigentum is poor to-day. But in its noble amphitheatre of hills, embracing the vast sea, it has a beauty that can never perish. One day in February, many years ago, I was wandering there, and I descended the slope toward the rocky beach where,—as in the 'Ancient Vision, of Puvis de Chauvannes,—

"little white horses were leaping."

The town was deserted. Its inhabitants were keeping their festival at the foot of the temple. The ancient ruins, in the midst of the circle of dark olives, came into the scene like the silver clasp of a girdle.

A young girl sprang up from the village banqueters at their feast and offered me something to drink.

"What is to-day's festival?" I enquired.

"It is a fine day," she answered simply.

It was always a fine day on that Sicilian coast, when Empedocles was a citizen of Agrigentum and each fine day was a festival for these pleasure-loving people, who tasted the sunlight and found it sweet, and enjoyed their life without any violent tumult of the passions, combining the fine restraint of the Greek with the soft sensuousness of the African. Thus he described his fellow citizens,—

"They are insatiable for pleasure, as if they were going to die tomorrow. But they build their palaces, as if they were going to live for ever."

He himself shared their taste for pageantry. He passed through the streets of Agrigentum, escorted by young slaves, a

circlet of gold on his flowing hair, crowned with a wreath of laurel, clad in shoes of bronze, and with the stately bearing of a prince.

But the smile of Agrigentum, basking in the sun of its fair fortune, was not far from the shade of hidden sorrow. Like his own people, Empedocles was marked by a melancholy, which Aristotle noted in the poet's writings. The wisdom of that age of sudden catastrophes expressed itself in the words of Solon to King Croesus,—

"Man's life is change.

Before death suspend judgment.

For it comes to pass that God, after giving to mortals a glimpse of happiness, Brings them in ruin to the ground."

This foreboding, in the case of Agrigentum, was only too quickly fulfilled. Sixty-five years after its sea-triumph at Himera, the city perished at the hands of Carthage, victorious in its turn.

The human spirit, like a bird in the centre of a cyclone, sees its nest torn away and the tree stripped bare which was its refuge. It searches through the devastated zone to find a shelter. Even so, the storm-tost souls of Greater Greece seeking a covert from the tempest which was overwhelming their world with quick stroke of wing flew to the mystic shores of the Orphic cult.

This new religion, born out of the anguish of the common people, who found no support in the splendid aloofness of the aristocratic Olympian deities, made God Himself come down to earth from heaven. Dionysus, son of a woman,—like the Christ six centuries later,—became incarnate in Man, suffered in Man. Man, united to his God, shared His Passion and Resurrection. The ramparts of Olympus,—that Louvre Palace of King Zeus,—could not shut in the Deity any more. God was for all men, and all men could aspire to God. Thus an obscure faith, cradled in barbarous and crude legend, slowly penetrated the soul of man with the sense of the eternal unity of the human and the divine; with the burning thirst for immortality: with the

hope of quenching that thirst at last by devotion and purification.

The classical Greek world was proof against the attractions of this new religious cult from the East because of the concrete way in which it tried to realise its own ideal. It took the City for the tangible object of its religious devotion. To the Athenian, for instance, the City was the one sufficing unity, which grouped all the intellectual forces of the citizens round it, and gave to them their final moral sanction.

But, in the Sicilian towns of greater Greece, such a unity was not possible. All the blood of Europe, Asia and Africa moved side by side in them, without a common mingling in the cup of life. Colossal fortunes jostled with abject poverty. We have to go for a parallel to those new towns, which have sprung up, with a mushroom growth, in modern America. At Agrigentum, or at Syracuse, the moral unity of the city could only be realised in and by some magnificent Tyrant, a Prince of the Renaissance (such as Machiavelli loved to picture) who imposed himself, by force of magnificence and intrigue, on a people always ready to revolt, if opportunity occurred and a leader appeared.

How could such an environment satisfy the deep longings of a soul so vast as that of Empedocles? In the sphere of poetry, it could command verse, brilliant it is true, but written to order by some Poet Laureate like Pindar. And Pindar himself shows how the social life of pomp and power could not efface his deep 'home-sickness' for the supernatural world. The City-state of Sicily lacked the profound spaciousness of the Eternal Kingdom, the Civitas Dei. Containing innumerable multitudes of men, rich and poor, master and slave, African and Greek, it needed the immeasurable arms of an Infinite God to embrace them all.

As a poet-visionary, a herald prophet of the future, Empedocles dared to throw open the boundaries of the Mediterranean Sea of thought to introduce the Greek spirit to the Ocean perspectives of the One, the all-embracing God. It is this vast Atlantic

Ocean of religious thought that fills his poems with the rhythm of its eternal flux and reflux,—the mystical drama of life in which all men play their part.

The characters in this World-Drama of Empedocles are the four elements and the two Cosmic Forces. Earth, air, fire and water are the four elements. Love and Hate are the two Cosmic Forces. These latter are also called Peace and Strife. The plot of the play is as follows:—A furious combat is waged between Love and Hate. This combat first stirs up, then moulds into shape, and finally dissolves the Elements. There is a hidden Law of Divine Necessity which commands the process. The universal Soul protests while it suffers. Eternally it awaits for the supreme deliverance, aspiring towards Love and Peace.

"It is an oracle of Destiny," the poet sings, "an ancient divine decree, eternal, sealed with a powerful oath, that if one of the souls of men has been defiled with blood, in compact with Hate, it shall wander, far from the haunts of the blessed, thrice six thousand years, and being born again and again in time, shall follow through all mortal forms the sad and changing path of human life."

"This is why the mighty puissance of the air dashes itself against the sea; the sea breaks upon the land; the land throws it back. One receives it from another, and all cast it out."

"Even such a stricken one am I. Today, I am what I am; but I was a God. I went astray, because I put my faith in furious Hate."

Just as the breast heaves with each breath, so there is a balanced rhythm in the four Acts of the tragedy. There are two periods of completeness,—the Empire of Hate and that of Love. There are two periods of change,—the change of Hate into Love, and that of Love into Hate. The poem of Empedocles begins at the stage of Hate. The cosmos has been annihilated. The elements, strangers to one another, have no communication. Life is extinct.

"The shining face of the Sun was not seen, nor yet the shaggy strength of the earth, nor the vast sea."

Love, banished from the Universe, forms an outer Zone of Chaos. Love begins its siege. As time revolves, a fissure is made in the firm circle of the world. Hate shrinks back very slowly, and in proportion as her level base contracts,—

"The genial tide of Love Immaculate sets in."

At its inflowing, the separated elements approach and mix. A furrow of life is drawn. The reciprocal pressure of the two forces of Love and Hate sets up a vortex motion. Monstrous forms issue, only to perish. Other forms, more fitted to survive, follow in their turn. At last organisms are produced, which are destined to endure.

Now, Hate is fled to the farthest confines of the circle. The victory of love is complete. The "Divine Sphere" has been realised at last,—the Perfect Universe. The poet sings,—

"In all its members, there was no discord any more, nor any hate accursed. But, equal in all its parts, and infinite throughout, the Divine Sphere rejoices in its solitude, embracing the Universe."

Yet nothing is everlasting, except the Eternal Law of Necessity, which makes the slow wheel of the cycle implacably revolve. After a dream of millennium of Olympian bliss,—during which the very wealth of life seems suspended and time loses count of its own existence,—the silent hand goes forward till it reaches the highest point of the wheel. Then,—

"The interval foreordained has expired, pre-established by a mighty oath, and Hate, swelling with pride, raises itself for victory, and all the members of God's Being quiver with fear."

Thus the Sicilian Poet-thinker has described the origin, growth, and dissolution of the world. But this was not the whole of his message. He felt and suffered, in his own heart, the misery of the world's sorrows, its deformities and sins. He cries,—

"Alas, thrice dolorous race of mortals, to what disputes and lamentations are you born?"

The bare naked thought of the dissolution of the elements by Hate, or Strife,

would crush us, if we did not know that Death would not be endless. There is the Perpetual Return. Paradise Regained is not only in front : it is also behind. At our back is the Golden Age, but also before us is the open sky of Love and Peace.—But how far ahead ! For now there stretches out before us,—

"The meadow wide of feverish misfortune."

In our headlong fall, we have not yet touched the basal font of the abyss. Can faith in a future turning of the wheel heal the sorrow of those, who like us, belong to a declining age ? Will not all our hopes be mingled with an aftertaste of bitterness ?

The spirit of the Greeks, more virile and aristocratic than our own, had no need, in order to live and to love life, of the sweets which we give to infants to keep them quiet. Those clear Greek intellects did not follow, in an indefinite upward line called 'progress,' the point of the curve that disappears sky-ward. They saw it rise, bend, and decline,—and they did not shrink from the certainty of the line's descent.

Empedocles had in him something that is often apparent in those tormented multitudes which surrounded the Greek World and at last submerged it. This quality had kinship with the dreaming philosopher poets of India ; with the early Christian mystics ; with our modern Romanticists, and with Faust. He cries out, from the depth of his soul,—

"Love hates the intolerable Necessity."

He seeks to ward off, to evade the cyclone, wherein his soul is swept away like a leaf. He can recognise, with his mind, the equal powers of Love and Hate alternating, but it is Love alone that possesses his allegiance,—

"That sacred and ineffable Spirit, whose rapid thoughts run through the Universe."

He speaks of Love with all the fervour of a religious mystic,—

"Regard it by the Spirit, and do not cease,—your eyes smitten with wonder. For men reel it spread in all their limbs : by it, they think their amiable thoughts : by it, they accomplish works of peace. They

call it by various names,—Grace, Joy, or Love. Divine. But no mortal can ever know its endless vicissitudes."

If, for a moment, legitimate pride in his own powers makes Empedocles elated, one sees, as suddenly, this pride return upon itself in deep humility. His exaltation sinks, and he criticises himself bitterly. Thus, after having been adjudged on one occasion the honour of a God, he cried,—

"Why humour me with such a thought, as if it were a great merit to elevate me above them,—the thrice dolorous race of mortals?"

He is one of them, nay more, he is each of them, and of all beings,—of plants and animals, as well as men. For along with Pythagoras, he believed in transmigration. He says,—

"I was, at one time, a boy and a girl, a tree and a bird, and a mute fish of the sea."

To the humble multitudes, as well as to his own beloved disciple, he opened his arms and his heart.—

"When I arrive," he says, "in populous cities, the men and women venerate me and follow me in crowds. They ask me eagerly for the way that leads to salvation."

"Some wish for oracles from me. Others, innumerable, stricken for long with sharp pain, implore me for the word that will cure their diseases."

It has been noted that Empedocles has only used the Greek word 'Soul' once, and then in the Homeric sense of physical life.

But there is for him another 'Soul,' supernatural, mysterious, within, which, like Socrates later, he called his 'daemon'. This 'Soul' is distinct from the sensible and intelligent consciousness. It partakes of the sacred spirit filling the Universe,—that love which ever seeks to realise the unity of the Divine Sphere, the Blessed God. Thought, powerless, refuses to explain such a supernatural mystery, of which even intuition can only touch the surface; it is less possible still to explain its uprush of liberative power.

Each one of us has to struggle to free his life from evil and to win peace; for the

Unity of the Divine Sphere can only be realised through the All. This is why Empedocles constantly exalts that divine Essence in all things, which alone can re-light in our hearts the longing for the final vision. He says,—

"Neither War, nor Hate, nor Zeus, was God among them; but love alone was Queen."

According to Empedocles, animals share in intelligent life with men, and plants are moved by certain desires; they feel and suffer and have joy. He has a horror at every blow dealt at life. Sacrifices of animal on the altars are no less hateful to him than War itself. He cries,—

"Unhappy mortals, will ye never cease from this miserable slaughter? Senseless, do ye not see that ye are slaughtering yourselves?"

In the cult of the ideal of love, there is no room for animal sacrifice, nor for any eating of flesh,—

"The altars are not soiled with blood. It is regarded as the worst abomination that men after tearing life from the body should devour the body's beautiful limb."

The two liberating religions of mankind, which sprang from the hearts of Buddha and Jesus, united humanity in the common bonds of suffering and love. It was the same renunciation and love that Empedocles preached at Agrigentum. Yet, all the while, he kept his Greek sense of the real and also the Greek cult of beauty—that bright smile of the Mediterranean Sea and the Sicilian shore. His rapture of devotion did not veil from his eyes the glory of the outer world. It bathed them in the blue sky and sunshine. His life did not run beneath the earth, absorbed in inner meditation only. It was like an estuary of the open sea, flooded with light.

We need to hear in our day the rushing sweep of his chant, as he cries,—

"It is Hate that dies."

Amid the shock of storm-clouds, charged with lightning and with thunder, we may gain a faroff glimpse of that fresh-washed cloudless heaven, which already smiles

upon the distant soil and soon will fill the
heavens with light.

What matters it, if our own mortal
eyes shall never look on its fulfilment?

The Divine Sphere, the Perfect Universe, the
unclouded Sun of Humanity will return.

The Unity that once was, will be, again
and again. In the heart of the dreamer of
dreams, it is now present, for as Empedo-
cles sings,—

*"The sweetness of its immortal wave
surges to and fro in all our limbs."*

TO WEI CHEN

Like a time-worn map of ancient continents,
With unreal outlines marked by unreal names,
And wreathed about with monsters—unicorns
And fabulous beasts—so China seemed to me
In my young days when I read of that far land ;
Its curious names, its chopsticks and its dragons,
Its magic echoing of fairy land
Brought no more real knowledge than if one
Had spoken of the moon and moon dwellers ;
And even stranger than the friendly moon
Which ever printed its familiar outline
Upon my hovering sky, and belonged to me
As my haunted woods and open smiling fields.
Unreal people wearing unreal clothes,
Unreal customs never taking place,
A comedy of unreality ;
Such were you, China, to my youthful mind,
A non-existent and incredible land,
And hedged about by a fabulous, huge wall
O'er which my imagination could not peer.

But when you came, Wei Chen, with your bright face,
Your friendly hands and voice and shining eyes,
And all your show of gentle courtesy,
The great wall fell or vanished like a mist,
(The magic was your human friendliness)
And China lay before my happy eyes
A land of fields and rivers, towns and hills,
A place of homes and schools and human hearts ;
Land of bright flowers and gay-plumaged birds,
Of mountains and of daring waterfalls ;
A poet's land, of saints and sages hoar,
Land of great souls marching across time's plains
In long procession, victors over death ;
Land of great dreams and of the dreams come true ;
Land of my heart's desire : the seas still flowed
Between my shore and her, and yet through you,
Wei Chen, I stood upon that distant shore,
And the stored friendliness of ancient time
Flowed round me and I felt myself at home

In dragon cities, under templed hills,
 In old pagoda places and gray streets,
 Amid the thronging, friendly multitudes,
 Whose words, and not whose hearts, were strange to me.

To-day because you let us claim your friendship,
 Your country is my country, your home mine,
 And if I hear her slighted, in my heart
 Comes a deep pang, and at her generous praise,
 I thrill with joy as of a gift bestowed.
 O worthy land, that ever brings to birth
 The treasure of great hearts and noble minds !

MAYCE SEYMOUR.

MR. TILAK'S WORK IN ENGLAND

By ST. NIHAL SINGH.

BAL Gangadhar Tilak arrived in London at the end of October, 1918, in connection with the libel suit that he had filed against Sir Valentine Chirol. He had been compelled to give a pledge that while in Britain he would address no meetings. Since the war was going on and no one could leave India without a passport, he had to submit, which he did *under protest*.

I. THE LIBEL SUIT.

Soon after he arrived he found that (the late) Dr. T. M. Nair had preceded him under similar conditions, but Lord Sydenham and his colleagues had made it so hot for the Government that the restrictions placed upon his freedom of speech had to be withdrawn. The Maratha leader had not come here to play into the hands of any reactionaries, and had, therefore, no influential friends such as the late leader of the non-Brahmins had. On the contrary, he had powerful political (and personal) opponents who had much to gain by keeping his tongue tied. But what is sauce for goose is sauce for gander, and Mr. Tilak lost no time in letting the officials know that. He is a persistent man and finally, I think, the officials were glad to

buy their peace by letting him have his freedom. Besides, as I heard it said at the time, it was thought that the talk in which he would indulge would damn him in the eyes of that public from which would be drawn the jury before which his case would come.

Whether or not the use that Mr. Tilak made of his freedom to speak in public on Indian matters did him harm or not, is a debatable point. But it is certain that the publication of the Rowlatt Report, shortly after his arrival here, did him no end of injury. In my judgment, if that report had been indited with a special view to prejudice Mr. Tilak in the eyes of the British public, it would have done him far less harm, for then the British public, knowing that Mr. Tilak had not been asked by that committee to state his side of the case, would have been on its guard.

Shrewd man that he was, Mr. Tilak tried to have the publication of the Rowlatt Report suspended. Through somebody's mistake—that was the official explanation vouchsafed in Parliament—copies of that document had not arrived at the time that they should have, and therefore, the publication of the Report in Britain had been very much delayed. That greatly

annoyed a section of Mr. Montagu's political enemies, who expected to make a great deal of capital out of it to prejudice Indian constitutional reform. They did not hesitate to say privately, and even publicly, that the delay was not as accidental as it was made out to be. In the interests of fair play the Report might have been held back a little longer, until Mr. Tilak's fate had been decided in the High Court. But poor Mr. Tilak's prayer was not granted.

I was among those persons who felt from the very beginning that it had been a mistake for Mr. Tilak to institute the case. I further foresaw that his failure would give his political enemies,—both British and Indian—and the political enemies of educated Indians in general, a powerful instrument to delay, if not to arrest, *real* Indian reform.

No one would have been more glad than I if these forebodings had proved incorrect. But alas, that did not prove to be the case. Mr. Tilak stood Sir Edward Carson's cross-examination on behalf of the defendant extremely well. Sir John Simon, Mr. Tilak's counsel, made out a strong case for him. But any one who heard the questions put by the presiding Judge, the jokes cracked by him, and later his summing up, knew that no British jury would find a verdict in favour of Mr. Tilak.

As was to be expected, not a moment was lost by Sir Valentine Chirol and his friends in giving the British public the impression that in England, as in India, Mr. Tilak had been proved to be the implacable enemy of the British in India. A long "leader" pointing out that moral and adorning the tale appeared in the *Times* the day after the announcement of the verdict. The following Sunday the *Observer* contained a long "interview", in which Sir Valentine Chirol declared that every statement he had made against Mr. Tilak had been proved to be correct and justifiable, and counselled the British public not to listen to any appeal for political reform in India made by any party with which Mr. Tilak was connected.

II. TILAK & CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Even while Mr. Tilak was absorbed in

preparing his case he did not forget for a moment that much work on behalf of India needed to be done in Britain, and he utilised every opportunity that came his way to further Indian interests. Freed from that care he devoted himself wholly to that work.

Mr. Tilak had not been in London long when he found that the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, which depended for its finance upon the Congress was doing nothing to further the Congress cause. The newspaper *India*, in receipt of a handsome subsidy, out of funds voted by the Congress, was actually devoting column upon column to putting forward the views of the party that had seceded from the Congress.

As an Indian who had been in the Congress movement practically since its formation and who had been unanimously elected to preside over its 1918 Session, Mr. Tilak took upon himself the duty of persuading both the British Congress Committee and *India* loyally and actively to support the Congress. The reader may think that so eminent a Congress leader—and a leader who has suffered much martyrdom for the Indian cause—would have found it easy to get that organisation and that newspaper to realise so obvious an obligation. But he did not. People in India will find it hard to believe that Mr. Tilak had to move heaven and earth before he was permitted even to attend an ordinary meeting of the Committee. To my knowledge he received so many rebuffs that, had he been a man who stood on his dignity, he would have given up the struggle in disgust.

Tilak is, however, the most unassuming of men. Where his country's interests are involved he will pocket any insult and, as I shall show, in the end his persistence won.

Similarly Mr. Tilak found no end of difficulty in getting the newspaper *India* to back up the organisation whose organ it was supposed to be, and from whose funds it was being fed. Why had the acting editor not printed the resolutions of the special Session of the Congress held at Bombay? asked Mr. Tilak. He was told

that the reason was that not a single copy of those resolutions had reached the acting editor; and even the Indian papers containing the proceedings and resolutions of that Session had not arrived. He was reminded that the war was going on, and that there was such an institution as the censorship. But, Mr. Tilak said, the resolutions were available in London, and he asked if the acting editor would print them if they were placed at his disposal. He did print them, but in small type and not in a prominent place, and without any editorial comment. The reason given as to why no editorial comment was made was, I am informed, that the proceedings and resolutions passed by the Moderate Conference had not come, and in a short time Annual Session of the Congress was to be held at Delhi.

In his tussle with the Committee and with *India* Mr. Tilak constantly found himself confronted with the cool assumption that he was a mere "busy-body" who had no mandate from anybody to intervene. Had the Congress armed him with the powers of a plenipotentiary? If so, where was his authority? If he had any, why did he not produce it? Anyway, had the Congress itself any power to dictate to the British Committee? Was not the British Committee an even older organisation than the Congress, and in any case, did it not enjoy the prestige of being a body to which the Congress had looked for guidance? As for *India* it was the property of a private Company over which the Congress had no control. As for the subsidy it received—well, had any string been tied to it?

A man less redoubtable than Mr. Tilak would have given up in despair and disgust. But not that Maratha leader. He knew that he was morally in the right. He knew that the time was with him. He could afford to wait.

It was true that the censor was all-powerful. Any letters that he might write and any cables that he might send might not reach the Delhi Congress in time. But some day the censorship would end, and sooner or later the Congress deputation would come. And the Congress, if it was

truly alive, was sure to realise, without hearing from him that its Committee in London and the newspaper *India* needed pulling up.

That is exactly what happened. The Delhi Congress passed a special resolution withholding supplies from the Committee and charging its deputation, upon its arrival in London, to look into matters and to set things right.

But even after his hand had been strengthened by the arrival of the Congress deputation with full powers, the Maratha leader found it difficult to persuade the Congress Committee and the newspaper *India* to give whole-hearted and loyal support to the Congress. Week after week month after month, on one pretext or another, decision was deferred.

Finally Dr. G. B. Clark—that true Scottish Radical—thought that the time had come for action. Dr. V. H. Rutherford and Mr. Parekh took the same view. As directors of *India* they asked the acting editor whether or not he could conscientiously support the Congress policy. The issue of that paper published that week contained the announcement that in view of the change of policy to be adopted immediately in the journal, the gentleman who had been editing it since January 1st, 1918, was no longer responsible for its editorial control.

I understand that a Scottish lady Miss Normanton, who had been acting as editorial assistant for some time, was appointed acting editor. So far as I know she has never been to India, and has no special knowledge of that country, but I hear that she is both able and progressive, and sympathises with our movement. I further hear that Mr. Kelkar, the able editor of the *Marhatta* (Poona), who is in London, has been appointed associate editor, and that the paper will be produced under his general supervision.

The question of the reorganisation of the Committee remained to be settled. Would Dr. Clark, Dr. Rutherford, and Mr. Parekh be able to conquer internal opposition? It was extremely difficult to forecast the future for the simple reason that there was much dead wood in that Committee,

and no one knew to which side that dead weight would tumble. Moreover, there were, at the time, several ex-presidents of the Congress in London who did not love Tilak, and, I believe, under a rule of the Committee made at a time when no one could possibly have dreamed that ex-Congress presidents would occupy important post at the India Office, they could sit and vote.

In spite of all difficulties, however, Mr. Tilak's persistence won in this case, as it had done a little earlier in respect of *India*. Dr. Clark and his supporters decided, early in August, to adopt a new constitution, and so far only one member, Mr. Swinney, who was elected comparatively recently, has seen fit to resign.

According to the new constitution, only those persons who subscribe to the Congress creed can become members of the Committee. That will ensure that even if they are not Indians, they will be in general sympathy with the Congress aims and objects.

The Executive of the Committee will represent the Congress in the United Kingdom, will be in charge of its propaganda here, and will, as hitherto, be financed for that purpose by it. That sets at rest all the fine-spun theories about the status of the Congress Committee that certain persons who only recently "bossed that show" put forward.

According to the new constitution, any ex-president of the Congress, when in London, would be an *ex-officio* member of the Committee, so long as he is not a Government servant.

All delegates sent to Britain by the Congress will enjoy the same privilege.

The last provision means that Mr. Tilak and his colleagues have been able to wriggle out of the humiliating position in which they found themselves upon their arrival. In fairness I wish to add that in this fight Tilak has received whole-hearted support from all his colleagues. The services rendered in this connection by Hon. Mr. Patel have especially been invaluable.

III. PROPAGANDA.

Besides carrying on this struggle with

the British Congress Committee, Mr. Tilak has done much useful work on behalf of India, by means of personal interviews with influential Britons—M.P.'s and others, and through memorials, leaflets, pamphlets, and lectures. I have not the space to deal adequately with that portion of his work. But I believe that the following details will be of interest.

During the last general election, Mr. Tilak issued four leaflets for distribution among electors. Each consisted of a page, printed on one side only. Each was tastefully printed, and put India's case in a nutshell. I reproduce one of them to indicate the sort of appeal that he made.

REMEMBER INDIA.

"One-fifth of the human race are governed autocratically, by a handful of Britons who cannot appreciate the mind of India, her Culture and Civilisation, her sense of self-respect and National Aspirations.

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR WHOM?

For Bohemians, Serbians, Poles, Jugo-Slavs, Czecho-Slavs—Yes! Ay, even for the Germans and other Enemies.

BUT WHAT ABOUT INDIA?

India has given over a million combatants, of whom nearly one-sixth are killed, missing or wounded.

India has given several hundred thousand non-combatants, borne the cost of maintaining the Armies in efficiency, supplied munitions and food-stuffs, and made a gift of 100 millions to the British Exchequer in spite of her great Poverty.

By her fidelity, service and sacrifice she has established her right to self-determination, but this is denied to her by Lloyd George-cum-Bonar Law Manifesto.

WILL BRITONS DENY TO FAITHFUL FRIENDS WHAT THEY ACCORD TO IMPLACABLE ENEMIES?

WILL BRITONS CONVERT LOYAL INDIA INTO LITERALLY A HUNDRED IRELANDS IN THE EAST?

Will Britons keep India alone in bondage in a freed world for the sake of Bureaucrats and Capitalists?

CAN THE WORLD BE FREED FOR DEMOCRACY WITHOUT FREEING INDIA—i.e., ONE-FIFTH OF MANKIND?

NO, NEVER!
GIVE INDIA HOME RULE. HER SONS
DEMAND AND DESERVE IT.

QUESTION CANDIDATES and urge
them to support Home Rule for India.
Send for Literature from

HOME RULE FOR INDIA LEAGUE,

1, Robert Street, London, W. C. 2.

These leaflets were not issued by the
thousand, but by the hundred thousand.
For the first time an Indian had the
political wisdom and the enterprise to do
so.

A little later Mr. Tilak brought out a
pamphlet entitled "Self-Determination for
India," in which he pointed out the justice
and the necessity of admitting India to
partnership in the British Empire on a
footing of equality with the self-governing
dominions. He showed how "external ambi-
tions and internal aspirations render it
absolutely impertative" to emancipate India
from pupillage and democratise the Govern-
ment so that India will be governed by her
own sons for her own benefit and for the
common welfare of all mankind. He traced
the history of Hindu culture, and quoted
European authorities to prove that India
was a nation—and a grown-up nation at
that—fit to be freed from the trusteeship
imposed upon her by Britain, which, he
claimed, had not proved her fitness to be
a trustee, citing the backwardness of our
country to prove his contention.

As elected representative of British India,
Mr. Tilak sent a Memorial dated March 11,
1919, to M. Georges Clemenceau, Senator,
President of the Peace Conference, Paris,
urging that Conference to concede to India
the right to be represented at its delibera-
tions by representatives chosen by the
people. He also asked the Conference to
declare that Indians were capable of govern-
ing themselves, that they were "entitled
to the application of the principle of self-
determination, and that in the exercise of
the principle" they were also "entitled to
determine the form of government founded
upon accepted democratic lines, which they
deem most suitable for self-development
according to the genius of the people."

I did not think at the time, and do not
think now, that that was the right move

for Tilak to make. The Indian question is
a domestic one for the British to settle, and
I hope that British statesmen will not be
so short-sighted as to make it an inter-
national issue, as their inability to grapple
with the Irish question has made that a
world rather than an Imperial issue.

A short time after sending this memorial
to the Peace Conference, Mr. Tilak issued
a four-page leaflet entitled "Indian Consti-
tutional Reforms." It contained a com-
parative statement showing the present
Indian constitution, and how the Montagu-
Chelmsford scheme and the Congress-League
scheme proposed to reform it. Any intelli-
gent person could see at a glance what the
largest and most influential organisation
of Indians demanded, and how far the
Montagu-Chelmsford proposals fell short
of those demands.

Mr. Tilak has lectured to all sorts of
audiences in all sorts of places. One of
the earliest speeches that he delivered was
in the Committee Room of the House of
Commons to a select party of M. P.'s. He
delivered another speech at the Caxton
Hall under the auspices of Britain and
India, which some months before had given
an Anglo-Indian the opportunity to make
out a case in favour of the Montagu-
Chelmsford reforms. A third speech was
delivered before the Fabian Society, with
Mr. George Bernard Shaw in the chair.

Of all these addresses, the one that I
like best was the one that Mr. Tilak
delivered at the Caxton Hall while sitting
in a chair because he had sprained his
ankle. Mr. Tilak outlined the conditions
existing in India in olden times, referring
to the accounts of the wealthy, prosperous,
enlightened India left by foreign travellers
like Hiuan Tsang and Megasthenes. He
asked the audience particularly to note the
vast extent of the Indian Empire ruled
over by Asoka and Samudra Gupta. He
went on to relate that our country, in those
days, not only possessed a wealth of re-
ligious and philosophic literature, but was
industrially great and self-sufficing in every
respect, able to satisfy all her material and
artistic wants.

Passing from the pleasant picture of
ancient India, Mr. Tilak gave a graphic

description of India of to-day, with her millions of sons and daughters who, because of appalling poverty, never know what it is to have the pangs of hunger stilled. He told how the East India Company had deliberately killed our industries, throwing the whole weight of the population upon agriculture.

Taking up the political question, Mr. Tilak assured the audience that Indians were not anti-British—they were only “anti-bureaucracy.” They desired the British connection to continue.

Then Tilak shattered, one by one, the arguments advanced against granting self-government to India. The bureaucrats, he said, were themselves responsible for illiteracy in India. While deploring caste and acknowledging that it required radical modification, he denied that it constituted a reason for refusing self-government to Indians. The British, he pointed out, quarrelled among themselves quite as much as Indians did. There was no Ulster in India—Hindus and Muslims were agreed concerning the constitutional reforms. He challenged the statement that Indians did not desire Home Rule. He demanded to know why India alone, of all Britain’s over-seas units, should be expected to achieve self-government “step by step.” That phrase had no meaning in this age of progress. Indians should immediately be given control over their purely domestic civil affairs.

Needless to say, Mr. Tilak helped to draw up the memorandum prepared by the Congress deputation, to which he was elected some time ago, and the answers to questions put by the Joint Indian Parliamentary Committee sent in by the Indian Home Rule League.

On August 6th Mr. Tilak, in behalf of the Indian Home Rule League, of which he is President, appeared before the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the two Houses set up to consider the Government of India Bill, and was asked by Lord Selborne, the Chairman, to make any statement that he cared to make to supplement the answers that he had given to the list of questions compiled by the Committee. Speaking without hesitation,

in clear, though rather low tones, he declared that the League in behalf of which he was appearing accepted the declaration of August 20, 1917, in regard to His Majesty’s Government’s policy in India though he and his colleagues put their own construction upon the latter portion of that declaration, which left the pace at which India should be advanced towards responsible government to the authorities in Whitehall to determine in consultation with the Government of India. They took the view that the proposals put forward by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy were not necessarily the corollary to the pronouncement. A much larger measure of self-government could be given to Indians without in any way going against the spirit of the British policy as laid down in that declaration. In fact, even the Congress-League Scheme provided for advance by stages, though the stages would be fewer than they would be under the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme.

Mr. Tilak insisted that it was necessary that a time limit be fixed in the statute for the attainment by India of fully responsible administration. The term of 15 years fixed by the Congress might appear arbitrary, but it was quite reasonable.

The Nationalist leader claimed that Indians were fully fit for administering Provinces, and that they should be given provincial autonomy. He also declared that responsibility in the Central Government was absolutely necessary. He suggested that at least those departments in the Central Government which dealt with affairs which, in the case of the Provinces, were considered fit to be transferred to popular control, should be placed under responsible Ministers. That could be done without resorting to diarchy. The Congress-League had suggested a scheme for that purpose, and, in his judgment, had provided sufficient safeguards.

Mr. Tilak claimed that good material for electorates existed in India. Indeed, he went so far as to state that one word from the officials could create electorates.

Above all, Mr. Tilak wished to see the officials deprived of the initiative for inaugurating large policies that they at

present possessed, and reduced to the status of permanent servants in Britain and other countries. Such initiative should only be exercised by the people's representatives. Furthermore, Mr. Tilak considered the inclusion of a declaration of rights in the statute was absolutely necessary.

For some occult reason Mr. Tilak was not cross-examined. That greatly disappointed many Indians who, but a short time before, had seen him in the witness-box of the High Court, and who had greatly admired the replies that he had given to Sir Edward Carson, who had tried hard to brow-beat him.

I am glad to say that Mr. Montagu has shown the political wisdom of according to Mr. Tilak the privilege of a private interview early in August. What they said to each other, of course, remains a profound secret.

About the same time Mr. Tyson Wilson,

the chief Labour Whip, gave a dinner in the House of Commons to which Mr. Tilak and his colleagues of the Congress deputation were invited. About twenty Members of Parliament were present. The Rt. Hon. Mr. Clynes, Mr. Adamson, Mr. Bates, and Mr. Jack Jones spoke—and spoke with great sympathy of Indian aspirations.

Working under the greatest handicap, Mr. Tilak, during his ten months' stay in England, has laboured indefatigably and zealously to advance the cause of India according to his own lights. Even those of us who differ from him politically, can not deny him tribute for his whole-hearted and sincere devotion to the cause of the Motherland. Above all, helike Mrs. Besant, has worked for the unification of Indian forces at present in Britain, though to the regret of every true well-wisher of India, they both have failed in that object. Tilak deserves well of our people.

COMMENTS AND CRITICISMS

"Hindi Linga Bichar."

Having seen the review of Pandit Jagannath Prasad Chaturvedi's *Hindi Linga Bichar* in the current issue of the *Modern Review* I felt tempted to go through the book once more. But I could not find wherein the author "asks us to use such words as कठोरता, सहनशीलता and दृढ़ता as masculine." Undoubtedly at the top of page 12 of his book he, in justification of a rule for the determination of Gender of inanimate objects, maintains that the inanimate objects having the attribute (गुणवालो पदार्थ) of कठोरता, सहनशीलता, etc., are masculine but he does not mean these words themselves to be masculine, nor is it indicated so by his wordings as wrongly supposed by Mr. Muladeva, the reviewer of the book. Pandit Chaturvedi establishes his proposition beyond all doubt by apt and authoritative quotations from the Editor of the *Bharatmitra* and from Mr. John Beames. In justice to the author, I hope, the reviewer will condescend to go through pages 11 and 12 of the book and then form and express his opinion on it.

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A Peace that Makes for Peace.

In his article "A Peace that is no Peace." Mr. Andrews claims "to have put side by side, with very little comment of his own, the professions and practices of the Allied Statesmen towards Germany." His own commentary though slight in quantity, is serious enough in quality, and taken in conjunction with his title suggests that he regards the Peace Treaty with Germany as bad from beginning to end, so unjust indeed, that the entire work of the past six months at Paris will have to be undone and an entirely new treaty made. No one need be at any pains to deny that in some of its details the Treaty is open to criticism and that in its actual working there may be from time to time necessity for modification. But that is a very different thing from stigmatizing the whole Treaty as unjust and branding the Allies as guilty of forcing not merely an unwilling, but an inhuman peace on Germany. The only peace that Germany would have accepted willingly, even after her overwhelming defeat, would be a peace dictated by herself, and to expect that a peace made even in republican Germany, would square with the principles of justice as understood by the rest of the world, is to expect the impossible. To take one of President

Wilson's Fourteen Points by way of illustration. —No. 8. "The wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine should be righted." The Allies have never wavered in their determination, expressed long before the announcement of the Fourteen Points, to restore these stolen provinces to France. Can anyone imagine this particular article of the Treaty being accepted in any other than an unwilling spirit by Germany? Or is it likely that Germany would consent willingly to the creation of an independent Polish State (Point 13) which involved the giving up even of provinces inhabited by indisputably Polish peoples? Idealism in relation to all that is involved in the Great Peace, is a fine thing, but that idealism is the finest which, while never losing its grasp of eternal principles, of truth and right, at the same time never loses touch with the facts of human life and the working of human nature. It needs to be like Jacob's ladder reaching up to heaven, but with its feet set firm upon the solid earth. Recognition of, and an honest earnest attempt to understand all the facts and factors of the case will make clear how utterly impossible it was to produce a Peace Treaty that would satisfy all the parties concerned. That would be difficult enough if only two or three nations had been involved in the conflict, but when it is a case of adjustment between more than twenty states actually at war, and when it involves the creation of some half dozen new states, the task of pleasing all becomes impossible. And this impossibility is quite apart even from the operation of purely selfish national aims and ambitions. Men are not necessarily dishonest or selfish because they differ from one another in their point of view with regard to great international questions any more than they are when they differ with regard to the lesser things of life. It would be easy to find democratic and altruistic thinkers in England and elsewhere who after making serious study of the problem, have come to diametrically opposite conclusions for instance, with regard to the Fiume question. *The New Witness* is pro-Italian, in this matter, the *New Europe* and the *New Statesman*, pro-Yugo-Slav. The Fiume problem does not form part of the German Peace Treaty, but it is an excellent example of the fact that in connection with the Treaty, progressive thinkers may take entirely opposite views as to the justice or otherwise of many of the provisions of the Treaty. It is safe to say that no Treaty could be devised, even though it were theoretically absolutely just, that would be accepted as absolutely just by all nations and all parties in those nations. Many of the difficulties in connection with territorial redistribution have arisen from the fact that the new states which have been called into being are old nations with ancient history and traditions, the influence of which has never died out during the generations of their subjection.

The revival of nationalism and of independent national life amongst these people as the result of the War, has inevitably awakened national desires with regard to once possessed territory, that are hard to satisfy if strict justice is to be done to the rights of the people now inhabiting those territories.

Whether the Treaty as a whole is to be regarded as just or entirely "inhuman" must depend in part upon the view taken as to the criminality of Germany with reference to the origin of the War, and the manner with which she waged it. There are still those to be found, I believe, who by some strange obliquity of mental and moral vision, profess to regard all nations engaged in the War as equally blameworthy, and who therefore see no reason why Germany should suffer more than others in the final settlement. It remains to be seen whether, even with the Treaty as it stands, Germany will suffer more than her enemies, taking all the facts into account. Mr. Andrews quotes from the Official Report (British) as to the conditions prevailing in *certain parts* of Germany. Perhaps there would be great pity for the suffering of the innocent in the case referred to if it were not for the darker pictures of the unnumbered, almost unnameable agonies of Belgium, Poland, Serbia and Armenia. Germany and her Allies have inflicted far more, and far more terrible sufferings upon the helpless peoples of the lands they have ravaged than her own women and children have suffered as the result of the blockade. It is not a question of revenge, it is a question of a great wrong, or rather a long series of great wrongs, being justly visited with a great punishment. The whole world has suffered as the result of the War so wantonly provoked by Germany for the furtherance of her own ambitions. Loss and injury has been inflicted upon some of the peoples that are absolutely irreparable. Even if the terms were far more stringent than they are, there are some things that can never be made good, some wrongs that can never be repaired. Germany may give back ton for ton for the shipping she has sunk; she can never bring back one man, woman, or child whom her ruthless submarining has sent to their last long sleep beneath the waves. She may build again the ruined homes of France and Belgium: she can never restore the lost honour of the women ravished by her brutal soldiery. Machinery she may replace, though that will take time, but the lost glories of Louvain and Ypres will never return. Germany can never make good even all the material loss she has inflicted alike upon belligerent and neutral nations and which she has brought upon the allied powers that she has dragged down with her to ruin. Still less can she do anything at all to repair the whole world's loss in that nobler wealth whose veins in Ruskin's words are purple and not gold, the wealth of human life. That the material penalties imposed do

more than make good the world's unutterable losses, or that they are unjust taking into account the full greatness and horror of the wrong done, is a point of view that I frankly cannot understand. It may be freely granted that for the working out of an abiding era of peace, generosity will have to find a place beside justice, but the time for that has not yet come, nor will it come until Germany herself shows a different spirit and temper than that which the majority of her statesmen and spokesmen have yet exhibited. That Germany has accepted President Wilson's principles in anything but name has yet to be proved. A change of government is no necessary indication of a change of heart. There are a few of the more independent of her thinkers, of whom Max Harden is the most prominent representative, who have not been afraid to tell her, that she may well be thankful considering all that she has been guilty of, that the terms are not far more severe and as this minority grows in number and influence and is able to create a new attitude of mind towards the terms of peace and a new spirit of willingness to fulfil them honestly, there is little fear that as far as England and America are concerned at any rate, more generous treatment will be accorded with regard to some of the provisions of the Treaty which are now criticised.

It is true that General Smuts does not consider the Treaty a satisfactory document, but he nowhere in his statement characterises the Treaty as a whole, as unjust and inhuman. Nor is it quite fair of Mr. Andrews to summarise Gen. Smuts' statement in such a way as to make it appear that in the great South African's opinion the whole of the Treaty and all its terms needed revision, modification or expungement. What are the actual words of the statement?

"There are territorial settlements which will need revision. There are guarantees laid down which *we all hope* will soon be found out of harmony with the new peaceful temper and unarmed state of our former enemies. There are punishments *foreshadowed* over most of which a calmer mood may yet prefer to pass the sponge of oblivion. There are indemnities stipulated, which cannot be exacted without grave injury to the industrial revival of Europe and which it will be in the interests of all to render more tolerable and moderate. There are numerous pinpricks *which will cease to pain* under the healing influence of the new international atmosphere." (Italics mine.) And whatever of change may be necessary along the lines suggested by General Smuts, will be rendered possible by what he regards as the supreme achievement of the Treaty, the League of Nations.

Mr. Andrews seems to criticise President Wilson for having signed the Treaty. But President Wilson is an idealist with his ladder set upon the earth. He knew, perhaps none better, by the time the conference drew to its close, the innu-

merable and almost insuperable difficulties which had to be overcome before his own ideals could be translated into the terms of a workable treaty. Nor are all these difficulties the outcome of a selfish imperialism or a blind lust for revenge on the part of those who have been arrayed against Germany, and who have suffered so much at her hands. He has never lost sight of his ideals from the beginning to the end and I prefer his reading of the situation to that of Mr. Andrews. He knew well enough that the announcement of the Fourteen Points and the Four Factors, and the Five Requisites and the Five Issues of Peace, although they might clear the air, could not suddenly produce a new mental and international outlook amongst men and nations, who for centuries had been breathing an atmosphere murky with the smoke of old traditions and dark with the clouds of age-long racial bitterness. Even the acceptance of his principles by the allies was no guarantee that all concerned would interpret them exactly alike, when it came to the question of practical application. In his address to the U. S. Senate President Wilson said, "Old entanglements of every kind stood in the way. Promises which the Governments made one another in the days when might and right were confused and the power of the victor without constraint, and engagements which contemplated any disposition of territory and extension of sovereignty that might seem to be in the interest of those who had power to insist upon them had been entered upon without thought of what the peoples concerned might wish or profit by, and these could not always be honourably brushed aside. It was not easy to graft the new order of ideas on the old, and some of the fruits of the grafting may, I fear, be bitter for a time, but with very few exceptions *the men who sat with us at the Peace table desired as sincerely as we did to get away from the bad influence, illegitimate purposes, and demoralising ambitions of international counsels and expedients out of which the sinister designs of Germany had sprung.* The work of the conference squares as a whole with the principles agreed upon as the basis of peace, as well as with the practical possibilities of the international situation which have to be faced and dealt with as facts." This seems to me to indicate an infinitely more healthy and helpful attitude of mind with regard to the Treaty than that suggested by Mr. Andrews' title:—"A Peace that is no Peace." Both General Smuts and President Wilson recognise that the Treaty is only the beginning of things and that the Treaty itself is an example, as Mr. Chesterton would put it, of the axiom that the part is greater than the whole. The League of Nations is bigger than all the rest of the Treaty put together and even long after the Treaty itself has become little more than a chapter in a history book, the League may still be going on and growing in its beneficent strength and in

its everwidening influence over the life and destinies of nations. If the delegates had waited until a Treaty perfect in all its details could be framed, we should have had another world war or a world revolution or both long before their deliberations were ended. But as General Smuts says, the League of Nations, (which is an integral part of the Treaty) may yet prove the way of escape for Europe out of the ruin brought about by the War.

I can only deal briefly with the detailed charges brought forward by Mr. Andrews to prove that the Treaty as a whole is unjust.

I. Secret diplomacy. Now what exactly was the *unabbreviated* point of Mr. Wilson with regard to this matter? "Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, *after* which there shall be no private understandings of any kind but diplomacy, shall proceed always frankly and in public view." Mr. Wilson's principle had no reference to such agreements as were already made, and I think it will be found that no secret agreements were made after his statement was issued. Those to which exception has been taken, just or unjust, were already made, and made for the most part under pressure of a great necessity and under circumstances when open diplomacy was impossible. They were the price paid by the nations on whom had fallen the chief burden of the War, in order to secure the co-operation of other nations in the task of overthrowing the terrible power of Germany. There they were when the Peace Conference began, and, as President Wilson said, they could not in all cases be honourably put aside. France and England had received the help they had bargained for from Italy; China had been allowed to enter the War and was consequently in a better position in relation to the final settlement of things than she would have been as a neutral, Shantung notwithstanding. Was Great Britain to say to the other Allies, "Sirs, we entered into these agreements and have got what we wanted out of them, but since then President Wilson has decided that there must be no more secret agreements, and so ours must become a 'scrap of paper'?" The engagement may have been wrong in spirit, but if Italy and Japan fulfilled their share of the bargain, it is not easy to see how England and France could evade altogether their part in the matter, nor can such agreements be regarded as the violation of a principle not yet enunciated by Mr. Wilson or accepted by the Allies.

II. Disarmament. Let us grant for a moment that the situation is exactly as Mr. Andrews has painted it, and that the Allies, while insisting upon the absolute disarmament of Germany have given no guarantees whatever of disarming themselves. Even though this may be regarded as a violation of the letter of the Armistice, it cannot be regarded as in any way an injustice to Germany but only as a piece of colossal folly on the part of the Allies in reference to their own peoples. For what will have happen-

ed in this case? This, that while the burden of militarism has been lifted from the shoulders of Germany,—we may hope forever,—the Allies are to go on bearing the burden themselves, and that during a period when they will need all their reserves of men and of money for the great tasks of reconstruction which await them. If this were so, then it would not be Germany but the Allied nations who would start the new commercial and economic era with a terrible handicap. Germany can afford to lose much of her iron and coal if she has no longer to forge great guns and build Super-Dreadnoughts, while the Allies will gain but little from Germany if they continue to make guns and ships on the pre-war scale. That the responsible statesmen of Europe really contemplate tightening of the rope of military expenditure around the necks of their own peoples, while loosening it from the neck of Germany is unthinkable. But is it true to say that no guarantee has been given of anything in the direction of disarmament among the Allies? I say it is not true, and here again the part is greater than the whole. Article 8 of the League of Nations Covenant begins as follows:—"The members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations. The Council taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each member of the League, *shall hereafter formulate plans for such reduction* for the consideration and action of the several Governments. Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years. After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council." If this is not a guarantee of disarmament I don't know what is. But perhaps Mr. Andrews, like those who still believe in the gospel of the sword, has no faith in the League of Nations! It took time enough to fix the limits of Germany's naval and military efforts for the future; heaven only knows when the Treaty would have been signed if signature had been withheld until the extent of disarmament for each of the Allied nations had been settled. But what the Peace Treaty itself could not reasonably be expected to do, the League of Nations can do. It will have time to do the business thoroughly, and there can be little doubt but that the democracies of Europe, the plain people, whose cause President Wilson so eloquently advocates, will see to it that the League of Nations does its duty in this respect.

III. Territorial Redistribution. (a) The Saar Valley. The fifteen years' cession of the Saar Valley is distinctly stated in the Treaty to be part of the reparation due, (and who shall say it is not justly due?), from Germany to France for

the wanton destruction of the coal mines in the North of France. A careful study of the conditions under which the ceded territory is to be controlled will I think convince any unbiassed mind that they are neither unjust nor ungenerous to the inhabitants of the Saar Valley. At the end of the fifteen years, a plebiscite is to be taken on the basis of adult suffrage to determine whether the inhabitants wish to continue the control of the League of Nations, or join France or return to Germany. Mr. Andrews' cynical remark as to the plebiscite being a disguise, is a sorry reflection on his faith in the League of Nations, or in the possibilities of the growth of a kindlier feeling between the democracies of France and Germany during the next fifteen years. If Germany had taken over Alsace and Lorraine on these terms and honourably carried them out, there would probably have been no War.

(b) Poland. If Mr. Andrews will take the trouble to study a language-area map of Poland he will see how difficult it is to draw a boundary that will satisfy all concerned and yet not violate the spirit or the letter of the principle of self-determination. As a writer in the *Times* says, it is difficult to fix any practical boundary that will not include 1,000,000 or more Germans in Polish territory. The alternative would be to include a considerable number of Poles in German territory and on the whole the former is the lesser evil. A concrete example, and presumably a glaring example of apparent violation of the principle of self-determination, was dealt with by Mr. Lloyd George in reply to his critics in the House of Commons,—the district of Birnbaum. The town is German, being one of the colonies established by Germany with a view to Prussianizing Poland, but the district is Polish. This is an example of what the premier referred to as the impossibility of having no Germans inside Poland and no Poles inside Germany. In certain areas, it may be remarked, there is a plebiscite to be held and in the case of other areas definitely handed over to Poland the actual boundaries have to be settled by a mixed commission on which both Germany and Poland will be represented. It is evident, of course, that Polish national ambitions have created not a few difficulties for the Peace Conference. But after all Poland has a history, and it is easier to understand her sentiments towards territories that were indisputably Polish in the great days of old, than to satisfy those sentiments without a very real violation of the principle of self-determination. What other could President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George do than they have done? The latter has been subjected to a good deal of abuse in certain journalistic quarters, some of them democratic, because he has been regarded as being Pro-German rather than Pro-Polish in reference to this matter of restoring Prussian Polish areas to Poland. Were the two Anglo-Saxon states-

men to say, "If you do not accept our solution we will wash our hands of the whole business," or on the other hand were they to threaten war as the penalty of non-acceptance? They did neither and there is no evidence that what they have done will result in the infliction upon Germany of any unavoidable deprivation of territory.

(c) Shangtung. This is as Mr. Andrews says is part of the pre-Armistice agreement and is the price paid for allowing China to enter the War. Japan has driven a hard bargain. We know what the Chinese Government thinks about the matter and what the Japanese Government has declared to be their intention with regard to it. Time alone can show whether their intentions will be fulfilled or whether on the other hand China has gained more by losing Shangtung and entering the War than she would have done by keeping Shangtung and keeping out of the War. What the will of the people of the Province is on the matter I doubt if even Mr. Andrews knows.

IV. Economic and Financial Clauses. Mr. Andrews says that these are beyond anything ever contemplated in the Armistice agreement.

Seeing that he admits, in a footnote, that the question of compensation or reparation was expressly left open for discussion by the Allies in their acceptance of Mr. Wilson's Points and Principles, it is difficult to see how he can assert that these clauses go beyond anything contemplated in the Armistice agreement. The demands made are heavy, but it is doubtful whether they are equal to the enormous damage inflicted by Germany directly and indirectly upon all the nations of Europe, and unless it can be proved that she is called upon to pay more in one way and another than the monetary value of the injury she has inflicted, how can any reasonable man characterise the terms as unjust? As I have already pointed out, there are losses which Germany can never make good by any monetary or material payment. The countries she has ravaged will suffer in ways other than material for generations to come. The responsibility for not a little of the chaos and terror now rampant in Russia must be laid at the door of Germany. When all is said and done it has yet to be proved that Germany will be any worse off than Belgium or France with regard to the tasks of industrial and commercial reconstruction which await all countries alike. She has a larger population than France to draw upon, and one that will be increased sooner or later by the adhesion of the German-Austrian Republic. Her territory has not been ravaged as those of France and Belgium have been. Her people are capable of doing as much for peaceful progress if rightly guided, as they have done in the past under the control of Prussian militarism for the advancement of the ambitions of Pan-Germanism. The years immediately before us will prove a stern testing time in matters com-

mercial and economic for all the nations. It would be anything but just if Germany were allowed to start the period of strain, better equipped than the countries upon whom she forced the War, and whose power of recuperation she did her best, or worst, to destroy. It is highly probable that even as things are, Germany will be the first of the European nations to make any great recovery in the direction of commercial and industrial stability. She has a genius for organisation, and though there are revolutionary elements at work in Germany as in all countries, the German people are so well drilled that in spite of occasional outbursts, the nation is likely to suffer less from social and industrial upheaval than say France or Italy. That Germany is economically imprisoned within her own markets is a statement that in all probability the next few years will utterly disprove. The U. S. A. is already preparing to trade with Germany, and civil war cannot continue for ever even in Russia and whenever a stable government is set up in that great country, there will be a vast field for German trading enterprise. Frankly, it is too early yet to begin to lavish any pity upon Germany on account of the reparation terms. Time will soon reveal whether any of them are beyond her power to fulfil, and then practical common sense, if nothing else, will make it necessary for the Allies through the League of Nations to modify them. What is no more likely to happen is that in twenty years time Germany will be found to have a less heavy burden to bear than any of the nations that have imposed the present burden upon her as a just punishment

for the War that she imposed upon the rest of the world.

By those who will take the trouble to see life, and to see it whole, the Treaty must be regarded as in the main just. It will depend upon Germany herself as to how quickly and to what extent the element of generosity may be introduced into some of its terms. Meanwhile it does provide a foundation for a real enduring peace; for a new era of peace in which those moral and spiritual forces, upon whose operation the ultimate destiny of the world depends rather than upon any formal treaty, may be brought into play for the breaking down of the barriers of national selfishness, and the destruction of the old world spirit of national aggrandizement. No nation liveth unto itself, and none dieth unto itself. Just as in any one nation it is essential for all classes to work together for the common good of the whole, so in the new era upon which we are entering it is essential that all nations should work together for the creation and building up of a new world order, whose guiding, governing principles shall be justice, liberty and love. Upon whomsoever sins against the new world order the just punishment of all the rest must fall. But whoever will work with full purpose of heart towards the building of the temple of a redeemed humanity, be it Britain, India or Germany, they shall not lack a place in the sun, amongst the great brotherhood of nations,—a place of power because a place of service, a place of high honour because a place of helpful will.

W. E. GARMAN.

CHILD WELFARE

BY MRS. ST. NIHAL SINGH.

I. THE PROBLEM IN INDIA.

IF there is any country in the world where an attractive child welfare campaign needs to be carried on, that country is India. The statistics relating to infant mortality in India that are available are appalling. Such mortality has, moreover, been increasing in recent years.

I. EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM.

The vital statistics contained in the books that are most readily obtainable and that are given in such official publica-

tions as the *Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Condition of India*, published annually, and the *Statistical Abstract Relating to British India*, published biennially, are very imperfect, and contain no tables showing child mortality according to age. This makes it impossible for the student to form a concrete idea of the actual state of affairs. It is necessary to refer to Part V. (*Area, Population and Public Health*) of the *Statistics of British India* compiled by the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence, or to the *Annual*

Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India to find figures that will give any conception of the shocking infant mortality prevalent everywhere in India.

I have compiled a table from the former report to show child mortality at the beginning of the present decade (1911).

Number of Deaths of Children Under 15 Years of Age in 1911.

Province	Under 1 Year.	1 Year & Under 5 Years.	5 Years & Under 10 Years.	10 Years & Under 15 Years.
Eastern Bengal & Assam	217,143	130,796	66,529	34,438
Bengal	398,395	269,212	143,184	80,679
U. P.	505,346	294,030	144,313	104,132
Punjab	167,184	90,429	43,440	38,490
Bombay	116,927	91,431	34,916	27,226
C. P.	169,180	99,144	24,781	12,093
Madras	224,951	129,957	50,702	32,392
Burma	71,544	31,897	14,515	8,995
Ajmer—				
Merwara	6,393	5,066	869	445
N. W. F. P.	12,277	9,171	3,033	1,658
Hyderabad As- signed Dist.	29,992	13,950	4,392	3,044
Coorg	1,157	626	240	199
	1,890,500	1,151,757	526,522	340,807

Total in British India of deaths of children under 5 years of age, 3,942,257. Under 10 years of age, 4,468,779. Under 15 years of age, 4,809,586.

What nation on the face of the earth, no matter how large it may be, can afford to lose its rising generation at the rate of 5,000,000 a year? What nation can afford to lose nearly four million children under five years of age *per annum*? That is what is happening in India, and what has been happening, year after year, for decades past.

Take Calcutta, for example. Out of every 1,000 children born in 1912, in the City and Port of Calcutta, nearly 260 died. More than 278 males out of every 1,000 males born in Calcutta in that year perished.

And more than one-third of the children who died that year gave up the struggle for existence during the first week of life! According to the Report of the Sanitary Commissioner, 809 deaths of infants in the first week of life were due to debility, while 371 were due to premature birth—primarily caused by the weak physical con-

dition of the parents, more particularly of the mothers, who, themselves in a low physical condition, gave birth to babies that sickened and died almost with their first breath, or before they opened their eyes in this world at all.

It must be noted that the high percentage of infant mortality is not confined to large cities and congested areas. In the North-West Frontier Province, where the density of population, in 1911, was only 164 to the square mile, the ratio of deaths to every 1,000 births was 167·16 in 1912.

Comparing this figure with that for Calcutta in the same year, it is evident that the children who are born and reared in a less densely crowded area, and have purer air to breathe, have a better chance to live than those brought up in crowded cities. But the fact remains that 167·16 per 1,000 births is a terribly high ratio of infant deaths for a province where the inhabitants live much in the open air and are not subjected to the evils of city slums.

The Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for 1912 throws a light upon the subject. We learn in respect of Bengal, for instance, that only once in the preceding 20 years had so low a death-rate (220·6 males and 203·4 female per 1,000 births) been recorded. Indeed, the Sanitary Commissioner declared that an infant death-rate of 259·6 for both sexes and 278·9 for males out of 1,000 births indicated "a much better state of affairs than pertained a decade ago." Further on in the same Report we find him congratulating the officials, and presumably the Indians, because the infant mortality in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in 1912, although 206·5 per 1,000 births, "was the lowest recorded since 1898, when it was 205·3." When the rate had risen to 278·20 *per mille* in Hamirpur in that year, it required some stretch of the imagination to feel complacent over the results.

In 1914, 45 per cent. of the deaths in Bombay took place between the ages of 1 and 5; while in the North-West Frontier Province 42 per cent. of the total registered deaths occurred among children, 24 per cent. of them during the first year.

It is fair to assume that conditions have become worse rather than better since 1914, for during the war period people all over India have suffered terrible privations on account of scarcity of the necessities of life, and increase of taxation.

II. THE CAUSES.

The root-cause of most of the perils that threaten the little pilgrims just started on life's journey is, I think, the general poverty of the people. That is what makes the Indian problem of child welfare so puzzling and complicated; for in order to do away with the general poverty prevalent everywhere in India, the whole fabric of life will have to be altered. Industries will have to be introduced to draw the pressure of population from the land; the population will have to be redistributed, so as to scatter it more evenly over the whole country; holdings will have to be enlarged, and improved methods employed, so that the incomes of the agriculturalists may be increased to allow for the higher standards of life necessary for bringing up happy, healthy children. The question of improving the material conditions of the people is so vital that it must be taken for granted, at the very beginning, that any other solution of the problem of child mortality must, of necessity, be in the nature of a palliative rather than a cure.

Unfortunately it is hopeless to expect all at once to be able to raise India's millions much above the perpetual poverty line. There is no magic wand that can be waved that will miraculously change one rupee into ten. There is no mystic word that can be pronounced that will, in the twinkling of an eye, convert paupers into princes. This being so, those who are anxious to make the world a fit place for children to live in must steel their hearts against discouragement and do what they can in the circumstances, keeping their eyes fixed upon the ultimate ideal.

Putting aside, therefore, general poverty, the fundamental cause of appalling child mortality and other evil conditions adversely affecting children, one must consider the facts of life that can be changed. Children in India are to-day

dying like flies, or are being stunted physically, mentally, and spiritually, through lack of municipal sanitation, overcrowding in homes, in city slums and bad housing in rural districts, poor and impure food and not enough of it, and general ignorance in regard to keeping homes in a sanitary condition and rearing children.

Life runs in a vicious circle, in which one evil acts and reacts upon another, and cause becomes effect, which, in turn, becomes the cause of greater evils. For, it must be remembered, the same conditions that produce weakness, ill-health, and death in babies, also affect adults, and weak, under-fed, unhealthy adults are unable to propagate offspring that will be able to live in the unfavourable conditions in which they are born and must be reared. Thus the people of India are becoming weaker in body and spirit, as generation follows generation. If Indians do not wake up at once and face the facts, there is not much hope for India's future.

It is all very well to throw the blame upon the people, and attribute the state of affairs to caste, purdah, early marriage, and other customs. But primarily the Government is to blame for its niggardliness and backwardness in providing education that will make the people realise the dangers of unhealthy ways of life, and sanitation that will create conditions that will make it possible for babies to live.

Comparatively few cities and towns have sewerage systems. Even where such a system is provided, the unlettered people are not able to make the best use of it.

The minute you step foot out of the metropolitan areas that have sanitary improvements, you find practically the same system everywhere. The people deposit their excreta by the roadside and on the housetops—not in closed-in commodes or buckets, but in the open. They do not even scatter the dust of the road over the filth. There it remains until it is, perchance, scraped up by a sweeper and carelessly carried, still exposed, through the streets to the place where it is dumped. Who can over-estimate the menace of the presence of

this disease-laden excreta to the health of every person in the town or village?

More than one eminent Indian has discussed this matter with me, and expressed great anxiety respecting it. I remember, when I was in Bombay several years ago an Indian doctor gave an incident that had come under his personal observation. He told me he saw a child come out of a house and attend to a call of nature by the roadside. The excreta lay there throughout the day, and became dry and powdered under the influence of the sun and many passing feet. He saw the mother of the child come out of the house and gather up the dust from that exact spot to use to clean her pots and pans.

I am aware that this is not a nice or polite subject. Neither is death a pleasant prospect. Yet I challenge anyone with an iota of scientific knowledge to deny that a large percentage of the deaths of young and old alike in Indian villages, towns, and even some cities, or at least some parts of cities, are due to this cause, and this alone. Surely the "city fathers"—at least some of them must be aware of the tragedy that is continuously being enacted under their eyes. But they take practically no measures, or at least no effective measures, to provide sanitary facilities that will result in cutting down the death rate and strengthening the physique of those who live.

Many other causes combine to snuff out the light of life in the breasts of the little ones of India. First of all, there is grave lack of medical arrangements, especially at child-birth. I find no less a person than the Sanitary Commissioner with Government of India complaining, in his Report for 1912, that the Calcutta Municipality employed "only four midwives, one for each 72,000 of the female population." Such figures speak for themselves, and need no elaboration. Moreover, too poor to buy sufficient food to keep her own body properly nourished, the mother is not able to provide nature's nourishment for her child. She cannot afford to buy milk to feed it, and if she can do so, the milk she is able to secure is so impure that, in itself, it constitutes a menace to child-life.

For the lack of qualified midwives and women doctors, for the absence of training for motherhood, for the death-breeding insanitary conditions, for the inability to secure pure milk, and for the general dense ignorance that causes the people to continue to employ methods of life and work and systems of domestic economy that science has proved are dangerous to health—for all these the authorities no doubt are largely at fault. But the people themselves have much blame lying at their doors. One of the chief causes of child mortality in India is the system of early marriage, which plunges immature girls into motherhood for which they are unfit on account of their youth and lack of training and experience of life. An immature mother is likely prematurely to give birth to her child, or to produce a weakling that is unable to survive, or that, if it lives, will keep down the general level of Indian progress. The purdah system makes it impossible to call in the services of medical men who have been scientifically trained, and since the number of qualified women medical practitioners and midwives is pitifully limited, many mothers and children must, of necessity, die from neglect or malpractice.

It must be remembered that death is only one problem affecting children in India. There is, for instance, the problem of caring for orphans and for children whose parents are unfit or unable to bring them up to be useful citizens. There is the problem of providing education, with the subsidiary problem as to whether it shall be academic or industrial in character. There is the problem of caring for backward and defective children, and correcting the waywardness of juvenile offenders. All these are pressing problems. India's future, in a large measure, depends upon their immediate solution.

III. THE CURE.

The Government can do much to better the conditions affecting children in India. The first step to be taken, in my opinion, is to establish a Children's Bureau, with committees to take up the details of the various schemes for child welfare. This

Bureau should make scientific sociological surveys and suggest plans to the executives of the various provinces to cope with the local situation.

Aside from the establishment of such a bureau, the authorities should take in hand the larger questions of sanitation and should take steps to provide an adequate service of medical women, especially specialists in children's diseases and midwives. I suggest a service well-paid and with prospects that would tempt competent women to enter it. Indian women should be encouraged and urged to qualify to enter this service, which might be called the "Indian Women's Medical Service."

The authorities can take steps to provide pure milk for babies. They can establish creches, and baby clinics, and instruction classes for mothers and expectant mothers. They can educate the boys and girls of India so they will know how to live so as to prolong their lives, and can organise the industries of India so as to assure an income that will enable the men and women of to-morrow to live according to a higher standard, in consonance with their new ideals.

Since child welfare affects the people of India themselves most intimately, they should be consulted at every point, and their fullest co-operation secured by the Government. All child welfare work should be done, as far as possible, by popular committees, upon which officials should form minorities.

It must be remembered that the Govern-

ment is bound to move very slowly in the matter of child welfare, as it does in every other matter. It always has moved slowly. It always will do so. This being so, Indians themselves should get on with the work and do as much as they can independently of the Government. Obviously they cannot tackle the larger medical and sanitary question, but they can make a beginning in improving the sanitary conditions of their own homes and educating women doctors and midwives. A large number of women doctors should be sent abroad for training.

There is no reason why Indians, independent of the Government, should not establish baby clinics, welfare centres, and schools for mothers. They can, for a small sum, get together all the literature dealing with every phase of child life. If Indians are not forthcoming to organise the work, well-paid experts should be imported from other countries.

India already has, in the Seva Sadan Society, the nucleus of such an organisation. If it could only be endowed with sufficient funds to enable it to work on a large scale, and if it could secure the help (well-paid) of experts on child welfare work of all kinds, much could be done immediately to alleviate conditions in India.

In the articles that follow I propose to outline what the governments and peoples of other countries are doing in child-welfare work; and to suggest a concrete scheme, upon their efforts, that may be applied in India.

AN ALL-INDIA SCHEME AND AN ALL-INDIA LANGUAGE

BY LAJPAT RAI.

AN All India scheme or a National scheme of education as distinguished from Provincial and local schemes can be considered from two different angles :

(1) From the angle of the language, and (2) from that of the subjects.

National Language : It is desirable that we should carefully consider the question of the future national language of India and arrive at some tentative decision. The choice lies between Hindustani and English. The adoption of the latter will be a great hindrance in the speedy dissemination of

knowledge, which we earnestly desire. I will dismiss it without any further discussion.

I may assume that the country will readily adopt Hindustani, as the future national language of India, if the Hindus and Mussulmans could come to an agreement on the question of script. The adoption of Hindustani as a national language does not in any way affect the Provincial vernaculars. The Provincial vernaculars must be the medium of instruction in the Primary schools of each province, with the addition of Hindustani, as an all-India language, the Hindus learning it in Deva Nagri and the Mussulmans in Urdu characters. For the first four years of a child's life, no other language should be thrust on him.

(2) The subjects of study should include, besides the three R's, (a) the teaching of Patriotism, (b) Hygiene, (c) Drawing, (d) Geography of India, (e) elementary Geography of the World, and (f) History of India; local and provincial history and geography must, of course, be taught, (g) elements of Civics, (h) Music, and (i) Modelling.

(3) As far as possible, the same text-books should be used all over India; the local and Provincial Subjects should be dealt with in local and Provincial text-books. The printing of text-books should be a Government monopoly. All private profiteering from the sale of text-books must be done away with. The text-books should be supplied free in all Primary schools, or sold at cost price only.

The above suggestion does not imply that all these text-books must be in Hindustani. By no means. They should be in recognized Provincial vernaculars and in very easy, simple language.

Every province should recognize its principal vernacular as the medium of instruction. All attempt to impart education in local dialects should be discouraged. It will be disastrous to our national unity to insist on education being imparted through local dialects. Nowhere in the world is that done, and we should look with suspicion on this suggestion from whatever quarter it comes.

The vernaculars, to be adopted as mediums of instruction, should be as few as may be compatible with the educational interests of the children. A certain amount of efficiency will have to be sacrificed at the altars of Provincial integrity and national unity. For example, it will be absurd to insist that for Primary education of the Bengalees the different dialectic variations of the spoken language be recognized, or that Bihari be raised to the status of a language; or that in the Agra division of the U. P., education be imparted in Braj Bhasha; and in other divisions in their divisional dialects: or that in the Multan Division of the Punjab education be imparted in the Multan dialect,—and so on.

Next comes the question of the classical languages, and of English and other modern languages of the world. The remarks that I have made about Sanskrit apply with equal force to Arabic and Persian. In my judgment, English should be compulsory in the second half of the elementary school period or, say, in the last three years, from five to thirteen.

The object should be to lay the foundations of a working knowledge of the language, as distinguished from its literary side.

The second period of the elementary course should include general elements of modern sciences. The second part of elementary education might have two alternative courses; one for those who want to enter life on the completion of the course, and also those who want to take up higher courses in agriculture, commerce, and technology; and the other for those who intend to pursue a general course of higher liberal education.

English should be compulsory in both the courses, but only as a language, not as a medium of instruction. No one who wants to finish his education with the elementary school or to pursue higher courses in agriculture, commerce and technology, should be compelled to study any classical language. He may learn another modern language besides English if he chooses, but his chief concern should be a preparation for life, including an

intelligent understanding of the political machinery of the country.

When in India I often heard a general complaint about the multiplicity of subjects in the school curriculum, resulting in impairing the health of the scholars, as well as in making them mere cramming machines. Now the complaint is well-founded, so far as its effects are concerned, and I am one of those who believe that an education which impairs the health of the recipients thereof, is not worth having. But the fault lies not with the subjects or their number, but with the method according to which they are taught.

The art of teaching in India takes no cognizance of the individual boy or girl. It is a kind of mechanical process aiming at filling the scholar's mind with so many facts and figures. The individual boy or girl is treated as a kind of clay, which the teacher is required to shape after a given pattern, filling it with so much stuff of a particular stereotyped kind. The prevalent idea seems to be that the boys and girls exist for schools and teachers, and not the latter for the former. The teacher cares more for examination and discipline than for the mind and the body of his students. The aim before him is to finish so many pages within a given time, and to prove to the examiner whenever he comes, that the boy remembers what he has been taught.

I wonder if there is one among a thousand teachers in India who thinks or who has been told that the real purpose of education is to help the child to become a thinking and a doing person. Man is an animal. But he is a thinking animal. The broad aim of education is to help him become a thinking man. Life is mostly thinking and acting. Reading and writing are only means to enable human beings to become better thinkers and actors. The filling of memory, and discipline form a very minor part of the life of a human being. Yet instruction in schools and colleges in India is mostly made up of the latter. Nay, active steps are taken in most schools and colleges to put down thinking and doing. Independence of thought and action is punished, and obe-

dience and cramming is rewarded and admired.

The inspecting officers never fail to record their opinions about the discipline of the school inspected, but they never note whether the teaching was directed toward the development of the faculty of thinking. Doing, of course, is not contemplated by the curriculum of studies at all. Indian schools never take notice of the fact that the eye, the hand, and the mind are meant for other purposes than that of handling the books, reading the printed letters and committing to memory what is taught. Languages are taught in the time-worn, old, discarded way. Indian boys are expected one and all to know the old masters of the English language. Examinations are conducted with the single eye to see how good, correct and idiomatic English the boy writes. Numerous boys are prevented from pursuing any higher course, be it in medicine, commerce or mining, or engineering or any other department of industrial and technical knowledge, because they fail to satisfy the examiner in what is known as paper B in the matriculation examination of the Panjab University.

A boy who aims to become a Sanskrit scholar, or an Arabic Scholar, also must satisfy the examiner to the same extent as one who aims to work for the master's degree in English language and literature. In fact, the education imparted is generally unrelated to the chief work of the boy's life.

Complaints of this kind as to the principles and methods of teaching are quite common, even in such advanced countries as Great Britain and the United States of America. The system in operation in India, however, is about fifty years behind these other countries; and we will have to make enormous efforts to bring it up to the level of what is already being done in other countries. The task is one of educating the instructors and the educators; of creating public opinion and of enforcing it.

At this stage I think it will be useful to refer to the opinions of two representative writers on the subject; one an English scholar and the other an American. Says Bertrand Russell:

"Education is, as a rule, the strongest force on the side of what exists and against fundamental change; threatened institutions, while they are still powerful, possess themselves of the educational machine, and instil a respect for their own excellence into the malleable minds of the young. Reformers retort by trying to oust their opponents from their position of vantage. The children themselves are not considered by either party; they are merely so much material, to be recruited into one army or the other. If the children themselves were considered, education would not aim at making them belong to this party or that, but at enabling them to choose intelligently between the parties; it would aim at making them able to think, not at making them think what their teachers think. Education as a political weapon could not exist if we respected the rights of children. If we respected the rights of children, we should educate them so as to give them the knowledge and the mental habits required for forming independent opinions; but education as a political institution endeavors to form habits and to circumscribe knowledge in such a way as to make one set of opinions inevitable."

On the constructive side, Bertrand Russell again remarks:

"Education is essentially constructive, and requires some positive conception of what constitutes a good life. And although liberty is to be respected in education as much as is compatible with instruction, and although a very great deal more liberty than is customary can be allowed without loss to instruction, yet it is clear that some departure from complete liberty is unavoidable if children are to be taught anything, except in the case of unusually intelligent children who are kept isolated from more normal companions. This is one reason for the great responsibility which rests upon teachers; the children must, necessarily, be more or less at the mercy of their elders, and cannot make themselves the guardians of their own interests. Authority in education is to some extent unavoidable, and those who educate have to find a way of exercising authority in accordance with the *spirit* of liberty."

"Where authority is unavoidable, what is needed is *reverence*. A man who is to educate really well, and is to make the young grow and develop into their full stature, must be filled through and through with the spirit of reverence. It is reverence towards others that is lacking in those who advocate machine-made, cast-iron systems; militarism, capitalism, Fabian scientific organization, and all the other prisons into which reformers and reactionaries try to force the human spirit. In education, with its codes of rules emanating from a Government office, its large classes and fixed curriculum and overworked teachers, its determination to produce a dead level of glib mediocrity, the lack of reverence for the child is

all but universal. Reverence requires imagination and vital warmth; it requires most imagination in respect of those who have least actual achievement or power. The child is weak and superficially foolish, the teacher is strong, and in an every-day sense wiser than the child. The teacher without reverence, or the bureaucrat without reverence, easily despises the child for these outward inferiorities. He thinks it is his duty to "mold" the child: in imagination he is the potter with the clay. And so he gives to the child some unnatural shape, which hardens with age, producing strains and spiritual dissatisfactions, out of which grow cruelty and envy, and the belief that others must be compelled to undergo the same distortions.

"The man who has reverence will not think it his duty to 'mold' the young. He feels in all that lives, but especially in human beings, and most of all in children, something sacred, indefinable, unlimited, something individual and strangely precious, the growing principle of life, an embodied fragment of the dumb striving of the world."

Mr. Bertrand Russell then proceeds to point out how public education is used by the States and the churches for *the maintenance of the existing order*, or, at the most, where the individual is considered, how it is restricted to the idea of "making money" or the art of "getting on" or "achieving a good position."

Russell feels as all do, that some of the things which education achieves at present must continue to be achieved in the ordinary way, in all civilized countries; as, for example, the preliminary knowledge of the three R's. The actual instruction in these subjects, as given now, may be inadequate, but it is not positively harmful. "It is in history and religion and other controversial subjects" that it "is positively harmful. These subjects touch the interests by which schools are maintained; and the interests maintain the schools in order that certain views on these subjects may be instilled. History, in every country, is so taught as to magnify that country: children learn to believe that their own country has always been in the right and almost always victorious, that it has produced almost all the great men, and that it is in all respects superior to all other countries.* Since these beliefs

* In histories of India as prescribed by universities and text-book committees, there is no

are flattering, they are easily absorbed, and hardly ever dislodged from instinct by later knowledge.

"To take a simple and almost trivial example : the facts about the battle of Waterloo are known in great detail and with minute accuracy ; but the facts as taught in elementary schools will be widely different in England, France, and Germany. The ordinary English boy imagines that the Prussians played hardly any part ; the ordinary German boy imagines that Wellington was practically defeated when the day was retrieved by Blücher's gallantry. If the facts were taught accurately in both countries, national pride would not be fostered to the same extent, neither nation would feel so certain of victory in the event of war, and the willingness to fight would be diminished. It is this result which has to be prevented. Every State wishes to promote national pride, and is conscious that this cannot be done by unbiased history. The defenseless children are taught by distortions and suppressions and suggestions. The false ideas as to the history of the world which are taught in the various countries are of a kind which encourages strife and serves to keep alive a bigoted nationalism."

Speaking of the evils of "good form", he observes :

"The evils of 'good form' arise from two sources : its perfect assurance of its own rightness, and its belief that correct manners are more to be desired than intellect, or artistic creation, or vital energy, or any of the other sources of progress in the world. *Perfect assurance, by itself, is enough to destroy all mental progress in those who have it.* And when it is combined with contempt for the angularities and awkwardnesses that are almost invariably associated with great mental power, it becomes a source of destruction to all who come in contact with it. "Good form" is itself dead and incapable of growth ; and by its attitude to those who are without it it spreads its own death to many who might otherwise have life."

Of course he does not mean that "bad form" and bad manners are virtues ; what he says is that undue emphasis on "good form" of a particular kind is narrowing and restricting.

On the evils of teaching religion, he is even more emphatic :

"The prevention of free inquiry is unavoidable so long as the purpose of education is to *produce belief rather than thought, to compel the young to hold positive opinions on doubtful*

matters rather than to let them see the doubtfulness and be encouraged to independence of mind. Education ought to foster the wish for truth, not the conviction that some particular creed is the truth. But it is creeds that hold men together in fighting organizations ; Churches, States, political parties. It is intensity of belief in a creed that produces efficiency in fighting ; victory comes to those who feel the strongest certainty about matters on which doubt is the only rational attitude. To produce this intensity of belief and this efficiency in fighting, the child's nature is warped, and its free outlook is cramped, by cultivating inhibitions as a check to the growth of new ideas. In those whose minds are not very active the result is the omnipotence of prejudice ; while the few whose thought cannot be wholly killed become cynical, intellectually hopeless, destructively critical, able to make all that is living seem foolish, unable themselves to supply the creative impulses which they destroy in others."

About obedience and discipline :

"Certain mental habits are commonly instilled by those who are engaged in educating : *obedience and discipline, ruthlessness in the struggle for worldly success, contempt towards opposing groups, and an unquestioning credulity, a passive acceptance of the teacher's wisdom.* All these habits are against life. Instead of obedience and discipline, we ought to aim at preserving independence and impulse. Instead of ruthlessness, education should try to develop justice in thought. Instead of contempt it ought to instil reverence, and the attempt at understanding ; towards the opinions of others it ought to produce, not necessarily acquiescence, but only such opposition as is combined with imaginative apprehension and a clear realization of the grounds for opposition. Instead of credulity, the object should be to stimulate constructive doubt, the love of mental adventure, the sense of worlds to conquer by enterprise and boldness in thought. Contentment with the *status quo*, and subordination of the individual pupil to political aims, owing to the indifference to the things of the mind, are the immediate causes of these evils ; but beneath these causes there is one more fundamental, the fact that education is treated as a means of acquiring power over the pupil, not as a means of nourishing his own growth. It is in this that lack of reverence shows itself ; and it is only by mere reverence that a fundamental reform can be effected.

"..... What is to be desired is the free choice of ends with which it is not necessary to interfere:

"What makes obedience seem necessary in schools is the large classes and overworked teachers demanded by a false economy. Those

disposition to magnify Indian achievements. Its opposite is favoured.—Ed., M. R.

who have no experience of teaching are incapable of imagining the expense of spirit entailed by any really living instruction. They think that teachers can reasonably be expected to work as many hours as bank clerks. Intense fatigue and irritable nerves are the result, and an absolute necessity of performing the day's task mechanically. But the task cannot be performed mechanically except by exacting obedience.

* * *

"Discipline, as it exists in schools, is very largely an evil. There is a kind of discipline which is necessary to almost all achievement, and which perhaps is not sufficiently valued by those who react against the purely external discipline of traditional methods. The desirable kind of discipline is the kind that comes from within, which consists in the power of pursuing a distant object steadily, foregoing and suffering many things on the way. This involves the subordination of impulse to will, the power of a directing action by large creative desires even at moments when they are not vividly alive. Without this, no serious ambition, good or bad, can be realised, no consistent purpose can dominate. This kind of discipline is very necessary, but can only result from strong desires for ends not immediately attainable, and can only be produced by education if education fosters such desires, which it seldom does at present. Such discipline springs from one's own will, not from outside authority. It is not this kind which is sought in most schools, and it is not this kind which seems to me an evil."

He sums up his ideas on fear of thought, in this manner :

"Men-fear thought as they fear nothing else on earth—more than ruin, more even than death. Thought is subservient and revolutionary, destructive and terrible ; thought is merciless to privilege, established institutions, and comfortable habits ; thought is anarchic and lawless, indifferent to authority, careless of the well-tried wisdom of the ages. Thought looks into the pit of hell and is not afraid. It sees man, a feeble speck, surrounded by unfathomable depths of silence ; yet it bears itself proudly, as unmoved as if it were lord of the universe. Thought is great and swift and free, the light of the world, and the chief glory of man.

"But if thought is to become the possession of many, not the privilege of the few, we must

have done with fear. It is fear that holds men back—fear lest their cherished beliefs should prove delusions, fear lest the institutions by which they live should prove harmful, fear lest they themselves should prove less worthy of respect than they have supposed themselves to be. 'Should the working man think freely about property ? Then what will become of us, the rich ? Should young men and young women think freely about sex ? Then what will become of morality ? Should soldiers think freely about war ? Then what will become of military discipline ? Away with thought ! Back into the shades of prejudice, lest property, morals, and war should be endangered ! Better men should be stupid, slothful, and oppressive than hat their thoughts should be free. For if their thoughts were free, they might not think as they do. And at all costs this disaster must be averted.' So the opponents of thought argue in the unconscious depths of their souls. And so they act in their churches, their schools, and their universities.

*"No institution inspired by fear can further life. Hope, not fear, is the creative principle in human affairs, * * * * The wish to preserve the past rather than the hope of creating the future dominates the minds of those who control the teaching of the young. * * * Education should not aim at a passive awareness of dead facts, but at an activity directed towards the world that our efforts are to create. It should be inspired, not by a regretful hankering after the extinct beauties of Greece and the Renaissance, but by a shining vision of the society that is to be, of the triumphs that thought will achieve in the time to come, and of the ever-widening horizon of man's survey over the universe. Those who are taught in this spirit will be filled with life and hope and joy, able to learn their part in bringing to mankind a future less somber than the past, with faith in the glory that human effort can create."*

I have given these long extracts, in order to show how one of the foremost English thinkers of the age, a man typical of what is best in English thought, feels in this matter. The reader also must think independently and not accept his opinions like gospel truth. That there is a great deal of truth in what he says, cannot be denied.

ART IN MUSLIM INDIA

I. ARCHITECTURE.

PATHAN architecture, especially in Upper India, the land of stone, has a certain gloomy massiveness and solidity, but in general it lacks the elegance

of finish, delicacy and wealth of decoration of the buildings of the Mughal period. The brick palaces and mosques of the Bengal sultans (at Gaur), however, form a class

apart from the stone edifices of that age found in other parts of India, and indicate a higher level of design and decoration, and on the whole give the impression of having been more influenced by local genius and local art traditions, while the other Muslim buildings of India clearly suggest a foreign origin.

It has been supposed that the radiating arch was introduced into India by the Muhammadans, because the Hindu arch follows the cantiliver principle and is made up of horizontal stones laid in overlapping layers. We find one example of it in the huge arch of Altamash in the enclosure of the Qutab mosque. Early Pathan architecture is represented by mosques, tombs, minars and arched gateways. Its later representatives are the Sharqi buildings of Jaunpur and the fine brick palaces and mosques of the Bengal Sultans at Gaur. Some of the buildings of the Tughlaq period suggest the ancient Egyptian style by their sloping walls and general heavy and dark appearance; but no connection between ancient Egypt and Pathan India has been historically established. Nor do we find any Hindu influence in the Pathan buildings.

Mughal builders especially in the age of Akbar show a decided Hindu influence in respect of narrow columns, pilasters, corbel brackets and some other ornamental features; but their essential type and architectural principles are purely Muhammadan. The distinctive features of the Mughal architecture are—

- (i) the pronounced dome like an inverted bell,
- (ii) long slender turrets at the corners,
- (iii) palace halls supported on pillars or following the *Baradari* (12 doors) principles, that is combining a room and four corridors in one,
- (iv) the distinctly Indo-Saracen gate, which takes the form of a huge semi-dome sunk in the front wall and bearing an admirable proportion to the building, while the actual entrance is a small rectangular opening under this arch.

Fergusson gives the highest praise to this style of gateway, and places it far above the Greek and Gothic conceptions of

the door in respect of propriety and grandeur. The best example of it is the *Buland Darwaza* of Fathpur Sikri.

Many of the ornamental pillars of Akbar's buildings at Fathpur Sikri and the Jahangiri Mahal in Agra Fort are thin and tapering like those of Hindu temples, while the corbel brackets (especially in the tomb of Shaikh Salim Chishti and the hall of private audience at Fathpur Sikri) are exact copies of the brackets of many a Hindu temple like that of Dilwara on Mount Abu. The decorative detail of a bell hanging from a chain in relief, which is found in one of the Muhammadan tombs of Ahmadabad and a few North Indian buildings, is also of Hindu origin.

The conspicuous Mughal dome, which is larger than an exact hemisphere, has been supposed by one school to be a copy of the bell-shaped tents of the Turkomans of Central Asia, because there was nothing like it in Pathan or Hindu architecture; but a pre-Mughal temple in Central India is said to have this sort of dome. Mr. Havel holds that the Mughal dome is really of Hindu origin and represents an attempt to translate into stone or brick the figure of a drop of water resting on a leaf, which in Sanskrit literature is the emblem of the shortness of human life and the uncertainty of all earthly things. This theory seems to be far-fetched.

Akbar was a builder in red sand-stone and Shah Jahan in white marble; on both we have plenty of carvings and relief work and perforated stone lattices; but Shah Jahan's buildings were also grander, larger, more delicately decorated, and far more costly. Akbar's chief edifices are the Akbari Mahal in Agra Fort and much of the fortifications of that place, the buildings at Sikandra, Fathpur Sikri, the fort of Attock, etc. Shah Jahan built the Juma Masjid of Delhi, all the fort palaces of new Delhi or Shahjahanabad (except the little Pearl Mosque there, which was built by Aurangzib), the great Pearl Mosque of Agra, and many of the marble palaces and mosques in Agra fort, the Taj Mahal, Itimad-ud-daula's tomb, the marble pavilions on the Anna Sagar at

Ajmir, and many others. Aurangzib built only the small Pearl Mosque in Delhi. Fort and the tomb of his wife at Aurangabad; but some grand mosques were built by other persons in his reign, such as Wazir Khan's mosque at Lahore, Zinat-un-nissa's mosque in Delhi, etc.

II. PAINTING.

Painting received a great stimulus at the Court of Akbar and continued to improve till the fall of Shah Jahan. The Quranic law forbids man to reproduce the form of any living being, and hence orthodox Muhammadans* can not draw anything except plants, flowers and geometrical designs (arabesques). Akbar was not an orthodox Muhammadan, and he engaged many painters and patronised their art.

On account of the Quranic prohibition, rich Muhammadans (especially in Central Asia) used to employ Chinese painters whose name (*nakkash-i-chini*) became proverbial in Persian literature for excellence of workmanship. In the earliest paintings of Khurasan, Bukhara, etc., we see complete Chinese influence, especially in the faces, and the representation of rocks, sheets of water, fire and dragons. There are some dated manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna, the illuminations of which enable us to trace the history of Saracen art in India step by step with absolute certainty. The sumptuous *Shahnamah* presented by Ali Mardan Khan to the Emperor Shah Jahan in 1639 A.D. (though executed much earlier) represents the pure Chinese art of Central Asia. Specimens of this school must have reached India early in Akbar's reign and even before.

In the Court of our truly national king Akbar, this Chinese (or extra-Indian Muslim) art mingled with pure Hindu art—whose traditions had been handed down unchanged since the days of the Ajanta frescoes and the Bharhut and Ellora reliefs.† Thus Muslim art in India underwent its first transformation.

* I knew a Muhammadan hawker of Agra who refused to deal in marble mosaics representing even parrots!

† An ivory relief representing pastoral

The rigidity of the Chinese outline was softened. The conventionality of Chinese art was discarded. We note a new method of representing rocks, water and fire, which is no doubt suggestive of the Chinese School, but it is clearly the Chinese School in a process of dissolution and making a nearer approach to Nature. The scenery and features are distinctly Indian. In short, the new element in the old is unmistakable even to a casual beholder. The Khuda Bakhsh copy of *Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuria* is the best contemporary example of this change that we possess in any public library in India. Readers in England have a slightly later and more developed example (though of Akbar's lifetime) in the illuminated *Razm-namah* (Persian translation of the *Mahabharat*) preserved in the South Kensington Museum.

This process of the Indianisation of Saracen art continued after Akbar's time, till at last in the reign of Shah Jahan the Chinese influence entirely disappeared, the Indian style became predominant, and the highest development was reached (as we see in the Khuda Bakhsh copy of the *Padishahnamah*) in delicacy of features and colouring, minuteness of detail, wealth and variety of ornamentation and approximation to Nature (but without attaining either to true perspective or to light and shade).

This Indo-Saracen art was entirely developed in the courts of the Mughal Emperors. The subjects chosen were portraits of living men, scenes from the Persian epics, like the *Shahnamah*, fancy portraits of saints and *darvishes*, pictures of historic scenes, landscapes, imaginary female figures especially at the toilet, hunting scenes, episodes from the popular Persian love-poems, and also scenes of Hindu mythology to illustrate the Persian translations of the *Ramayan* and *Mahabharat* made by order of Akbar, or detached scenes of Hindu mythology.

Portrait painting reached its perfection

scenes of Krishna's life, done at Murshidabad about a century ago and now in Mr. P. C. Manuk's possession, looks exactly like a twin brother of the stone reliefs of Bharhut showing our old rural life!

about the middle of the 17th century (under Shah Jahan). True, expression was not studied, but so far as we can judge fidelity to the living original was secured in a high degree, and the colouring and drapery reached the perfection of delicacy. The master secrets of these craftsmen were their indigo and gold colours, which three centuries (often of neglect and rough handling) have failed to weaken, fade, or cause to cake off. Their night scenes and fire-works were a speciality, skill in which has been lost by their unworthy grandchildren.

III. THE SO-CALLED RAJPUT SCHOOL OF INDIAN PAINTING.

What Dr. Coomaraswami calls the Rajput School of painting is not an indigenous Hindu product, nor has it any natural connection with Rajputana. The vassal Rajas of the Mughal Empire used to enlist painters trained in the imperial court and employ them in representing scenes from the Hindu epics and romances and other subjects of a purely Hindu character, but the style and art-ideas of these painters are exactly the same as those of the painters* employed by the Mughal Court. There is a certain crudeness,—the use of staring colours, a return to rigidity of outline, and a certain bareness or poverty of environment,—in the Rajput School, because it falls short of the perfection of detail, delicacy of touch and elaboration of ornament which marked the climax of Mughal art in the age of Shah Jahan. The Rajput Princes who patronised these painters were less rich and civilized

than the Emperors of Delhi, and hence their painters represent a comparatively primitive school, or more correctly, suggest the idea of their being the work of the immature pupils of the old masters of the Mughal Court working in a less cultured atmosphere and for poorer patrons. The art traditions of this so-called Rajput School have continued with little change or development at Jaipur till to-day. Catering for the modern European market has effectually destroyed all hope of its rising above old convention or showing a life of its own.

Indo-Saracen painting rapidly declined after the death of Shah Jahan. Aurangzib's puritanical simplicity and miserliness, the imperial bankruptcy caused by his many wars, and the disorder and impoverishment which seized the Mughal Empire under his successors, led to the starvation of artists and the disappearance of all genius in this line. Cheap inferior pictures continued to be drawn and the life of the artist in India became miserable in the 18th century, except under a rare Rajah or Nawab here and there, till the invasion of Nadir Shah (1739), which left chaos behind it. In the last quarter of the 18th century there was a revival of art under the patronage of the Nawabs of Oudh. But European art now began to exercise a fatal and dominating influence upon Indo-Saracen art. The result was the bastard Lucknow School of Painting,—a contemptible half-breed product without any of the good features of either the Indian or the European style. Taste, conception and execution alike were vulgar and affected,* and none of these works is enlivened by a single spark of genius. In the 20th century there has been a revival of interest in the old Indian paintings, thanks to the teachings of Mr. Havel, Dr. Coomaraswami and Sister Nivedita. The price of genuine old Indian pictures has been greatly raised by European and American collectors, and there is at present a considerable trade in faked old Indian pictures,

* So thoroughly were the painters of Hindu subjects imbued with the spirit of their masters who drew Muslim or Mughal Court pictures that the result is often comic to a modern critic. I have seen some beautiful and genuinely old Indo-Saracen Hindu pictures which represent the elders of Mathura, dressed and armed like Mughal courtiers, going out to meet Krishna; and Ram advancing to the conquest of Lanka with his army marching in exact divisions, with all the arms, equipment and transport of the Mughal imperial army, *artillery not left out!* The *Kamarbands* bristle with daggers. A few strokes with a brush can turn him into Akbar. Radha is only a Mughal noble lady at her toilet, with fewer ornaments.

* The so-called old portrait of Akbar fondling his Christian wife, described by Father Hosten is only a specimen of the Lucknow school, probably done after 1825.

that is, modern copies made from a few genuine old originals but artificially treated to look old and passed off on unsuspecting European buyers, as genuinely antique art works.

The new school of Indian paintings which is represented by Abanindranath Tagore and his best pupil Nando Lal Bose, deliberately imitates the Ajanta style. The Mughal school has also found a few modern imitators; but these are all artificial products, and not works of a living inspiration or genius; hence they cannot possibly cause a new birth or development of a living *growing* Indo-Saracen art. They lack the "divine madness" of the true creative spirit.

The so-called Kangra School represents a belated but pure survival of Indo-Saracen art dealing with Hindu subjects. Its chief master was Molaram, who lived in the Garhwal hills at the end of the 18th century. These hill tracts had escaped the anarchy which ruined the Mughal Empire in the 18th century and also the influence of European art, which began to move up the Gangetic valley from 1765 onwards. Therefore, the Kangra School retained well into the 19th century, the unadulterated form of an art which had been completely modified or disappeared in its cradle-lands of Agra, Delhi, etc. Molaram's colouring is extremely beautiful and his representation of animals, plants, etc., has remarkable delicacy of touch and charm, in spite of their palpable conventionality. His night-pieces are of special excellence.

The last attempt to revive Indo-Saracen painting was made by Ranjit Singh (about 1825-40), but the result, in spite of its elaborate prettiness, is only suggestive of the last gasp of an old and discarded horse, suddenly flogged into life.

There was no development of art during the Maratha predominance (1750-1800). But Hingane, the Maratha envoy at Delhi, and other officers of his race collected many old Mughal paintings and Sanskrit manuscripts illuminated with very fine miniatures at Delhi and the Rajput courts, and sent them to the Deccan for the Rajahs of Satara and the Peshwas of Puna.

The decadence of the Mughal royalty and nobility as the result of Nadir's invasion gave the Marathas a rare opportunity to collect the richest art treasures of an *older* generation; and several of these still survive in the Bombay Presidency, as I discovered during my tours in Maharashtra.

In one branch of sculpture, namely ivory carving (often in miniature) perfection was reached in the Mughal period, and the art has continued with hardly any decay to almost our own day, when it is fast dying out for want of patronage.

IV. THE TEXTILE ART.

India has been famous from very ancient times for her fine cotton cloth. The hot climate of the plains promoted the manufacture of *thin* muslins for the use of kings and nobles. Silk rearing and silk weaving were also a highly developed and flourishing art even before the Muhammadan period. Velvet and scarlet cloth were never indigenous in the country but were imported from abroad, (usually Europe), and these were special favourites of our Muhammadan rulers. A rich trade in them was carried on by foreigners, especially European merchants, throughout the Mughal period.

It is difficult to speak with certainty on the subject, but the Muhammadans seem to have introduced or at least to have greatly developed the variety and richness of embroidery. Large numbers of skilled artisans were maintained by our Muhammadan rulers to work figures with coloured cotton thread or silk thread or metallic thread on cloth of various kinds. There was immense variety in the designs, classes of fabrics and the nature of the material used (see *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 1). The shawl industry of Kashmir and the Panjab was distinctly the creation of the Mughal Emperors. The kinkhab and other kinds of embroidery work which they required for themselves and their courtiers, made them maintain large State-factories of weavers and embroiderers in many towns, besides patronising private artisans. Ahmadabad in Gujra, Masulipatam and a few other towns were the most famous among the seats of the

cloth industry. Carpets for the floor and hangings for the walls were most likely introduced into India by Muhammadan rulers, and the perfection of ornamentation, floral decoration and artistic harmony of colours in these was reached in the reign of Shah Jahan, when extremely costly carpets were manufactured for the court. Cloth canopies of state were exclusively used and these were also manufactured at great cost and in a sumptuous style, usually at Ahmadabad and in Kashmir. (They were known in the Hindu period, too.)

The court was the chief purchaser of these things, but a certain quantity was also produced for exportation abroad by private traders. Silk embroidery was carried to a high artistic level and the muslin industry of Dacca flourished greatly as the result of royal patronage during the Muhammadan period.

V. THE JEWELLER'S AND GOLDSMITH'S ART.

These were, no doubt, highly developed in the Hindu period, but they received a great impetus under the Mughals, who lavished large sums on them, partly from

their natural love of luxury and partly from the political necessity of giving costly ornaments in return for presents received from others or as gifts of honour to foreign rulers and their own sons and officers. (For Shah Jahan's jewellery see my *Historical Essays*, "The Wealth of Ind".)

VI. POTTERY AND METAL WORK.

Ornamental pottery and metal work were also very highly developed. The Hindu kings of old are not very likely to have used porcelain or any kind of costly earthenware, as their religious prejudices confined them to stone vessels and cheap clay pots and pans which could be thrown away after one use. As the metal vessels in Hindu houses have to be daily scrubbed, there was no room for ornamental brass or silver vessels for show or metal vessels with inlaid work (*koft-gari*) in a Hindu household. Hence, inlaid metal vessels, porcelains, Bidri pots and even sumptuously decorated brass and silver vessels were characteristic of the Muhammadan period of India and not of the Hindu.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Mass Education in India.

In the course of an article in the July number of the *Bulletin of the Indian Rationalistic Society*, Mr. Wajid Ali, B.A. (Cantab) writing on the subject observes :

Friend and foe alike deplore the ignorance of the Indian masses. Ignorance is undoubtedly an evil but to attribute complete ignorance of things to the Indian ryot is almost as preposterous as to hold Nando Ghosh responsible for all the evils of the universe. In some respects the ryot is the most cultured proletariat in the world. In his folklore he has an unwritten literature which can compare with the best of its written rivals. Many scholars hold that India is the original home of those wonderful nursery tales which delight men of all ages and all countries. Then again, the ryot is very often a better philosopher than his compatriot, the 'Bhadralok.' His conception of the Universe is deeper and more humane and his code of morals is much less sophisticated. He is also, in

his humble way, a connoisseur in art. He enjoys his country ballads and can often sing them with great feeling. He goes to the village Jattras and has a true appreciation of real drama. And above all a mystic vein pervades his life. I have often come across peasants who have shamed me by their deep and profound observations.

The ryot then is not a savage or even a barbarian. The modern idea that the Indian proletariat is ignorant is the outcome of the fallacy that education is synonymous with literacy. This is only another illustration of the incorrigible bourgeois tendency to place artificiality over intrinsic value. If education meant literacy, then Mohammad, Homer, Akbar and many other giants of the human race would be classed with the savage. Letters are only one kind of instruments for imparting education and are not by any means the only kind. There used to be education long before letters were invented. The great authors of the Vedas and the Upanishads were not literate men. The Iliad and the Odyssey were composed before the Greeks had learnt the use of alphabets.

Great civilizations like that of Peru flourished long before writing was known.

Man therefore can be educated without the knowledge of letters. Mere learning again is not education. Even an extensive knowledge of books does not necessarily mean that its possessor is really educated. He might be in the words of the Persian moralist "Charpai baro kitabi chand" a quadruped with a load of books on its back. Education means the proper cultivation of body and mind. Books are a means of imparting it, so are painting, music, folklore, gymnastics, sports and many, other things. The ancient Greeks used to make music and gymnastics an essential part of education along with poetry, mathematics and other subjects. No single method is sufficient. All have to be used in combination to produce a really good result.

Continuing the writer observes :

We often notice that an English working man has a clearer conception of the British Constitution than an M. A., of the Calcutta University who has spent years in the study of the subject. The reason for this apparent anomaly is the fact that while our scholar gets his ideas only from books the other man imbibes them from his surroundings. Constitutional ideas have become a part of the national culture of the British race. It is when an idea becomes a part of the national culture that its influence is most deeply felt. Such for instance, is the case with our religious ideas.

We have however to confess that though our popular culture is so rich in religion and folk literature it is hopelessly out of date in politics, economics, science and sociology. These things we have to learn from Europe as the Europeans have to learn from us their religion and philosophy.

The problem for the Indian reformer then is how to make the scientific conceptions of Europe also a part of our national culture. It must however be remembered that we have not only to introduce a strong vein of western culture but to systematise and modify our own in such a way that they might together make a consistent and harmonious whole. If we succeed in this we shall have produced a civilization which would be superior both to that of India of the past and of Europe of the present. We should remember however that the body should be looked after in the same way as the mind. No nation that neglects the health of its members can survive. In this connection I do not think that we can do better than revive the sports that have delighted our countrymen for thousands of years.

Looking at the question from this broad point of view I cannot help holding that literary education must form only a fraction of what we have to impart to the ryot. Our activity must cover a wide field. We have to study and use the methods by which religious culture has been introduced into the country. We have to press into our service the actor, the ballad singer, the artist, the folklorist, the musician and the athlete, to mention only a few out of many. The education I am speaking of cannot be fully imparted at the school. We have had nearly a hundred years of pure school education and the result has been disappointing. We have to convert the whole atmosphere in which the man breathes into one vast school. We should try to establish schools by all means but

they are not sufficient by themselves; and even if we do not have them we should prosecute our object by other means.

Imperial Unity : The Case of India.

In the course of a long article under the above caption in the June number of *East & West*, Prof. Brij Narain, M.A., writes :

At the meeting of the Imperial Conference held in May 1911 Mr. Joseph Ward proposed the creation of an Imperial Parliament with legislative power in Imperial affairs and an executive of twelve responsible to the electorates of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and Newfoundland. The President of the Conference, Mr. Asquith, then Premier, did not accept the proposal. He thought that the creation of an Imperial Parliament and an Imperial Executive "would impair if not altogether destroy the authority of the Government of the United Kingdom in such grave matters as the conduct of foreign policy", and he declared in unequivocal terms *that authority could not be shared*.

But the feeling which has grown up in the Dominions during the war is that it must be somehow shared. The people of the Dominions have helped to win the great war; they have fought hard and fought well. But as to the future we are told, their resolution "may be expressed in two words: Never again. In unanswerable fashion they have asserted their right to a place in the Supreme Council of the Empire." (Marriott in the *Nineteenth Century* for January 1917).

British statesmen no longer deny the right. But if the claim of the Dominions to share the authority of the British Parliament in matters of foreign policy is admitted, the constitution of the British Empire must be reformed. What are the possible lines of reform?.....

The necessity of reform in the existing constitution of the Empire has been shown; the more important plans for securing Imperial unity have been considered. The whole question may now be discussed with reference to India.

"One of the disadvantages arising to a dependency from its dependence on the dominant country, wrote Cornwall Lewis some eighty years ago, "is that it is involved in the wars of the dominant country." For example if the dominant country should be plunged in wars, either from the necessity of self-defence, or through its own ambition or the ambition of other states, the dependency is necessarily a party of them. Hence its trade may be disturbed, its merchant vessels exposed to the risk of capture, and its territory, even, made the theatre of war without its having done anything to provoke hostilities, or having had any means of preventing them, and although it is only, as it were, a formal party to the dispute." India became involved in the great war on account of the political connection with the United Kingdom. Of the events which led to the war India knew no more at the time than the Dominions and with the causes of the war she was even remotely connected.

When war broke out we in India also realized like the people in the Dominions that war is an interest

which overmasters all other interests. As in the Dominions, projected internal reform and development had to be abandoned and as much of the labour and capital of the country as could be spared was turned to war uses. The Dominions played an important part in the war, so did India. British India, it is recognized, broke the power of Turkey.

The writer continues :

That the people of the Dominions should be asked to fight for the Empire when they have no share in determining the foreign policy of the Empire, is held to be an anomaly. But what is anomaly in the case of the Dominions is also an anomaly in the case of India, unless old-fashioned ideas to the relation of a dependency to the dominant country are to prevail. It should be recognized that the hardships which war imposes and the sacrifices which it demands are as real in the case of a dependency as in that of a self-governing portion of the Empire, from which it follows that in matters of peace and war which affect the whole Empire, a dependency has as much a right to be consulted, before any decision is taken, as any other part of the Empire. And if any Federal organs of consultation or legislation are created, provision must be made for the adequate representation of a dependency.

The problem has not always been thus stated. In 'The Problem of National Unity' published a quarter of a century ago, Mr. George R. Perkin thus answered the objection that India is an insuperable obstacle to a Federal system for the Empire :

"India is practically a Crown colony, and as yet the United Kingdom has shown no inclination to govern it otherwise than as a Crown colony. The same duty may be rightly accepted and duly fulfilled by British people as a whole under any system of common Government. To accept it would create no new national burden or risk, would react no more upon the ordinary political development of the various states than it has upon that of the United Kingdom."

The problem of India is solved by transferring her from the control of the United Kingdom to the joint control of the United Kingdom and the Dominions!

In Mr. Herbert Samuel's scheme provision is made for the representation of India in the Imperial Assembly, but the Imperial Executive will consist of the representatives of the United Kingdom and of the four great Dominions. It is admitted that the Assembly will be merely a place for discussion, a Parliament in the etymological sense of the term; it is also clear that the representatives of India in the Assembly will be a mere fraction of the total number of the Assembly. If India is not represented in the Imperial Executive, she will have practically no voice in the conduct of foreign affairs of the Empire of which she is an important member. The Federal Executive and the Federal Assembly will practically control the destinies of India. Under the system proposed India will have two masters, the United Kingdom and the four great Dominions. Will the new arrangement be acceptable to the people of India? Professor Dicey says: "The Parliament and the Government of the United Kingdom may be chargeable with grave terrors: they have fallen into many blunders. But they have never forgotten—they will never, one trusts, forget that—they hold a common trusteeship, whether it be India or in the

Crown Colonies, or in the Protectorates, or within our own borders, of the interests and fortunes of fellow-subjects who have not yet attained, or perhaps in some cases may never attain, to the full stature of self-government. Is it credible that for instance, the people of India will see with indifference this trusteeship passes from the hands of an Imperial Parliament (which has more or less learned to think imperially and in England has maintained the equal political right of all British Subjects) into the hands of a new made Imperial Congress which will consist in part of representatives of the Dominions which it may be of necessity, cannot give effect to this enlarged conception of British citizenship?"

The writer concludes :

The answer of every educated Indian who understands the question will be "NO". India claims to be treated on a footing of equality with the Dominions in all matters affecting the Empire. She will never accept the Dominions as joint trustees with the United Kingdom of her interests.

At the same time that we press for changes in the Government of India, we should also insist on India being given a proper place in the councils of the Empire, and this place should not be inferior to that of the Dominions. It is only fair that if we are asked to make the same sacrifices as the Dominions in peace and war, we should be accorded the same treatment.

The Problem of Intermarriages.

The July number of *South Indian Research* opens with an interesting article on the above subject from which we make the following extracts:—

The question of intermarriages is based on principles vital to the constitution of every society. A race that has for centuries devoted itself to high intellectual pursuits loses its integrity by marrying into a race that is trained exclusively for physical work. The European loses much by freely marrying into the Indian family, cross breeding then is guided by biological laws of heredity. The social reformer forgets the fact that he would sometimes ruin his race by enthusiastically advocating interracial marriages. The statement that all men are equal by birth, and that the restriction to intermarriages is only based on mere sentiment fatal to the progress of the race does not take into account the law of heredity and cannot be acceptable to the scientists of the twentieth century. Whether it be the intermarriage bill of the Indian Legislative Council, or the constructive religious reform of sections that carry a Crusade against caste, the law of heredity is beyond the control of man and must produce its natural results, favourable or unfavourable.

Continuing the writer observes :

To a clear biological eye the result of any fusion of races becomes visible before the event. Determine first the type of the individual that you desire to produce and this determines the laws according to which the fusion has to be made. If in your love and enthusiasm for reform you advocate the removal of all

barriers for marriage, nature is no longer under your control and the law of heredity may prejudicially denationalise your race.

Marriage then is sacred to man. Open the pages of any ancient history; you will find special laws restricting cross breeds. The integrity of the race has to be preserved: its particular greatness has to be maintained. If fusion were necessary it has to be so regulated as to preserve and even improve all that is great in it, but not diminish even a particle of what centuries of toil has achieved for it. Else the superiority of it is gone. A quality becomes fixed in a race, not at your pleasure or your command, but by centuries of controlled application. It is easy to break an edifice, but it is not so easy to construct an ideal one. The laws that guide intermarriages have

to follow the principles of biology and should never be left to the whims and fancies of lay enthusiasts.

The writer concludes with the following words:

Intermarriages then have to be viewed in the light of their effect upon the future of the land. Their purpose is to improve the race far above its present standard. In making intermarriages, the scientist has to determine the strength of the existing biological forces and shape them with all the skill of his art. It is not the work for a layman. It has to be controlled by science, and as every experiment is, it has to be modelled and remodelled as suits the results. Surely then America is right in restricting intermarriages between the Americans and the American Negroes.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Policing of Asia.

In view of the question of the future of Turkey is now engaging the attention of the statesmen throughout the world the following extracts from a recent number of the *London Review of Reviews* cannot fail to be interesting:—

LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATES does not view with approval or equanimity the proposal which has been made in some quarters that America should make herself answerable to the League of Nations for the peace, order, and good government of Constantinople and the Middle East, and says so with some force in the March number of the *Nineteenth Century*. The assumed "disinterestedness" of the United States is, he says, in no sense entitled to weigh against the almost immemorial "interest" of Great Britain, France, and other European Powers. "Europe is well qualified to take charge of Constantinople and the Straits".

The near future will connect the Euxine and the Baltic, and therefore the Mediterranean and the North Sea, by a great canal system permeating Europe from N.W. to S.E. Both termini of this system must be controlled by the Powers of Europe. The United States, be it remembered, have a Panama Canal, and that they, as a "World Power," hold and guard. Europe will do the same for the necks of the Baltic and Black Seas, while Constantinople as the seat of the League of Nations, as proposed by others before M. Venizelos, will guard the outlet to the Mediterranean.

As to the ex-Turkish Provinces, Col. Yates reminds his readers that when Turkey surrendered unconditionally, the British and French Governments issued a joint declaration promising the complete and final enfranchisement of the oppressed peoples, the establishment and ultimate recognition of native governments and administrations in Syria and Mesopotamia, and the encouragement of local initiative, economic de-

velopment, education, and administration of impartial justice. Britain and France, as pre-eminently those countries which for centuries have been vitally interested in the East, have shown by this declaration that they claim the right to supervise the reform of the emancipated provinces of the Turkish Empire. Moreover the British Empire, as mistress of India, is vitally concerned with the Buffer States which lie between Europe and India. Even as far east as Persia comes within her legitimate sphere of influence. Persia is only fit to be put in leading-strings, and, if it is to have any association with the League of Nations, it should be as the "ward" of Great Britain. Therefore, concludes the writer—that which we have shielded we have won the right to administer. The United States of America will not forget that, valuable as are the services which they have rendered in this war to the cause of justice and liberty, the Western World itself still presents problems which await solution. There is a "Middle West," situate between the Gulfs of Mexico and California, which for misdeeds of recent occurrence owes a debt of retribution, and that not to Washington alone. The good old aphorism *Ne sutor ultra crepidam* has not yet outlasted its time. Let the United States patch up Liberia and set its iron heel upon the neck of Mexico. Europe will police Asia, or at all events the Near and Middle East, and Europe in this connection means, *in primis*, Britain.

The Future of Turkey.

There is at the present moment a great deal of talk as to the future of Turkey. We take, therefore, the following from the May number of the *Review of Reviews* (London):—

One has heard very little of Turkey since the Armistice, but it is to be assumed that the subject is

not being wholly neglected by the pundits in Paris, for there is some drastic carving to be done. Sir William Mitchell Ramsay, in the *International Review* for May, says that the problem of the future of what was the Ottoman Empire must be solved by recurring to the old principle of the country, decentralisation and local self-government, which produced everything that was good in Anatolia; from conquest, centralisation, and imperialism have sprung all its miseries. Partition of the country among European grabbers of land will cause immeasurable harm, and rank as one of the great crimes in history, like the partition of Poland. The Arab-speaking countries, Syria, Arabia, North Africa, have the right to be disjoined absolutely from Turkish rule. Lower Mesopotamia must remain, as at present, along with control of the Baghdad line, under British regulation. The Armenians, also, have confirmed their claim to free life and development, and cannot remain under Turkish domination. The Greek claims to part of Western Asia Minor are strong, being founded both on history and on the fact that they are the progressive and the increasing race. But it is in regard to Anatolia, the centre and mainstay of Turkey, that the chief problems arise. The writer holds that no purely Turkish administration can be allowed control over this bridge between Europe and Asia, nor can the necessary guidance be given by any concert of European Powers. The country must be administered by controllers under the guidance of one country, and that country should be the United States.

It is only the United States, standing outside of past quarrels and misunderstandings, that can act with a free hand without suspicion of selfish ambition. The United States has a great stake in Turkey—Colleges, Schools, Hospitals and Missions, created on a grandiose scale, entirely apart from, and unsupported by their Government. All has been done at private expense by unselfish individuals contributing money for what they believed to be the good of others, and seeking no return except in the success of the work undertaken. There is nothing in history to place on the same high level of ideal purpose. It is necessary now for the United States, in justice to its own citizens, to protect the ideals and the property of those citizens, and there is no other way of doing it except by directing the Turkish Government. Other nations, whether friendly or not to the United States, know that the United States as a country has practically nothing to gain from this, and that it will carry out the mandate for a high purpose. This is a duty to the whole world imposed by present conditions on the United States.

We Live to Learn.

In a recent issue of *The Manchester Guardian* there appears an article on *Early Rising* from the pen of Mr. St. John Ervine from which we make the following extracts :

I miss, in modern fiction, two favourite figures from mid-Victorian romances; one, the minor villain, of plebeian origin, who always looked uncomfortable in evening dress, when the major villain, of aristocratic origin, invited

him to spend the evening in the company of well-bred people; the other, the charming young lady, who, at the approach of dawn, sprang lightly from her couch, and running swiftly across the floor of her bedroom, flung open the casement windows and leaned out to greet the morning. Even in my romantic youth I sometime felt dubious about the presence of the minor villain in the home of the major villain, but I never had any dubiety about the young woman. I remember that she always drunk deep draughts of the fresh morning air, and because of her early rising, was reputed to be very healthy, both in body and in mind. My family never tired of preaching to me on the subject of early rising, and, although I could not bring myself to spring lightly from my couch before the sun was up, yet I was certain that my unwillingness to do so was a fault if not actually a disease.

There has, in all times, been a general belief that healthy men and women naturally rise from their beds at an early hour; and that belief has found support in our own times in the writings of men so dissimilar as Meredith and Mr. Arnold Bennett. In *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, Meredith pronounces very heavily against the lie-abed; and in one of his manuals, I think, Mr. Bennett declares that this sluggardliness which he hears so much of is a sign of unhealth, and he bids the writer to rise up from his bed at seven A. M. and get done with the business of bath and breakfast in time to sit down at his desk by eight o'clock, I suppose that the first proverb taught to every child in this country is that one which says :

Early to bed and early to rise

Makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise, and I do not doubt that parents, in spite of experience, will continue to teach this remarkable lie to children until the end of time.

I have never had any desire to rise early in the morning, even when I was a child, and, in spite of fairly good health and a reasonably active mind, I have always considered myself to be morally culpable and physically undesirable because I wrapped the blankets about me and kept my head on my pillow long after the hour at which birds and beasts were about their daily business. I thought that as I had never sprung lightly from my couch to run swiftly across my room to greet the dawn through my casement windows, I must be a sickly fellow. When I descended from my bedroom at nine o'clock—in the days when I could control my hours of descent—I did so with a consciousness of guilt. I said to myself, 'The rest of the world has done half a day's work and you have not yet eaten your breakfast!' I said to myself, 'Arnold Bennett has probably written a thousand words this morning, and you have not yet written one!' I remembered that Anthony Trollope was as industrious in the morning as Mr. Bennett, and I recalled the story which Mr. Bernard Shaw

told me of Sir Hall Caine, who, he said, rises up at four o'clock every morning and begins work at once. Mr. Wells sometimes gets up in the middle of the night when he feels an urgent desire to put his thoughts on paper. When I complained to Mr. Yeats on one occasion, that my day was so fully occupied that I had hardly any time for writing, he advised me to get up an hour or two earlier in the morning, and gave me an exhibition of some exercises in Swedish drill which he performs every day. He did not appear to be impressed when I reminded him that I seldom got to bed before midnight.

Wherever I turned, whatever I read, I was taught that if I would have health and wealth and wisdom I must shake off my sluggardly habits and quit my bed at an early hour of the morning. I said to a friend, who thus advised me, that I had been born at midnight, and that children born at that hour do not feel the same urgency to early rising than children born at other hours feel; but I was told that this was a fantastic notion, and, indeed, I thought so myself. 'Think,' I said to myself, 'of the novels and plays that you might have written had you formed the habit of rising at six or seven A.M. instead of at eight-thirty or nine. Vile lie-abed, you have given to sleep what should have been given to literature and the drama!' I classed myself with politicians and journalists and actors, most of whom eat their breakfasts at an hour when other men are beginning to think of luncheon, or at all events of snacks. It was odd, I told myself, that all the early risers of my acquaintance were not notably wise or healthy, and were all of them poor. Servants rose early, but I had not observed outside the pages of fiction that they were very wise, and I knew that no one could possibly become wealthy on £20 per annum, even when caps and aprons were provided. Almost all workmen rise early and almost all rich men rise late; but workmen, as a class, do not monopolize wisdom or health, whereas the rich, though they do not monopolize health and wisdom, very nearly monopolize wealth, and certainly possess their share of health and wisdom. Nevertheless, such is the tyranny of a moral apothegm, particularly of one which makes for discomfort, I believed that I, a practised sluggard from childhood, was possessed of less vitality than those who rose up early in the morning, and I thought it was very unlikely that I would ever amass a fortune.

Since then, however, I have made a discovery. It is this. All these preachers and writers on early rising are in the wrong. It is not natural for man to quit his bed at dawn; he does so by a distinct effort of will and, in most cases, because of the compulsion of circumstances. There never was, in real life, a young woman who sprang lightly from her couch and ran swiftly across the room to fling open her window and lean out to greet the dawn. The workman who rises at five A.M. on weekdays lies in bed

until twelve o'clock on Sundays; and the ambition of every servant is to marry someone wealthy enough to allow her to lie in bed in the morning while someone else gets up at an early hour. Hence the vogue of the novelette. The little rhyme which is taught to Catholic children—

Nature gives five,
Custom takes seven,
Laziness nine,
And wickedness eleven,

may be sound in theology but it is unsound in nature. I do not believe that there is a cow on this earth which is content with five hours of sleep. I am told by people who are competent to know that nuns suffer severely from loss of sleep, and are frequently found slumbering during their devotions.

Political Reform and Hinduism.

Mr. A. G. Hogg, in the course of a long article under the above caption writing in the July number of the *International Review of Missions* (London) observes:

What are the features of Hinduism which lend support to the suggestion that in India political and religious reform constitute very much a single problem? The question is complicated by the old difficulty that Hinduism is so much more of a social system than a creed. The feature which first leaps to the eye is caste; and, as we shall see, caste is indeed one of the religious obstacles to the evolution of responsible government. But if for the moment we consider caste simply as a system of social cleavage, and neglect the doctrine of *karma* which is its religious basis, it does not seem inconceivable that the obstacle to responsible government presented by the caste cleavages might in time disappear without a religious revolution. For caste has proved itself to be an institution which can bend without breaking. Under modern influences it is becoming possible, without disloyalty to caste, to act in ways which formerly would have involved breach of caste. And this capacity of the caste idea to survive changes in the content of the caste prohibitions suggests the interesting question whether Hindus might not conceivably learn to believe in that political equality of all citizens which responsible government presupposes, without surrendering in other respects the dogma of human inequality that is the essence of caste. In Britain sincere admission of political equality is by no means incompatible with most undemocratic social distinctions. Is something similar in the way of inconsistent compromise out of the question in India?

The Colonisation of Mesopotamia by Indians.

We take the following from a recent issue of *The Review of Reviews* of London :

One of the best forms in which the country will derive great advantage is the colonisation of Mesopotamia by the Indians. The productive areas of Babylonia will furnish many a wandering labourer with sufficient to live upon comfortably, if he engages himself in agricultural pursuits. The poorer classes of India will consider it a boon to migrate to a country where they will be free from the fear of famine. Not a few are driven to dire destitution every year by the awful ravages of this calamity. The Indian Government has done much to combat the evil by opening up canals in the land where no natural supply of water is procurable, but yet the danger exists, and it is a very real one.

This plan would be helpful to both countries. India might then do without her costly famine departments, labourers and tradesmen emigrating could not but enormously increase their earnings, and religious ties need not stand in the way. The educated Indian and a better form of Government must inevitably produce profound psychological and material changes :

After a complete survey of the Babylonian regions has been made, the next move will be to intimate and extensively advertise the opening prospects and concessions which the Government is willing to make in favour of the emigrants. A separate department may be installed, the work of which should consist in receiving applications and arranging matters. Such applicants should be required to produce evidence of their respectability, and industrious habits, so that every nondescript that might feel inclined to leave the country should not infest the new land. In the beginning a batch might be taken, the expense of which would be covered by Government, so that after a few years these prosperous people would write giving glowing accounts of the better life, which would serve as a regular and inexpensive advertisement. A really good start is of fundamental importance, and the movement would soon make a headway of its own accord.

Climate and conditions are much the same as in India. Two main points are favoured by the writer for such settlements, round the coast of the Persian Gulf and the Basra region. Irrigation is required, and a railway system. Markets simply wait to be exploited by European traders.

National Physique.

The following lines from *The Review of Reviews* (London) will be found interesting :—

"You cannot have an A1 Empire with a C3 population," said Mr. Lloyd George recently. "We cannot rear A men in B3 houses, amid a B3 environment," says Captain E. Brown, R.A.M.C., varying the same theme, in the *English Review* for March. Captain Brown says that the wholesale medical examinations of men of military age have given us a pretty clear picture of the physical standard of the adult manhood of the nation, and the only conclusion that can be drawn is that it is deplorably low, and that the number of preventible physical defects and disabilities is beyond all reason. Many are entirely preventible, many more could, and should, have been avoided in individuals by fresh air; proper food, physical training in youth, a healthy environment, and an intelligent and enlightened rearing of children; and Captain Brown suggests that the whole standard of health of the nation could be raised and a massed attack on disease made by the institution of a State Medical Service. Such a Service would have five principal advantages. It would mean an equal distribution of doctors; the latest advances and the best treatment of any disease would be brought home to every member of the medical profession; it would make medicine that power in the State which its importance and vital interests demand that it should be; it would co-ordinate all the branches of the medical profession; and if intelligently put into practice it should produce a higher and more independent status of medical men. Furthermore, Captain Brown suggests that the general health of the nation would be enormously raised, and many preventible diseases, such as rickets ("the one disease which is mainly accountable for the production of B3 men and women"), stamped out, if the entire population from infancy to middle age were to be periodically examined and categorised, and each individual's defects (if any) recorded on a medical history card.

The Reconstruction of Religion.

Mr. Stanley A. Cook, M.A., writing in *The Expository Times* observes :—

All who reflect upon the social, industrial and other problems of the day are fully alive to the necessity of Reconstruction. But it also happens that the question of the Reconstruction of Religion is very much in the foreground; and perhaps it is hardly recognised how vital this is. The reason can be briefly stated. A living Religion—Religion after Reconstruction—permeates the whole of the individual's life and of social activity, and influences men's attitudes to the social and other problems. In addition to this, the social and other non-religious problems are invariably found to involve all that is felt to be personally most real and true. Accordingly, on the one hand, Religion cannot be indifferent

to men's convictions of Reality, and, on the other, all Reconstruction, of whatever sort, sooner or later, is seen to concern men's ideas of Reality. No reconstruction, no Religion, can have any endurance if it is contrary to the

Ultimate Realities of the Universe. Reconstruction, Religion and Reality are the three great R's of the age.

INDIAN LABOUR UNDER THE INDUSTRIAL MILL-STONE : WITH A PLEA FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTION BEFORE THE COMING LABOUR CONFERENCE

THE social and economic conditions in Indian urban life which are the contributory causes of prostitution as described in my previous article affect the working classes more than the other sections of the community. But social conditions of labour life in the city factory and the crowded workshop in Bustees and Chawls have other more serious aspects detrimental to life and efficiency. Long hours and long shifts, overcrowded slums and congested latrines have detrimental social and moral as well as economic effects.

The prevailing uniformity in the hours of work and the traditional division of day and night shifts throughout the year must be given up. India is a land of well-defined seasons and climatic extremes and it is well-known that the afternoon hours in summer are much more exhausting and impose a greater strain on the nervous energy than the corresponding intervals in winter. It is an important problem of the scientific management of industry in India to determine the most efficient system of day and night hours and the proper time of working in the hot and cold weather. Both the system of shifts and the hours of working should also be so regulated as to allow the operatives sufficient leisure for food and for rest. What leisure for food is possible to a factory woman who has to attend work at 6 in the morning, and except for an interval of half an hour after 12 labour till 6 p. m. in the evening? What time has she for recreation, for leisure to attend to the

affairs of her house or to the requirements of her children? And yet I found such a factory woman in the slums of Madura who has three children, and who inspite of her sickness and general prostration has to work for 11½ hours in a crowded workshop in the tropical heat of 110°, because her husband has gone back to his village for illness. The Factory Act in India needs immediate amendment. The hours of labour are far too long and young person under the age of 15 years should not be employed. And how often the factory inspectors wink at or are deluded when gunny bags and baskets cover boys below the minimum age out of sight when they are on their round? Eleven hours of work for a woman and 7 hours for a child under 9 years of age, with half an hour of interval during the day in oppressive heat, is a cruel exaction for the pittance they receive. No child can grow to be strong and vigorous, no woman can help neglecting her health and, by weakening her vitality, impairing the future of the family and the race in these conditions. In Bombay Presidency alone the number of women employed in factories has risen from 51,171 in 1913 to 56,215 in 1917. Irregularities and breaches of the law relating to the conditions of work for women who are even more inarticulate than the men factory-workers continue to be frequent, and among those the employment of women for night work is the most serious. The chief Inspector of Factories remarks that it is very difficult to detect irregularities and to check the abuses that continue

to exist notwithstanding the stray prosecutions instituted year after year. The appointment of women Inspectors of Factories attending to the observance of the few provisions in the Indian Factories Act relating to the employment of women and if possible of children is also an imperative need. There is need of regulations to protect women labourers and miners from immoral exploitation by overseers, time-keepers, head-clerks and even managers who often use fines for dubious purposes. Apart from the grave abuses connected with the prevailing exploitation of child labour and the illegal employment of woman labour, the prevailing legal methods of employment and long hours of labour present serious problems. There is, indeed, something dreadful in the expectation that mill labourers, men, women, and too often children also, shall rise in the dark (because hooters are forbidden), stagger half asleep to the mill-gates, snatch a little more sleep on the stones outside the gate, toil at a monotonous task from daylight to dark, with one short recognised interval for food, and several short unrecognised intervals for sleep or tobacco. If the mill-labourer's hours are reduced, he will feel fitter and will consciously or unconsciously work harder. Already in the few experiments that have been made in Cawnpore and elsewhere in reducing hours, it has been found that there was no decrease in output, but on the contrary a slight increase. Labourers in England are already working 8 hours daily and agitating for a six hours' term of work, and considering the physical condition of European and Indian labourers and the general incapacity of the latter to work in the overcrowded factories the Indian hours of labour are absurdly long. The English experience carefully sifted and preserved in parliamentary reports and in laws and rules, shows clearly that the eight-hour is a healthy measure which pays. The idea had long been maintained, but it is now moulded into fact in the crucible of war. A nation needing maximum production for the life and death struggle in which it was engaged found that the best results were obtained by shortening the hours of labour.

America followed suit and during the brief time in which industry was keyed up to the maximum pitch the eight hour day was rapidly applied, voluntarily by employers and involuntarily under order of the war labour board. But under the conditions of work in the Indian factories, fatigue, the cumulative result of excessive labour, has been a health hazard of the first magnitude.*

The low wages, the long hours of labour and the general economic pressure coupled with the peculiar psychology of the Indian factory hand, who is primarily an agriculturist and has not been able as yet to adapt himself to the alien city environment, have led to strikes which have been known ever since the first modern factory was erected in India. For the past five years Bombay has been earning an unenviable reputation in this regard, and in January last, the general strike of the cotton mill operatives was not only the biggest strike known in the history of mill industry in India but was quite new in its aim and methods. Hitherto strikes have been sectional and isolated, but in this case not only 100,000 cotton operatives were out and every cotton mill was shut down, but the strike spread to other sections of labour. The unrest spread with the rapidity of a hay-stack fire, affecting dockyard hands, workers in the mint, employees of Engineering works and shipping companies and *methas* of the cloth market. It seemed that a general strike was imminent. Considering that labour in India is not consolidated in a trade union, the strike was wonderfully well-organized. As employers were deaf to the legitimate demands of the work people, there was nothing left for them to do but to combine in a general application of coercive measures. This in fact is the very foundation of syndicalism and shows the magnitude of the new forces which are bringing India into line with the international proletariat which is emerging from the Peace Conference, and which the

* Health Problems of Industrial Workers, in A Reconstruction Labour Policy (The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January, 1919).

European or Indian capitalist ought now to take stock of.

In the end the mill-owners consented to make several concessions to the strikers but the end of the strike came because of the ravages of cholera. It is true that the Indian labourers having no trade unions can get no strike pay to sustain their unity and resolution. The recently instituted labour union of Madras marks a new advance in the direction of the organization of Indian mill labour. In one of the recent Madras strikes I found that though the mill operatives pulled on together, their capacity for indebtedness to the local shopkeepers could not help them beyond three weeks though they denied themselves fish or mutton, and were satisfied merely with rice, sauce, pepper-water and milk in one meal a day; their daughters and wives, who do not work and earn, continually finding fault with them complaining to me that they are shirking work for sheer idleness. But the strength of caste ties and of social sympathies puzzles the western mill-owners. Nor can they understand the power of resistance of the urban labourers in India arising from their ability to go back to the land, a resource of endurance in unemployment which western mill-hands do not possess.

But such advantages of the Indian factory hand are of no avail on account of the bad unhealthy housing conditions and general condition of innutrition. The diseases arising from a labour strike in India are unknown in the West, and the relation between the frightful rise in the mortality and a labour strike is a matter which ought to be pondered over. Thus we have a striking difference between a strike in India and a strike in the West. The testimony of Dr. Turner, the Health Officer of the Corporation, is much to the point. He wrote: "On the 10th January, the cholera deaths were 26 and declining. On the 9th January the mill-hands struck work and the mills were closed; a few days later the cholera mortality rose to 48 on the 17th and 311 to-day. Instead of being able to use the latrines of the mills, the 150,000 persons resorted to the congested chawls, passages, lanes, open spaces. Instead of



IN POVERTY, HUNGER AND DIRT.

Mill-hands during the respite of half an hour in the noon to take food. The work time in this case is from 6-30 A.M. to 12-30 A.M. and from 1 P.M. to 7 P.M. In these lodging places, which are the seed-plots of drink, disease and vice, men, women and beasts are indiscriminately herded together in misery.

being at work from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. they hang about the chawls and the streets, eating and drinking whatever they can get, parading the streets and joining funeral parties. A visit to a mill chawl in the early morning will find the rooms and verandahs full of people, who would otherwise be employed in comparatively sanitary mills with sanitary arrangements and a certain amount of time for rest, certainly better off than in the overcrowded, dark and dirty chawls. Overcrowding the chawls at night is bad enough, but when the occupants, who should be out at work, occupy the chawls all day and night, using the latrines and bathing places which become full of excreta which cannot be removed at once, and when cases of cholera and deaths occur in these chawls, the danger of spreading the disease is more than doubled. The side issues of the labour strike are disease and death. Cholera is proverbially the most difficult disease to control. The person attacked, even if of robust health, if not put under expert medical treatment at once, has very little chance, and his position is worse still when reduced by want of food, bad food and lowered vitality, overcrowded houses and congested latrines."

All this makes a lock out in India a much more effective weapon in the hands of the employers than it is in the West. Sooner or later the housing conditions of the operatives, and the whole system of conservancy, and drainage in the labourers' quarters must be thoroughly overhauled.

Industrialism has always involved this curse that it has identified the interests of manufacture and business with those of residential arrangements, building up the homes and tenements in the same plan and as appendages to the mills and factories. Modern town-planning demands that the interests of domesticity can only be maintained and developed when the home settlements are organised independently in accordance with the special ends and ideals of domestic and civic life. Apart from the questions of sanitation, housing and social purity, the intimacies of personal relationships which deepen and expand in home and civic life through the working of a spontaneous free self-directing manhood require quite a different treatment and atmosphere from the collectivistic discipline and drill of men and the intensive and specialised use of materials which is demanded of modern conditions of industry and without which the idea of giving the labourer only six hours' work will remain a dream. There shall also be sufficient opportunities for the activities of the home and civic life left after the day's work. For it is often that the day's work is so exhausting and overtaxes the nerves that nothing but the holiday abandon and intemperance can stimulate them.

The mill-stone grinds more relentlessly in the case of white industrialism in all the tropical countries: here the rivalry and unethical competition between the industrial races in their exploitation of mines and plantations as well as the manufacture of goods supplies the powerful lever which keeps the mill-stone moving very fast crushing down the proletariat of the east under its irresistible weight.

The League of Nations Covenant has already laid down certain ideal standards of conduct for all nations in their dealings with native or imported labour. It is a decisive step in the gradual recognition of

the elemental rights of labour by an international body. The recognition of the right of association, the abolition of child labour under 14 and the restriction of occupations for young persons between 14 to 18 years of age, the acceptance of the principle of the minimum age, the adoption of a 48 hours' week with a weekly rest, the grant of equality of status to women, the institution of a system of inspection specially aimed at the protection of workers, these are all laid down as the ideal standards of conduct towards labour. These conditions are not immediately enforceable on the contracting parties to the Covenant, and the decisions of the International Conference which will soon be convened to discuss the problems affecting wages, employment and hours of labour are awaited with anxiety.

It is sad to reflect that in the tropical regions of the world where labour is sweated labour, not organised for self-protection as in Europe and America, and where women and children are being exploited and debauched in mines, plantations and ranches controlled mostly by white capital and enterprise, the most important provision of the Covenant relating to the limitation of the working day will not be applicable in the supposed interests of industrial progress of the countries concerned.

The Indian Factory Act allows a working day of 12 hours' full work, the only stipulation being that there must be an interval of half an hour, in the course of the day's work, during which the machines are not to be used. The mill may therefore run from 6-30 A.M. in the morning to 7 P.M. at night with only an interval of half an hour in the middle of the day for food and rest. The Indian mills run for 72 hours per week, the mills in England and America run between 42 and 48 hours per week, the mills in Japan run between 98 to 112 hours per week. In some of the Indian mines men and women labourers are known to work for 22 to 24 hours a day, or 132 to 144 hours per week, food being brought to them in the coal pits. In the case of textile workers it is provided that no child (defined as a person below

the age of 14) may be employed for more than 6 hours in any one day. The employment of women and children and also of adult males in factories where the shift system is not in force has been prohibited except between 5-30 A.M. and 7 P.M.

The weekly hours of work in factories as fixed by law in various countries are:

48 hours—Great Britain (textile mills); Norway; Germany; Australia (by law in New South Wales); Russia.

54 hours—Assam Tea Plantation for women up to 18 years.

72 hours—India (men and women workers).

98 hours—Japan (men and women workers).

Asia and Africa are the home of the 12 and 14 hour day: the long hours of labour mean less opportunities for rest and recreations, monotonous work and unwholesome enjoyment as well as bad housing and low standards of living. The hours a man work, indeed, frequently determine the character of his home and domestic life, his pleasures as well as his capacity to resist exploitation.

A newly aroused civic and economic conscience in India must demand (1) a 54-hour week limit for factory labourers; (2) a 42-hour week limit for miners; (3) a 36-hour week limit for women miners; (4) a 48-hour week limit for factory women; (5) a compulsory interval of an hour in the middle of each working day; and (6) an age limit of 12 years for young persons and a legal night rest for 11 hours.

Clauses of the Indian Factory Act must also demand (1) a minimum cubic feet of space in the labourers' tenements; (2) a maximum disparity of 3 to 4 in the proportion of sexes in the labour quarters; and (3) a minimum number of latrines.

In the absence of international regulation the greatest difficulty in shortening the Indian hours of labour will lie in the competition with Japan, where the strain of the factory work, especially upon women, is far greater than in India. In Japan the factory



GRIND ! GRIND !

A factory girl working 12 hours a day with a child in her womb. She has realised that life is a burden,—

"Oh God ! that bread should be so dear
And flesh and blood so cheap !"

law promulgated on September, 1916, prohibited the employment of boys under 15 years of age and girls and women for a period exceeding 12 hours a day but provided that in the weaving and knitting industries the working hours may be extended up to 14 hours during the two years following the promulgation of the law. The period expired on September, 1919, from which date the working time for boys under 15 years of age, girls and women could be accordingly reduced from 14 to 12 hours.

But one does not hear of the enforcement of these factory laws. Japan's intense anxiety to retain the markets opened to her textiles by the war has encouraged an official tendency to forgive factories for extending the hours of labour beyond the limits prescribed in 1916. The girls who work for 14 to 16 hours have no

Sundays. The working week is of 7 days, though there are certain holiday times. One shift is in the day time, say, from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. and the other, say, from 6 P.M. to 8 A.M. The same dormitory, the same bedding does double duty for the two batches of workpeople. There are girls from 15 to 20, girls of 12, girls even younger. In 1916 there were over 636,000 factory girls in Japan, of these 5,500 were under 12; 87,000 under 15, and perhaps three-fifths of the remainder were under 20. These girls are recruited from the villages by the agents of the factories, they are paid an initial cost of recruiting and they work generally for three years of indenture. The number of women who are recruited as factory workers reaches 200,000 every year, but of these 120,000 do not return to the parental roof. Either they become birds of passage, and move from one factory to another, or go as maids in dubious tea-houses, or as prostitutes. The exploitation of child labour in match works, glass works and the like is not less serious than the exploitation of woman and girl labour.

If India was dumb at the Peace-Congress, and Japan reiterated her demands for race equality and was heard, let her demand race equality in the labour clauses of the peace agreements in the coming Congress at Washington. Humanity is the same the world over and the conditions of progress are the same. The Easterners are not to be regarded as the proletariat of the world. If the West strives after a 40 hours' week, the East need not have 112 hours' week in order that she may be industrially efficient. But Japan is wedded to the ideal of mere mechanical efficiency; while India will be inarticulate, and stupefied before the close league of self-selected nations, which wrangling among themselves for the fat of the world, are yet unanimous in that one point of ruthless exploitation of the tropical peoples and their resources for the benefit of the West.

Thus the ideals of human equality and

the conditions of social progress, deemed equally precious for all, will not be equally applicable to all, but will be differently interpreted and 'determined' for others, differently by unequal contracting parties in the International Labour Conference. In spite of the talk of race equality and self-determination, such matters as concrete freedom, equal treatment, freedom from race restriction are today not seriously considered, new indignities are being heaped upon the Indians themselves in the Transvaal "within the empire", and the most drastic laws are being passed depriving them even of the very meagre trading and land rights that they were still allowed to retain. In spite of the talk of labour amelioration and the international recognition of the sovereign rights of the proletariat throughout the world, humanity has still to painfully learn that the humane conditions of treatment of labour, which represent the irreducible national minimum, are not applicable to the tropical regions, and the dangers and abuses which drag civilisation with its elaborate and scientific implements of exploitation downward,—back into savagery will be perpetuated, the forced labour in the rubber and cocoa estates of Europeans, the pretty free use of the lash and other unspeakable and unmentionable modes of torture, the tragedy of a Damaraland or Congo drenched with blood, the hateful immorality and prostitution by day and night in the African and Indian mines and plantations where women's souls are often sold with their bodies to overseers, inspectors and managers, the exercise of barbaric force and civilised fraud in the recruitment and employment of indentured or so-called free coloured labour, the acquisition by force and diplomacy of Shantung, the hateful lynchings of coloured men in some of the American estates, or the indignities of Indian traders and mill-hands and despoliation of the native's lands in South Africa.

·RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

AN EPIITOME OF JAINISM by *Puran Chand Nahar, M. A., B. L., M. R. A. S., etc., and Krishna Chandra Ghosh, Vedantachintamani, Formerly Joint Editor of the Patriot, Ahmedabad, etc., published by H. Duby, Gulab Kumar Library, 46 Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta. Pp. xxx+706+lxxviii. Price Rs. 6. Foreign 8s. net.*

The book on our table is a critical study of the Metaphysics, Ethics, Philosophy, History, etc., of Jainism in relation to modern thought, describing in the last chapters the temples, the festivals, the places of pilgrimage, the literature, the art, and the architecture of Jains and finally giving five appendices treating of the date of king Chandragupta, firmans and sunnuds, Agamas and Nigamas, Tirthamkaras of present era and the list of the Gaccha-heads. There are also ten illustrations, two of which are coloured representing the painting of pre-Mohamedan and Moghal Periods.

The time has come when for a true appreciation of ancient thoughts in our sacred or other writings they should be explained in relation to modern thoughts and unless it is done, even our own children would hardly care to understand them. So it is very gratifying to see the attempt of the present authors directed towards it.

The book begins with an introductory chapter. Here among other things it has been said (p. 3) that from a reference in the Rigveda it is held that Jainism "must have been contemporary with the Vedic culture or even earlier than the latter." The reference has not been stated definitely, but we think it to be x. 136.2, which runs as follows :—

सुनयो वातरश्नाः पिशङ्गा वसने मला etc.*

This reference is generally made by modern Jain writers in order to show the antiquity of their faith, but it has not yet been critically explained as to how the passage can imply or support the view held by them. On the other hand, it seems to us that there is nothing in it which can refer to Jainism.

It is said in the concluding part of the introduction (p. 14) that according to Buddhists their *nirvana* is annihilation. In the early days

of learning Buddhist scholars understood it to be so, but, as recent researches show, they were utterly misled, and so the old view should not have found its place in such a good volume of the present day.

The authors then proceed to enunciate and interpret the Jain principle of epistemology in the first two chapters. From chapter III, its science and philosophy have been discussed. But the real discussion begins from chapter IV ending in VIII. In these chapters the reader will find a full treatment of the Jain theory of formal logic and the Jain logic and *nayas* explained ably—with mention or refutation of the views of different branches of Indian Philosophy. *Syadvada* doctrine holds a unique place in Jain logic or philosophy and it has been taken up and discussed in chapter VIII. Then comes in the next chapter (IX) the criticism by the authors of the great Shankara's commentary on the Brahmasutra (II. 2.31) in which the latter opposed the *Syadvada* or *Saptabhengi* form of reasoning. Here the authors in the following chapter (X) have tried their best to refute Shankara's criticism, taking their stand on the Law of Relativity of Hegel, while evidently Shankara's arguments were all based on the Law of Contradiction, as the followers of Aristotle would say. So applying that Law of Relativity our authors have faced no difficulty in refuting Shankara. The principal arguments put forward by them against Shankara are essentially nothing but what Hegelians say in establishing their Law of Relativity. It would have been far better had they been able to produce some more cogent arguments in favour of *Saptabhengi* or *Anekantavada* originally offered by our own ancient teachers themselves, which abound in Jain works.

Here one may ask: Did Shankara really understand the Jain philosophy? The answer will be in the negative, as our authors have shown. But something may be said in favour of the former. So far as the fundamentals of Jain philosophy are concerned, there is nothing misrepresented by Shankara, and this shows that he understood it clearly. And yet he had to oppose it, as he was bound to do being himself a commentator who in accordance with the prevailing practice of the country must explain the views principally of the authors of the original taking up the standpoint of the latter. Thus the celebrated commentator Vachaspati Mishra has explained each of the chief systems of Indian philosophy from their own points of view, taking no notice whatever of the others. It may, therefore, be said that Shankara's view

* Cf. सुनयो वातरश्नाः श्रमणा उध्वमन्यिनः ।

ब्रह्मसूत्रं धाम ते यान्ति शान्ता सद्वासिनीमलाः ॥

श्रीमद्भागवत, XI. 6. 47. In the place of वातरश्ना there is another reading वातवसनाः ।

regarding the Jain philosophy was not his own but of Badarayana or Vyasa, the author of the Brahmasutras. Be that as it may, we have reasons to believe that among all the commentators of Brahmasutra Shankara was the best as regards the knowledge of the systems that have been criticised and repudiated by Badarayana in his aphorisms. The foot note given here* will clearly show how the commentators, even those who are held in great estimation, have sadly misunderstood the Jain system of philosophy. Sometimes Shankara is seen charged with a blunder committed actually not by himself but by his commentators who could not understand him (Mr. Yamakami Sogen: *Systems of Buddhistic Thoughts*, Calcutta University, 1912, pp. 112-124. As regards the passage in question Mr. Sogen cannot ascertain that the commentators actually represented the traditional interpretation handed down by Shankara). Jain commentators, too, have committed the same mistake, for instance one may mention the commentary of Manibhadra on the Buddhist philosophy section in Haribhadrasuri's षड्दर्शन समुच्चयः. Even Gunarajna, another great commentator of the same, seems not to have rightly understood the true significance of some Buddhist terms. The case is the same with other branches, too, and the consequence is evident everywhere. Even Shankara's view has been so represented by his different followers by their own interpretations that what the former himself has said is very difficult to understand now. So the commentaries, though they may render much help in various respects, should be taken very cautiously.

Now from chapter XI to XXXV of the book under review various aspects of Jainism or Jain philosophy have been discussed including Soul, God, Karma, phenomenology, law of Karma, rebirth, bondage, emancipation, and means of emancipation, etc.

* The word स्वात् in स्वाद्वाद means nothing but 'may be' or 'in one way,' or 'somehow' (कथञ्चित्) but see how it is explained by the following commentators of Brahmasutra (II. 2. 31) :—

(1) "स्वाच्छब्द ई ष द थैः"—Shrikantha Shiva-charya.

(2) "स्वाच्छब्द अ भौ ए व च नः"—Vallabhacharya.

(3) "स्वाच्छब्दो म व ती त्व थै कः"—Vijnanabhikshu.

(4) "स्वाच्छब्द... अ ने का थै कः"—Vrajanatha, a commentator of Shuddhadvaita School.

(5) "स्वादिति... कि च्चि द थै"—Shrinivasa in his commentary on that of Nimbarka.

See also the meaning of आसुव as given by Ramanuja, Vijnanabhikshu and others.

So the book truly deserves its name 'An Epitome of Jainism', and we do not hesitate to say that the object of the authors in writing it will be fully realised. We shall be glad to see it read widely.

We think the volume of the book might very easily be reduced to a considerable degree by condensing the matters dealt with therein. Something could also be abandoned altogether without making the book defective in any way. It is unfortunate that it has not an Index of subjects added to it. Many Sanskrit words are printed inaccurately and their transliteration is also very bad.

VIDHUSHEKHAR BHATTACHARYA.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF LORD SINHA : With a portrait and a biographical sketch published by Messrs. G. A. Nateson & Co., Madras, pp. xxxix + 224 + 69 + xi + 6 = 378.

We are, indeed, indebted to the enterprising and patriotic spirit of the publishers of this interesting volume which furnishes us with a comprehensive collection of the speeches of Lord S. P. Sinha of Raipur, which will not fail to be welcomed by a large section of Indians and Europeans alike. The speeches collected so far begin at the Twelfth Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in December 1896, and end with a dinner given in honour of Lord Sinha by his friends and admirers, both British and Indian, on the occasion of his appointment as Under Secretary of State for India, at the Savoy Hotel in London on March 7, 1919. The book which is nicely printed is neatly bound in cloth and is priced at Rs 3.

R. MUKERJEA.

THE BLISS OF A MOMENT, by Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

This slight book of translations is difficult to adjudge. What the poems are in their original Bengali I have no means of knowing; it is quite possible that they may carry a music far beyond these English versions. But it is in this very secret of music that Benoy Kumar Sarkar's translations fail to appeal to me. It is clear that the writer has loved the scenes he depicts,—the Japanese village, the Shinto shrine, the great waves of the Pacific, the sun set in California, the bleakness of a northern December, the resurrection of the springtime,—but there is a uniform lack of the living movement of words and of that magic of rhythm which cannot be described or analysed or explained. It is difficult to write thus about a book which has given the author himself such evident joy and has been to him in very truth "the bliss of a moment" and I would not have my own individual impression carry too much weight. Others may find what I have failed to find. I owe Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar such a debt of gratitude for his brilliantly suggestive prose works that it is with all the

deeper regret I fail to find the music I seek in this volume of verse:

C. F. ANDREWS.

SPARKLING ECHOES OF VEDANTIC ETHICS (*The Indian Printing Works, Madras*) Pp. 66.

The name of the book is a misnomer. It has nothing to do with the Vedānta. It contains 'Stray thoughts' on various subjects (*Viz.*, God, devotion, woman, advaitam, etc.). About the nature of the book, the author himself writes:—

"There is an inordinate epistolary in my book but still I think this verbomania has led me to quite strange and some original ideas. The self-explained charades, paronymous puns, and appropriate Anagrams form a *humorous* set of sayings which are, I venture to think, both novel and new, though some may perhaps appear to be artificial or even trivial. The most serious part of the work is 'Advaitam' and the Appendices A & B."

MAN'S LIFE IN THREE WORLDS, *By Mrs. Anne Besant. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Pp. 95.*

This booklet is meant for would-be students of Theosophy.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT.

LAGHU-KAVYA-MALIKA SERIES NO. I, *by P. V. Ramachandracharya, M.A.* *The Modern Printing Works, Mount Road, Madras.*

This booklet contains three narrative poems adapted in Sanskrit from English poetry. The adaptation is tolerably good. We may encourage the author.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

PRAKRITA-SANSKRIT-ENGLISH.

PRAKRITA SUKTA RATNAMALA (JAINA VIVIDHA SAHITYA SHASTRA MALA NO. 11), COMPILED *by Puran Chand Nahar, M.A., B.L., M. R. A. S., Published by the Manager, the Jaina Vividha Sahitya Shastramala office, Benares City. Pp. 112. Price 8 Annas.*

This is a little Prakrit anthology. Hala's *Gahasattasai* (about the first century Christian era) in *Maharastri* Prakrit is the first book of its kind and we know not any such work of that age written in Sanskrit. *Vajjalagga* is the second anthology written also in that Prakrit by a Svetambara Jain; Jayavallabha. We do not know the existence of any other anthology in Prakrit. Prakrit was once a spoken language in the country and thus the heart of its people found its true expression in it, and not in Sanskrit which was never so fortunate in this respect; nor is the latter so much sweet as the former. Thus says Rajasekhara in his *Karpuramanjari* (I. 6, 7):—

"Then why has the poet abandoned the Sanskrit language and undertaken a composition in Prakrit?"

"Sanskrit poems are harsh, but a Prakrit poem is very smooth; the difference between them in this respect is as great as that between man and woman."

So says Vakpati, too, in his *Gaudavaha* (93): "New subjects, rich composition, sweet on account of the softness of their words—these have nowhere abounded, since the world began, except in Prakrit."

The present selection contains 227 *gathas* or verses in Prakrit, their equivalents in Sanskrit, and simple rendering into English. It provides a good and pleasant reading and we have been glad to read it. We are, however, sorry with the author himself that he could not trace the sources from which the verses are taken.

The text in a few cases seems not to have been carefully edited.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

MAGAHİ DIALECT (SOUTH BIHAR).

MAGAHİ KAHAWAT SANGRAH (*Collection of Magahī Proverbs*) *by Dr. Uma Shankar Bhattacharya. Messrs. B.S.B. Sons, Tara Pharmacy, Gaya. Price 2½ annas.*

This is an insignificant looking little book of 48 pages such as one finds in the book stalls of any bazar in Northern India, but it has a peculiar interest. It is a collection of proverbs current among the Magahī speaking people (who number about 6½ millions) of South Bihar. Magahī, Maghī or Maggah (i.e., Magadhi) is a very interesting speech; like its sister dialects Bhojpuriya and Maithilī, it is more closely related to Bengali and Oriya than to Hindi; but it is often quite erroneously called a dialect of Hindi. Magahī has no written literature, unlike Maithilī of North and East Bihar; Hindi and Urdu are widely used, in the school and the law court, and the upper classes among the Magahīs frequently affect a loose form of Hindustani much mixed with Awadhī. Besides, Bihar is often regarded as forming a part of Hindustan proper. These facts have made the Hindustani tongue (in its Urdu and Hindi forms) obtain its present dominant position in Bihar.

Grierson first showed that the Bihari dialects are not mere *patois* of Hindi,—they are in fact members of a different group, although the Biharis have adopted Hindi (and Urdu) as their literary language. Grierson did more than any one else for the study of the Bihari dialects, especially Maithilī; he even entertained the hope that these dialects might develop into literary languages. There may be a revival of Maithilī—for the Maithilī language is even now cultivated side by side with Hindi, and the recognition of it by the University of Calcutta as an Indian modern language which can be taken up as a minor subject for the M. A. examination in Indian Vernaculars has met with the active support by some prominent Maithilī scholars and zemindars. The advocates of Hindi need not be alarmed: for the revival of literary effort in the dialects will

not mean the check of Hindi, especially when it continues to be in use in schools and law courts. The rebirth of Provencal literature within recent years does not seem to have affected the position of French in South France. Moreover, a *lingua franca* should not try to stifle the life out of the real vernaculars. But in the case of Magahi, it does not seem likely that it will ever become a literary speech. It has lost a great deal of its old purity by the influence of bad Hindustani, it has no existing literature, its speakers do not evince any love for it; they regard their mother tongue as rude and vulgar, although they are numerically nearly four times stronger than the speakers of Assamese. But nothing really great can be produced in a language that is not inherited, but is to be acquired; and for this reason, literary effort in Hindi or Urdu among the Biharis, is sure to remain unproductive of anything abiding, at least so long as they will continue to speak one language at home and another outside it. The publication of the rich folk-literature of a people has in many cases been the incentive for higher culture of its language. People get rid of the superstition that their mother tongue is a cripple which can only somehow hobble on in the domestic circle and that they ought to learn elsewhere in their journey through life. I think it will be a great thing for India if the soul of Magadha finds a fresh expression in her own speech; for I believe in a confederacy of languages and cultures, not in their suppression by a single type.

For this reason, I feel very glad that this little book of Magahi proverbs has come out.

This booklet, which by itself is not a remarkable product in any way, forms the first number of a 'Magahi Literature Series', which the compiler seems to have under contemplation. He deserves every support; but I wonder whether he will obtain it and it may be after all a thankless task for him. I would suggest trying the pages of oriental journals first for the publication of Magahi ballads, folk tales and songs which Mr. Bhattacharya intends to present to the public. Apart from wider issues which might develop the publication of Magahi folk literature, a series of Magahi texts will be of inestimable value for the student of Indo-Aryan modern languages. Besides, the folk literature of Magadha, as of any other part, will have a great value for the ethnologist and student of social history. The *Kahawat Sangrah*, which consists of some 400 proverbs, seems to have been made independently of J. Christian's *Bihar Proverbs* in Trubners Oriental series. Christian's work was compiled mostly in the Bhojpuria area of Bihar; it contains some Hindi proverbs also, which have got a common currency and it is a very valuable book, which amply repays study. Mr. Bhattacharya apparently is not acquainted with up to-date methods followed in the work of the kind he seems to have taken up. He is quite content to give the proverbs (which number

some 400) in a loose alphabetical order, without any notes or translations, either in Hindi or English. The orthography should be revised in a number of cases, but obviously the compiler was handicapped by want of a standard. His work seems to have been rather hastily done. Notes and translations would increase tenfold the value of a work like this. The best work that I have seen on the proverbs and idioms of an Indian language written entirely in the vernacular is Bhide's work in Marathi, but we can hardly expect a similar work in Magahi. We are promised a second part of proverbs connected with Agriculture. We shall wait with interest Mr. Bhattacharya's further labours in this field, and shall regard it as a most welcome thing if other Indian scholars resident in Bihar take up this line of work so that we may ultimately have a literature on the dialects and ethnology of Bihar fit to take rank with the *Bihar Peasant Life* and other works of Grierson.

S. K. C.

HINDI.

GURU-DEVA KE SATH YATRA PART I. (*Travels with my Master*) by Mahabir Prasad, B. Sc., L. T. Published by the Vijnana Parishad, Allahabad. Pp. 121. Price 6 Annas.

The present booklet is no. 5 of the series of scientific books which the Allahabad institution, above noticed, has published. It is a Hindi translation of the serials which appeared in the pages of this Review for 1916 from the pen of Sriyut Basiswar Sen, under the heading, *Round the World with my Master*. The language is excellent and the subject full of interest. The translator has done good service to Hindi literature and to the cause of popular education by bringing out this volume. Let it be hoped that the second part of Sriyut Basiswar Sen's contributions on the same subject will also be made accessible to the Hindi-knowing public in the near future and the treasures of Sir J. C. Bose's discoveries be made known more widely than has hitherto been the case.

PRESIDENT WILSON AUR SANSAR KI SVADHINATA (PRESIDENT WILSON AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE WORLD), by Sukhasampattirai Bhandari. Published by Jitmal Luniya, Central India Books Agency, Indore. Pp. 88. Price 9 annas.

It is a very timely publication and the booklet is nicely printed. It contains a Hindi translation of the War utterances of President Wilson and the introductory portion which covers the first 34 pages of the whole is devoted to an account of President Wilson and his ideals. The author notes with approval the fact that some people regard the American President as an incarnation of those powers which manifest themselves on occasions when Virtue is overpowered by Vice in this world, to restore things to a normal condition again. The great part which the president of the greatest Republic in the world

has played in the recent world-war and the utterance he gave to the noblest ideals of State are responsible for this exaggeration. Indeed, it was thought by many that if the words of President Wilson were translated into action with as much genuineness and liberality as they raised hopes of, the end of all the miseries which the dark dealings of many generations of diplomats and politicians had bequeathed to the present generation was within view. Unfortunately, however, even the most enthusiastic among these are gradually realising that their dreams are not going to be fulfilled and a large portion of mankind—the coloured races—is not to get its birthright for at least sometime longer. The author has noticed this point in the very beginning but has generally not allowed this thought to obscure the bright hopes which a perusal of the speeches and writings of Professor Wilson kindle in all liberty-loving hearts. The publishers are to be congratulated on their having chosen the most opportune time for such a publication which affords a very interesting reading in spite of the many irregularities of grammar and idiom which disfigure almost every page of this book. Some of these defects appear to be due to the influence of local dialect while others are more serious. As examples of the former may be cited the use of *ब्रह्मा* in the masculine (page 4); *जगरा चढ़ी* (page 4); the peculiar sense of *निगड़* at page 23, and *हरेहार* at page 24; while the following expressions, only a few among many such, will afford an illustration of the disregard of grammar. These are:—*जनता को मालिक* (p. 2); *प्रजा को नौकर* (p. 11); *बहुतसौ जनहितकारों और महत्वपूर्ण काम* (p. 28); *हित का हृषप* (p. 30); and *न्याय को उपासक* (p. 34). The volume contains two half-tone pictures, one a bust of President Wilson and the other a portrait of the gentleman to whom the book is dedicated.

DOCTOR SIR JAGDISH CHANDRA BASU AUR UNKE AVISHKAR (DR. SIR JAGADISH CHANDRA BASU AND HIS DISCOVERIES), by *Sukhasampattirai Bhandari*. Published by *jitmal Luniya*, Central India Books Agency, Indore, Pages 56 Price 6 annas.

In printing and get up as well as in style this book is similar to the one above noticed; but the subject matter is entirely different, as will appear from the title. The author has given in a small compass a sketch of the life of the great Indian scientist Sir J. C. Bose and a popular and short account of his principal discoveries. There are two half-tone illustrations in the book illustrating the apparatus of Professor Bose besides two others, one a portrait of the Professor and the other of the gentleman to whom the book is dedicated.

Both the above volumes are numbers 4 and 5 of the series which is appearing under the name of the Hindi Navayuga Grantha-Mala.

"MULA-DEVA."

CHANDRAGUPTA,—by *Pandit Suryanarayan Dikshit, M.A., LL.B.*, Published by *Nathuram Premi, Hindi-Grantha-Ratnakar office, Bombay*. Pp 157. Price One Rupee, or clothbound Re. 1-6.

This is a Hindi translation of the Bengali drama of the same name by the famous dramatist D. L. Roy who is known as the Shakespeare of Bengal. The rise of the Maurya power and the successful beating back of the Greeks who had entered the Punjab in the fourth century B. C. is a subject of national pride from very early times and Sanskrit poets took due advantage of the theme. The drama *Mudrarakshasa* is a classical work in Sanskrit hardly surpassed in any other literature. The Bengali of D. L. Roy is a play dealing with the same subject but in a slightly different manner and varying the *dramatis personae* to suit a modern stage. The translators are writers of repute and they have done their work well.

BHISHMA,—by *Pandit Rup Narayan Pande*, Published by *Nathuram Premi, Hindi-Grantha-Ratnakar office, Bombay*. Pp. 192. Price Rs. 1-8-0; paper cover. Rs. 1-2-0.

This is also a Hindi translation of D. L. Roy's drama of the same name. The language has a smell of artificiality in places which is excusable as the works of an artist can never be copied or reproduced. The volume is nicely bound.

CAVOUR,—by *Pandit Haribhai Upadhyaya*. Published by the *Hindi-Grantha-Ratnakar office, Bombay*. Pp. 182. Price One Rupee, or cloth bound Re. 1-6-0.

This book is a translation of the Marathi volume entitled *Cavour athwa Italy-cha Ramdas* and is written in very lucid style. As the author himself admits it is not a literal translation and this accounts for the success of the present attempt. The get up is excellent. There is a half-tone bust of Cavour and a map of Italy in the volume. It affords very interesting reading.

VAKTRITVA-KALA, by *Krishnagopal Mathur*. Published by *Narmada Prasad Misra, Visarad*. To be had of *Ramprasad Misra, B.A., Dikshitpura, Jubbulpur, C. P.* Pages 183. Price One Rupee and two annas.

The book attempts to deal with the art of elocution. It is the first book of its kind in Hindi; but it is rather disappointing. The treatment of the subject matter is far from satisfactory and the language can hardly be said to be felicitous for such a subject.

HITA-SIKSHA, by *Bhaiyalal Jain*. Published by *Kumar Devendra Prasad Jain, Arrah*. Pages 116. Price 6 annas.

This is a translation of the Gujrati of *Sj. Motilal Shah*. The get up is charming. The language is good and the subject matter is the old theme of moral teaching. The treatment of the subject is good and only such morals are inculcated as are common to many religions.

SRAMAN NARAD, by *Nathuram Premi*. Published by the *Hindi-Grantha-Ratnakar Office*, Bombay. Pages 30. Price 2 annas.

This is a Hindi translation of an old story in Pali which has been translated in many languages of the world. It is a Buddhist moral tale, teaching social service. A good booklet.

IVAN-PATHA-PRADIP, by *Gangadatta Pande B. A., L.*, Head master, *High School*, Meerut. Pp. 55. Price 4 annas.

This booklet is intended to impart moral instruction to young men and to guide them to avoid the evils with which they are surrounded. The language is simple and clear. Let us hope that the book will serve its purpose and not lead to a temptation for the forbidden fruit.

"MULA-DEVA."

GUJARATI.

PRABHU BHAKTI NAN KAVYO (प्रभुभक्ति ना काव्यो), by *Hiralal Tribhovandas Parekh, B.A.*; printed at the *Jwari Mandir Printing Press*, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 160. Price As. 8 (1919).

This is a selection of poems and verses—old and new—to be found in Gujarati bearing on the subject of "प्रभुभक्ति," devotion to God. The selection is certainly well made and also representative. The collection will therefore to a great extent serve the purpose with which it is made.

SATYAGRAH ANE MRS. BESANT, by *Harjivan Keshdas Mehta*, printed at the *Frasho-gard Printing Press*, Bombay, paper cover, Pp. 21, unpriced (1919).

Mrs. Besant's views on Satyagrah are well-known. This little pamphlet is written by one from her own camp, and may interest those who look to its academic side.

RAJARSEHI CHANDRAJIT, by *Maganlal Mugatram Bhat*. Printed at the *Surat City Printing Press*, Surat, paper cover, Pp. 54. Price As. 6, (1919).

This is a translation of a Bengali Natak of identical name written by the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan. It would be appreciated much in Bengal, the home of the Kali, than in Gujarat, for the several views expressed on the worship of Kali and its consequent horrors.

RATNA MANDIR by *Hasmanrao Harilal Dhruva*, printed at the *Prajabandhu Printing Works*, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 132. Price Re. 1-4, (1919).

Moti Mahal, the well known novel of the Bengali novel-writer Harisadhan Mukhopadhyaya, is rendered into Gujarati under the name of Ratna Mandir by Mr. Dhruva. The original is fascinating, and the translation therefore is well worth perusal.

EK GRADUATE NI KATHA (एक ग्रेजुएट नौ कथा)

by *Harilal Maniklal Desai, B. A.*, Baroda. Printed at the *Lahore Mitra Steam Press*, Baroda. Cloth cover, Pp. 98. Price As. 12, (1919).

The writer has tried to trace in this book the miseries of our Indian student from the start of his school life till his graduation, and after. The futile efforts to secure service and in the case of a law graduate, either practice or a Munsiffship, find their inevitable place in it. He has attempted to give the story a touch of humour, but we think it neither successful nor rightly placed.

(1) BHALAN (भालन), by *Ramlal Chunilal Modi*, printed at the *Arya Sudharak Press*, Baroda. Cloth cover. Pp. 159. Price Re. 1, (1919).

(2) TULANATMAK DHARMAVICHAR (तुलनात्मक धर्मविचार) by *Mulshankar Maneklal Yajnik, B.A.*, printed at the *Jagruti Press*, Baroda. Cloth cover. Pp. 132. Price As. 13, (1919).

(3) PARLIAMENT, by *Harirai Bhagvantrai Buch*, printed at the *Jagruti Press*, Baroda. Cloth cover. Pp. 245. Price Re. 1-4-0, (1919).

The Shri Sayaji Sahitya Mala has again furnished us with a crop of three more books, all three being entitled to only modest claims on the score of utility or possibility of popularity. The first book relates to a poet, of the name of Bhalan, known to old Gujarati chiefly for his translation of Bana's Kadambari, in verse. All available materials have been consulted by Mr. Modi, and he has been able to produce a work, which, as he himself says, though not of first class merit, would still be a finger post to those who wished to follow a more ambitious road. The second is a translation of Dr. Jevon's Comparative Religion. The translator at the outset points out one difficulty, and we think a very real one, viz., that the author of the original has not been so successful with the other religions as with the Christian. Further his ideas about the Hindu religion, our Vedas, &c., are such as cannot be accepted by Hindus. The situation being such, and the Department having conceived the very laudable idea of furnishing to the Gujarati Libraries a standard work on the comparative value of the different religions of the world, was it not possible for them to invite an original book, instead of paying for the translation of a treatise which the translator himself rightly points out, is wanting in the very essentials of such a subject. As it is, we don't think this book would travel beyond the shelves of a library cupboard. The third book is a translation of Sir C. J. Ilbert's "Parliament." If the book be widely read, it may serve its purpose.

K. M. J.

We have received a copy of a monthly periodical called the "Samaj Jivan" (समाज जीवन). We do not review periodicals.

In the August 1919, issue of the Modern Review at p. 198, column 1, line 4, for "he" read "one"; in line 8, after "and" add "the"; in line 18, for "Carried", read "coined"; in line 21, for "put" read "give it"; and in the 3rd line from the bottom, for "name," read "hand."

K.M.J.

Acknowledgments.

1. PROCEEDINGS OF A COMMITTEE OF SELECTED CO-OPERATORS, UNITED PROVINCES—March 29th, 30th and 31st, 1919,—Superintendent, Government Press, U. P., Allahabad, Price As. 5, or 6d.

2. BUREAU OF EDUCATION, INDIA, PAMPHLET No. 5—Notes on Vernacular Education in Ceylon, by H. Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E., Educational Commissioner with the Government of India; Superintendent, Government Printing, India, Calcutta, Price As. 12 or 1s.

3. THEORY AND PRACTICE OF LIFE ASSURANCE, with a History of its origin and growth, by Jogesh Chandra Mitra, F.C.S., F.R.E.S., published by Mitra & Sons, Calcutta, Price As. 8.—A very useful and well-printed booklet of 58 pages.

4. FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BENGAL LIGHT HORSE, I. D. F. SEASON, 1918.—Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.

5. THE POOR SCHOOLS SOCIETY, MADRAS. REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1918, Commercial Press, Triplicane, Madras, 1919.—This records the useful work done by the Society during the year under notice, for the diffusion of culture, civic life, piety, &c., among the poor and depressed classes. It is a noble work.

6. A PROSPECTUS OF A NEW AND CRITICAL Edition of the Mahabharata undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, under the auspices of Srīmat Balasaheb Pant Pritinidhi, B.A., Chief of Aundh.—This Prospectus

gives a succinct history of Western and Indian Studies, Edition and MSS. of the great Indian Epic and is sure to be of great help to all scholars given to its study.

7. A FEW HINTS ON SANITARY RECONSTRUCTION by Rai Chunilal Bose Bahadur, I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S.—This is a leaflet of 8 pages reprinted from the *Social Service Quarterly*, containing much useful information.

8. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE XII MADRAS PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE, delivered by Mr. C. Rajagopalachar.

9. DRAFT RULE OF THE RAMA TIRTHA PUBLICATION LEAGUE—This leaflet, which by the way, is an interesting publication, has been issued for circulation by the Secretary of the League, from 10 Hewett Road, Lucknow.

10. WISDOM AND WIT OF THE TALMUD, Compiled by the Talmud Society, Boston, Mass., U. S. A. Price 25 cents.

11. SELF-GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA by M. V. Gopal Rao, printed by Scape & Co., Cocanada, Price As. 4. This neatly printed pamphlet of 8 pages makes an admirable attempt to shew that self-rule was not a strange thing in India in olden times.

12. THE REFORM BILL: AN EXPOSITION by K. Vyasa Rao, B.A., published by S. R. Murthy & Co., Triplicane, Madras, S. E., 1919. Pp. 30, Price As. 8, 1s.—This booklet is composed of a reprint of the series of interesting articles on the Indian Reform Bill contributed by the author to the *Hindu* of Madras. We have read it with interest and pleasure.

13. ANNUAL RETURNS OF THE LUNATIC ASYLUMS in Bihar and Orissa for 1918.

14. REPORT OF THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE, JAMUKHANDI STATE—1918.

15. PROCEEDINGS OF THE TENTH CONFERENCE OF THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN BENGAL HELD IN FEBRUARY, 1919.

A HOPE

Should rising mount or some meandering stream
Divide and fix the bounds of human love
For once and all and brand upon man's brow
The mark of hate? Should regions which teem
With brothers hold aloof and somehow deem
Their destinies apart? Should countries vow
To keep the pales which well may crumble now
Or stand, as mortal minds may shape and dream?

Some future age will scoff at all this zeal
Which filled the world with hatred, war and crime
By cleaving to diverse lands our mother Earth,—
An age when man will find anew his birth,
The world encompassing a single clime
And all the nations lapt in common peace and weal.
Benares. P. SESHADRI.

WILLIAM ARCHER'S "INDIA AND THE FUTURE"

BY LAJPAT RAI

V.

MR. Archer's criticism of Indian Art and culture is characterised by the same "racial complacency" as disfigures the rest of his book. We do not propose to devote much space to this as we are sure more competent persons than ourselves, will do the needful. We will give a few samples of Mr Archer's aberrations.

Speaking of "the amazing lack of character in Indian history and art", Mr. Archer remarks, "it may almost be said that down to the coming of the great Moguls, India had contributed only one great character, Gautama Buddha, to the world's pantheon—and he perhaps never existed. If a claim be put in for Asoka, it may possibly be allowed, but after all, how featureless he is!" How kind of Mr. Archer to allow this claim for Asoka and poor Buddha!! "And when we pass from antiquity to medieval and modern times is not the contrast almost as striking? European history, literature and art swarm above everything with great characters. Where are the Indian Charlemagne and Alfred, Columbus and Luther, Cromwell, Richelieu and Napoleon? Against a score of such master spirits, India may advance one figure who certainly stands in the front rank of historic rulers; the great, the enlightened, the truly heroic Akbar." Shahjahan, Aurangzeb, Sivaji, Haider Ali, and "perhaps a dozen other men of notable political or military talent" are put down as individuals of second rank.

The whole question turns upon one's conception of what are and what are not "supreme personalities." An Indian may very well turn round and say that the supreme personalities of Mr. Archer's mind are in no way supreme and that Chandra Gupta, Samudra Gupta, Harsha, Sher Shah, Ranjit Singh, Pratap Singh, Durga Das, Man Singh from amongst the men rulers, Ahalya Bai, Lachmi Bai and Chand Bibi from among the women rulers, Kalidas, Shankar, Ramanuja and Tulsi Das and others from among the writers and thinkers, Nanak, Chaitanya, Govind Singh and Tukaram from among the reformers, were as "supreme" personalities as those mentioned by Mr. Archer. Vincent Smith calls Tulsi Das "the greatest man of his age in India—even greater than Akbar himself," whose supreme personality Mr. Archer admits. Sir George Grierson considers Tulsi Das's poem as the work of a great genius. In the last paragraph of this chapter, Mr. Archer gives out the bias that he has contracted within the last twenty years against things Indian—a bias which had shut the doors of sane judgment on him—long

before he visited India. He was evidently very much pricked by the "exaggerated" claims set up for India and Indian culture by the admirers of the latter, and by the political claims of Young India and it was to demolish these that he started on his visit to India. No wonder then, that his studies were so seriously affected by his bias and he saw everything with coloured glasses. He says:

"I unfeignedly regret, in conclusion, the controversial and even depreciatory tone of this chapter. Had it been written twenty years ago, its tenor would have been very different. One could then have dwelt with warm appreciation on the numberless beauties of Indian Art; one could have noted, without insistence, its obvious defects of exaggeration, excess and monstrosity, and one need not have embarked upon disobliging and quite unnecessary comparisons. The intelligent Indian has undoubtedly a great deal to be proud of in the artistic past of his country. Even its barbarisms are magnificent, while its sane achievements are often of exquisite, sometimes of unique, beauty. Far be it from me to deny that India is, from the artistic point of view, one of the most interesting countries in the world. Her art contributed potently to the spell cast upon me, but for which this book would never have been written. But when the intelligent Indian is assured that, in almost every branch of artistic activity, his country, by express favour of the gods, stands supreme over all the world, one can only advise him, in his own interest, not to believe it."

The last two chapters of Mr. Archer's book—"Education" and "Epilogue"—constitute, practically, the only constructive writing in this mass of destructive explosives, aimed at a whole nation of 315 millions, for the offence of a few of them who have had the audacity of comparing their achievements in the past, with those of the Europeans and thus mortally wounding the "racial complacency" of Mr. Archer. Mr. Archer is mistaken if he thinks he has destroyed them. He has only strengthened them in the belief that so long as Europe is intoxicated with the wine of racial superiority, and so long as that intoxication is justified by their success on the political and the economic side of life, it is almost hopeless to expect Europeans in general to consider the claims of the East, with any fairness and impartiality. I may be pardoned for reminding Mr. Archer that in the judgment of Orientals there is greater insanity in Europe now, than there ever was in Asia. Asia is "barbarous" no doubt, in certain respects, but

it has more sense of proportion in estimating human values, than Europe, and if any proof was needed it has been supplied by the great war. Did Asia ever display such "barbarism," such complete surrender to the instinct of killing and destroying? Asia's barbarities in pre-scientific days, in the days of old standards of international morality, stand in great relief with the barbarities of Europe, at the height of its civilization, glory and virility. Every race, every nation has its vanities. These vanities are a part of their psychology. They have their uses. When in proportion, they are called self-respect, just pride, self-confidence and self-reliance. When out of proportion they are called "swagger and arrogance." These latter lead to destruction and downfall, as certainly as night follows the day. The Indians and the Chinese, the Persians and the Arabs have had their days of "swagger". Their swagger, however, was confined to a small area. Among the Europeans too, the Greeks, the Romans and the Spaniards have had their days of swagger. Now is the time of the Anglo-Saxon and the Teuton. The Slav has for the present subsided. It is the Anglo-Saxon and the Teuton, who are rivals for the first place in racial and cultural vanity and swagger. They are settling their dispute by the weapons of their civilization. The human instincts of the rest of the world, revolt at the procedure, but they are helpless to prevent it. It is the same old idea of "me, the chosen of the gods", "Deutsch uber alles" and their equivalent in other languages. To charge the modern Indian, with "swagger", is not only ridiculous but can only be attributed to some kind of affectation. Yet we will recommend a careful, patient and restrained study of this book to all young Indians. Mr. Archer is a candid friend though he has overdone his part. There is sufficient in his criticism of our culture, and of our character, to make us think of it seriously. It is always useful to see ourselves with the eyes of others. That we have native vices of our own, of which we must be cured, before we can make progress, we must own. Most of us are conscious of that, most of us are trying hard to get rid of them, and Mr. Archer would have done us a service, if his criticism egged us on to more speedy, more vigorous and more effectual efforts towards reform and reconstruction. I have reason to be angry with Mr. Archer as he has misrepresented us. He has tried to create a prejudice against us and our cause, in the eyes of the whole world. That he has done it in a fit of anger is written on every page of his book. What I beg of my countrymen is to rise above anger and to use his criticism for the purposes of constructive reconstruction. That we need it, none among us doubts. It is not the spirit of humility we are wanting in, but a spirit of proper and just valuation of our conditions and

potentialities. An over-valuation may be as harmful as under-valuation. We must have self-confidence, and self-reliance—a spirit to do, dare and achieve. A small dose of pride will not harm us. Anyway it is better than under-estimation of ourselves. But we have to be careful lest we overdo it and if Mr. Archer's book warns us against that, we may still be thankful to him for having written it. At any rate we know now, how an English liberal Imperialist, who is so anxious to disclaim little Englandism, thinks of us, our past, our civilization and our capacities. We will know, hereafter, how to assess their professions of friendship and what to do to avoid the effects thereof. There is, however, one part of Mr. Archer's advice against which I will sound a note of warning. It is not only superfluous, but positively harmful, for us, to discuss the future polity of India. We should discuss and formulate our immediate demands; we may discuss the principles on which we desire to build our national structure. Until and unless the British allow us some form of Home Rule, it is not an advice of perfection to be followed, that we should create fresh divisions among us by a theoretical discussion of the remote or the "ultimate" future. Our immediate problem is to get a recognition of our fundamental right to govern ourselves, and to agitate, and agitate and agitate, for such reconstruction of the Government of India as will insure some kind of autonomy to us, of British India. What eventually will happen to the native states, how we shall mould our economic future, are questions yet too remote to allow of a diversion of attention from the immediate problem; even more so, is the question, what we shall do in the event of the British leaving the country. The British are not going to leave the country for a long time yet. Most of us are honestly and sincerely anxious to arrive at a settlement which will not necessitate the breaking asunder of our connection with them. This anxiety is in no way inconsistent with our opposition to the existing form and machinery of Government in India; nor does it destroy or lessen the force of our criticism of the same, in spite of all the sarcasm which Mr. Archer has poured on us in this connection. We know what we want, we know how to get it; on then, with the work in hand, without allowing ourselves to be disturbed either by flattery or by abuse. We shall be neither cajoled by the former nor frightened by the latter. Let us believe in our own sanity. May be that it will coincide with that of Mr. Archer. May be that it will not. In neither case shall we swerve from the path we have chalked out for ourselves. Remember we can only be saved by ourselves, with or without the help of others. We welcome all help, co-operation and criticism, but we resent arrogance, swagger and dictation.

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP IN AMERICA

I.

THE most serious business of American colleges and universities at this time, it seems, is the training of young Americans for civic life. "Citizenship is the only profession," declares Dr. G. Stanley Hall, the eminent President of the Clark University, "which all young men should be trained for." The citizen should have that kind of instruction which will teach him how and when to use civic knowledge.

The State University of Iowa, which may be taken as a type of the government higher educational institutions, is doing a very significant work in developing patriotism and in training citizens. On account of my personal relation to the University, I am somewhat reluctant to speak about its work; but since I happen to know Iowa better than any other American State University, I may, perhaps, be permitted to say something about its Department of Political Science, which offers many courses designed to prepare young people for intelligent citizenship.

II.

Let me begin by giving a short sketch of the programme of studies as carried on by the Department of Political Science. It is obvious that for a citizen the study of political philosophy, say from Aristotle on down to our day, is of great value; but a wide-awake American youth is not content with political theory. For him, practical government, like the proverbial charity, begins at home. And so at the very outset he makes an intensive study of American government. Now the study of a government does not consist simply of an analysis of its anatomy or framework: it includes a consideration of the actual workings of the government in all of its branches—national, state, and local. A comprehensive course in American govern-

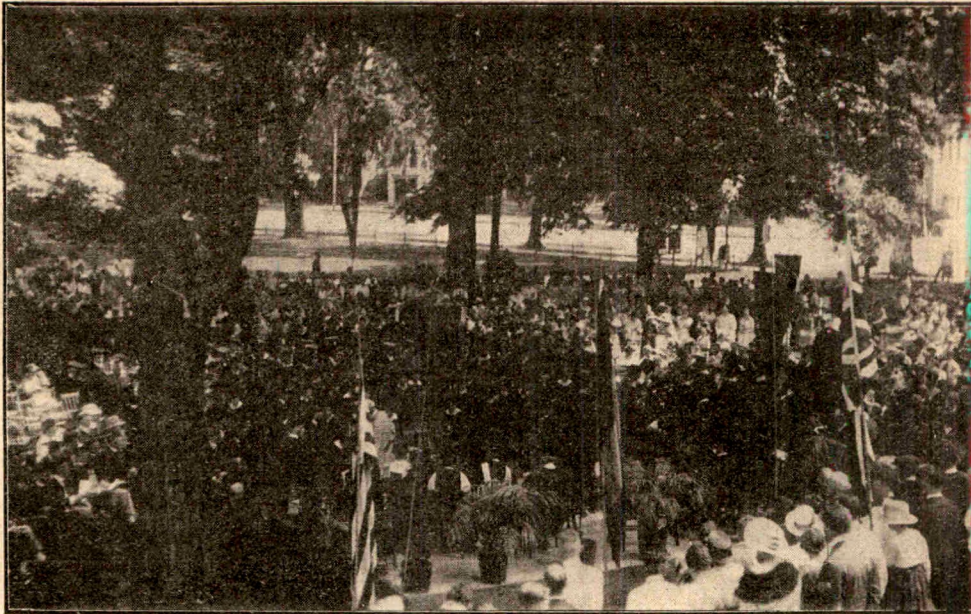
ment lays particular stress upon the relation of the citizen to the government, and upon the rights, duties, and responsibilities of citizenship. "The general content of the course in American government," explains one of my colleagues who has charge of the work, "is suggested by a threefold division.

"First of all, the student, as future participant and leader in public affairs, is introduced to the background of American institutions in State and Nation by tracing the road by which American democracy has arrived at its present stage of development. It is essential to a correct understanding of the workings and effectiveness of State and national government to have some knowledge of our institutional origins as well as of our democratic experiments since the days of the Declaration of Independence. This preliminary general survey of the evolutionary growth of American political institutions, practices, and ideas precedes that part of the course which deals with the national government and with citizenship in its national aspects.

"The machinery of the national government is fully described, with emphasis upon the work actually accomplished in furthering the ends for which the American State exists. Furthermore, a study of the results achieved and the leadership evidenced by public servants is viewed as of prime importance in the education of those who are being prepared for more than a passive participation in the activities of the government. The actual management of national affairs at home and abroad affords materials for class discussions and essays.

"Nor the study of State government, including local government in county, city, township, and school district, neglected. The relations of the citizen to each of these units of government, his obligations and responsibilities, are emphasized because his own daily life and life of the community are tremendously affected by them. Likewise the obstacles to prompt, intelligent, and efficient participation by the citizen in public matters are also pointed out."

My colleague in charge of this particular work has the advantage of both American and English education. He took his B. A. degree from Oxford University with honors in history, and also holds two other degrees,



An open-air meeting on the campus of the Iowa University to discuss problems of citizenship.

including one in law from an American university.

"Throughout the course," he goes on, "no opportunity is lost to drive home the fact that a citizen, no matter how well intentioned or how well educated along other lines, cannot act intelligently on the problems that require solution in government action, unless he knows at least the elementary facts about them and has a fundamental knowledge of the machinery and workings of the government.

"How can the citizen know whether a candidate is fitted to perform the duties of the office he seeks, unless the citizen knows what the duties of that office are? How can he initiate and promote changes which he deems to be in the interests of the common good, unless he understands the organization through which changes are accomplished?

"The citizen must be made to feel that as a citizen he is really an important factor in government. When the citizen realizes that the government is his government, he will not be against the government but for the government and always for a better government."

A student in order to have an intelligent grasp of the current political issues must study contemporary legislation. It gives him an understanding of some of the more vital contemporary political, politico-

economic, and politico-social problems which are seeking solution through legislation.

The phenomenal development of the city in modern times has brought in its train a host of municipal problems. No one—especially those who are to live in the city—can afford to ignore them. Hence a working knowledge of the principles of municipal government and the way the administrative machinery runs in the larger cities of America and Europe is an essential part of the political equipment of a citizen.

In a free country, such as America, every one is expected at some time or other to be a member of some sort of deliberative body—a club, a co-operative association, a city council, a political convention, or a State legislature. The rules which govern the operation of such bodies should be known by everyone. To this end a course in parliamentary law and practice is offered by the Department of Political Science. The course is conducted by the use of a manual and actual practice work. After the more important rules are learned the class proceeds to form itself into various voluntary associations. In these mock organizations each of the members of the



An informal celebration of the home-coming of the alumni of the University.

class acts in turn in various capacities—as presiding officer, recording officer, and parliamentary. In the course of time a complete constitution and by-laws are drafted for some particular association. The subject matter of these instruments forms the basis for the debate and the manipulation of parliamentary rules.

Should an intelligent citizen have some knowledge of European government and politics? Should he be prepared to pass an intelligent opinion on and take an effective part in modern movements in government and politics? Does he realize that there can be no real progress without knowledge? The challenge involved in these questions is met by a course in modern governments. It includes a critical study of the governments of leading European nations—France, England, Italy, and Switzerland.

Political science and law are blood cousins; they are, in some respects, most inextricably related to each other. There are, therefore, elaborate courses in the field of jurisprudence, constitutional law, international law, and common law.

In nearly all the States of the Republic women have now, or will have soon, the privilege of voting. While all the courses in the Department of Political Science are open to women students, their attention is

called especially to the study of the political and legal status of women. The course involves a survey of the “woman’s rights” or “feminist” movement in general, and a study of the legal and political status of women in the United States in particular.

One of the most enheartening signs of the time in America is the widespread desire of the people to “get beyond their skin,” their people, their city, their own nation, and get in sympathy with the whole world. Now for the benefit of those who wish to extend their knowledge of world problems several courses are given. One course in colonial government is devoted to the consideration of principles of colonial government, and methods of European and American colonial systems. British, French, and the United States possessions are studied and compared with reference to the problems of government, education, commerce, and industry. Another course is devoted to the study of South American Republics. Another course dealing with Oriental politics and civilization, makes a comprehensive survey of the political, social, economic, and cultural forces in the awakening of Japan, China, and India. Still another course on world politics aims to give the student a sound

grasp of the pressing political question which affect all nations.

III.

Generally speaking, the method of instruction for the first year University students is through text books combined with lectures. For upper class men lectures are supplemented by assigned readings in a large selection of books, and by presentation of papers on special topics. And for advanced students preparing for higher degrees, the seminar method is used. The candidates for the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees engage in special study and research under an instructor, and present the results of their labour in a formal dissertation "which shall not only exhibit evidence of original research, but shall in itself be a contribution to the sum of human knowledge."

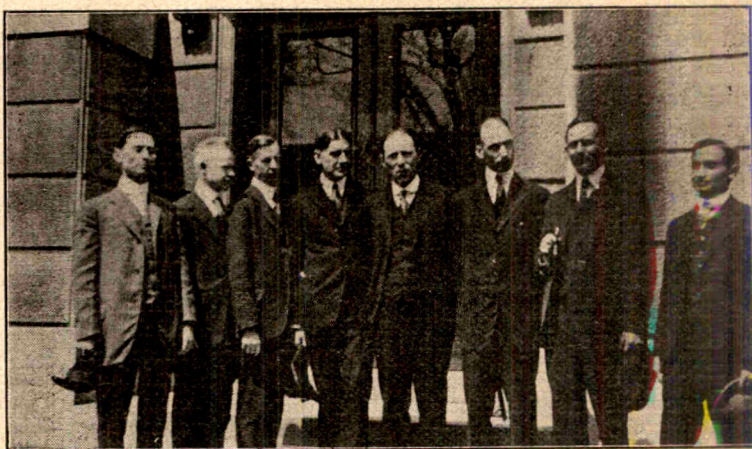
The student whether a freshman or a post-graduate is always encouraged to do his own thinking. He is never taught to accept ready-made opinions no matter where they come from. He must, so far as practicable, think his own way through a problem and draw his own conclusion. Development of independent judgment, mental poise and intellectual honesty, rather than sheer memory, is the deliberate purpose of citizen training.

In the research method of instruction, which consists of individual investigation, the teacher keeps in close touch with the student through daily or weekly conferences. The investigator is turned loose on "raw material," on original sources of information—sources from which the authors themselves write text-books and is required to carry on his laborious investigation through months and years. He makes use of the University library as a civic laboratory. It is worth while to note that

it is not at all unusual for us to see a student take sharp issue with authors of recognized text-books and with established authorities. He may not always be correct, and frequently he is not; but the fervent, glowing, passionate quest for truth, which is his guiding motive, receives most sympathetic—I had almost said indulgent—consideration at the hands of the professor.

IV.

The share of the present writer in this great work of civic education which is going forward at Iowa is very modest indeed; but he is glad of the opportunity to have a part in it, however humble that may be. He usually has charge of four courses. And of these four, it may be said without vanity, the two courses which have attracted considerable attention both in and out of University circles are "Oriental Politics and Civilisation" and "World Politics." Five years ago when I was



The staff of the Department of Political Science at the State University of Iowa. Reading, from left to right: B. B. Bassett, H. S. Foster, Ivan L. Pollock, Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Frank E. Horack, John E. Briggs, J. Van Der Zee, Sudhindra Bose.

called upon to give the new course in World Politics, it was considered rather a dubious experiment. Last year we had the satisfaction, however, of finding that the United States government ordered similar courses to be instituted in practically all colleges and universities in the country.

In this connection I cannot help observing that Americans, well-meaning Americans, have strange ideas concerning the Orient. "The average person in the United States," explained one of my young women students in oriental politics, "knows very little, nearly nothing, about the Eastern countries, especially their governments, economic conditions, and philosophical views." Consequently Orientals are looked upon generally as "ignorant," "superstitious," "backward," "a bunch of queer peoples," "a swarm of barbarians"!

"So today," wrote Erasmus, "a man stands aghast at the thought of paying for his boy's education a sum which would buy a foal or hire a farm servant." "Frugality—it is another name for madness." After four hundred years, traces of the madness of Erasmus are still to be found everywhere. And in America teaching is perhaps the poorest paid craft; but irrespective of any monetary compensation, I do enjoy my work and do like all my students in all my classes. The men and women who frequent my lecture rooms are bright, keen, and alert young folks. Quick to catch the point, they are, I dare say, the intellectual peers of any students in the world. Nevertheless there are moments of depression when I wonder if my labor will ever bear the desired fruit. I was, therefore, cheered when I received the following line, a short time ago, from one of my students. Speaking of the value of the course in Oriental Politics the writer remarked:

"This course has given me an entirely different viewpoint of Oriental affairs and has helped me more than any other course I have had. It has broadened me and made me take an active interest in the Orient whereas before I paid no attention to it. It has also developed in me a great sympathy for the people of the Orient, for I can now appreciate their side of questions as well as ours. The course has indeed changed my philosophy of life."

V.

The Department of Political Science at the State University of Iowa has justly

acquired a reputation throughout the land for its high quality of work. And for such an achievement great credit is due to the head of the Department, Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh. The one word which sums up the philosophy of this distinguished political thinker and educator is service, or as he might put it, citizen training. His views on the subject are so refreshing and illuminating that they are worth pondering over. "The education of the citizen for citizenship," says Professor Shambaugh, "involves a knowledge of the relation of the citizen to the state and its government—especially an understanding of legal and political rights and privileges and legal and political duties and obligations."

"The emphasis in such training will shift from time to time in accordance with the outlook of the period and the changing conceptions of the supreme purposes of the state. Thus, during the period of the American Revolution, the rights of citizens were stressed; later the organization of government was emphasized; while to-day in the United States the duties and obligations of citizenship are in the foreground."

"Again, other lines of training or education, such as training for the professions, vocational training, teacher training, training in the sciences, and training in the arts—which are offered by the state to citizens through courses of instruction in public schools and in the state colleges and universities, should not be confused with citizen training or training for citizenship. These many lines of education are all very important aspects of training for life. They contribute culture, method, technique, and efficiency to the life of the citizen. But none of these lines of education, nor all of them, afford training for citizenship as such. Training for citizenship, it must be clearly understood, is a specific line of education."

And it is this specific education which the State University of Iowa is providing through its Department of Political Science so efficiently.

SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., PH.D.,

*Lecturer in Political Science,
State University of Iowa.*

Iowa City, U.S.A.

July 1, 1919.

A NOTE ON MR. JAYASWAL'S DISCOVERY OF TWO SAISUNAGA STATUES (?)

It is somewhat difficult for persons outside the narrow circle of students who take interest in Indian Archaeology to gauge the significance of the sensational announcement made by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in the pages of the *Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society* in March last. Since the discovery of Kanishka's relic casket near Peshawar in 1909 and of the Asokan edict at Maski, Indian Archaeology had no startling news to offer until Mr. Jayaswal came forward with his dazzling discovery which attempts to throw into the shade the two finds just mentioned. Mr. Jayaswal's achievement is no less than a daring attempt to identify on the basis of a new reading of the inscriptions on two pieces of ancient sculpture in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the portrait statues of two early Saisunaga Emperors Udayin and Varta-Nandi, who have been little more than mere names in Indian history without any authentic details to give them anything like historical reality. The dynasty of Sisunaga is believed to have reigned at Rajgir from 600 B. C. The surviving monuments of ancient Indian history do not go beyond the Mauryan epoch (323 B. C. to 184 B. C.). If Mr. Jayaswal's reading of the inscriptions meet with favourable reception from epigraphical experts, he deserves the gratitude of all students for opening up a new vista in the most distant horizon of ancient Indian history. The artistic monuments of the Mauryan epoch represent an art in an advanced stage of development which supposes generations of artistic efforts and experience behind them and in as much as no actual remains of Pre-Mauryan Art have yet been discovered, we have learned to look forward to them rather anxiously but such expectations have only ended in disappointments and the Mauryan remains have till now remained a mysterious veil through which it has been impossible to peer, to obtain glimpses of more ancient examples. So that in fact, no lithic data exists for judging and estimating the art of the Pre-Mauryan periods. On the other hand the paucity of Pre-Mauryan remains has raised in many of us impatient expectation of a discovery to fill in this blank and have also engendered in us a pardonable though somewhat unscientific inclination to attribute Pre-Mauryan dates to finds which are incapable of carrying such attribution on the basis of scientific evidence. Mr. Jayaswal's attribution, therefore, for more reasons than one deserves careful consideration.

The two statues in question (Illustrations A and B) were discovered near Patna in 1812 and

subsequently presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1820. In 1879 they were removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, where they can now be seen in the Bharhut Gallery. Each of

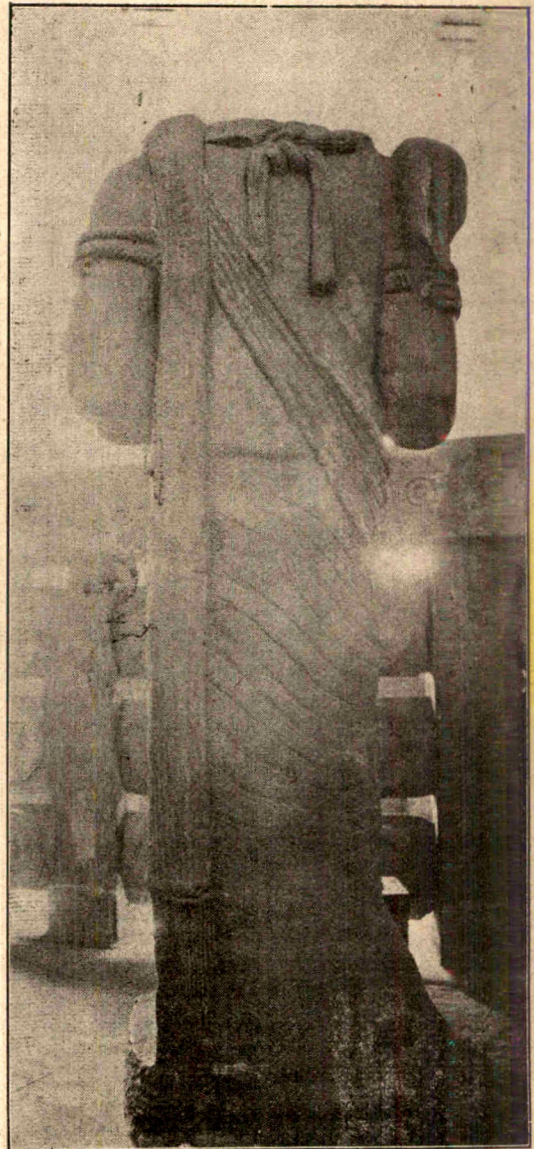


FIGURE C.

Back View of Fig. B.
Image of Yaksha from Patna.

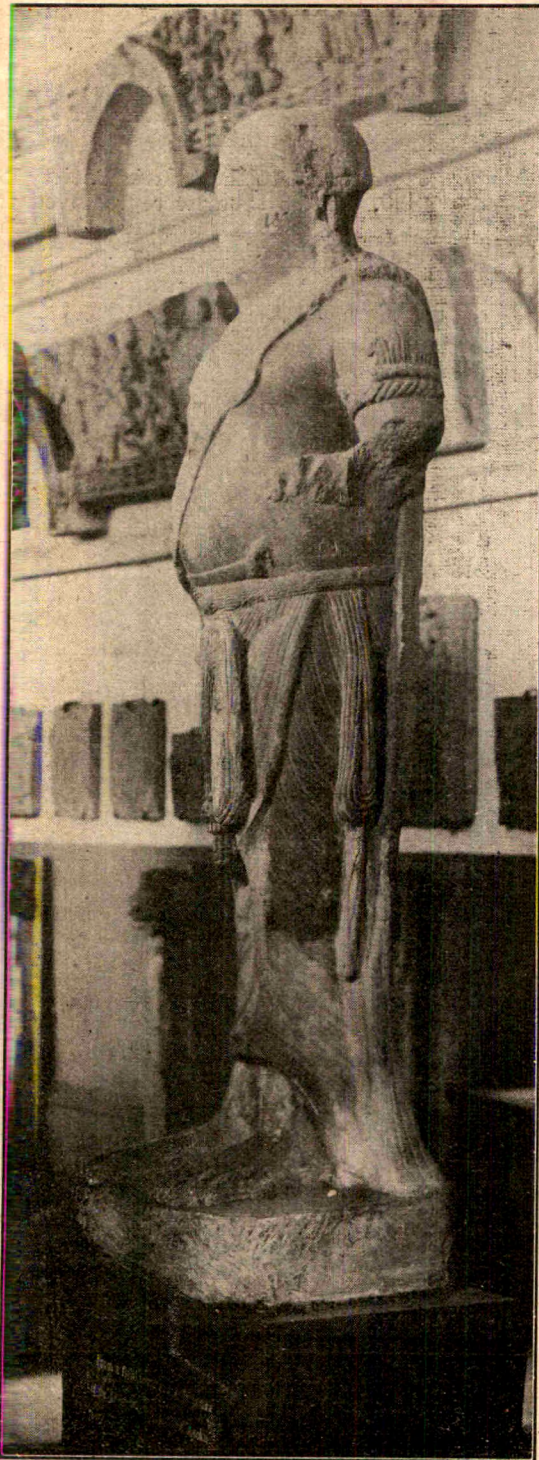


FIGURE A.
Image of Yaksha from Patna.
Indian Museum, Calcutta.

them bears inscriptions on the folds of the scarf below the shoulders. In 1879 Cunningham offered a tentative reading of the inscriptions according to which the headless figure bore the words "Yakhe Sanata nanda or Bharata" and the other figure, the words "Yahe Achu Satigika or Sanigika" (Archaeological Survey of India, Vol XV, pp. 2-3). The distinguished archaeologist identified the figures as of Yakshas and ascribed on the basis of the form of scripts a date later than Asoka. Mr. Jayaswal with a good deal of scholarly erudition challenges Cunningham's readings and identification. According to Mr. Jayaswal the inscription on figure A reads "Bhage ACHO Chhonidhise (His Gracious Majesty Aja King or over-ruler of the Earth) and that on figure B reads "Sapta-Khate Vata Nandi (of complete empire (dominion) Varta Nandi). The lists given in the Puranas of the Saisunaga Kings of Patna include the name "Nandi Vardhana" of which "Vardhana" according to Mr. Jayaswal is an imperial title. The Vayu, Brahmanda and Matsya Puranas refer to Nandi as the son of Udayin, while the Bhagavata calls Nandi-Vardhana, son of Aja (Ajeya) and in the preceding line, in place of Udayin it gives Aja. The text of the Vayu gives Varti-Vardhana instead of Nandi-Vardhana, which Mr. Jayaswal regards as variant forms, the Prakrita form of Varti being Vati. Both the statues bear traces of exquisite polish which we have been accustomed to associate with Mauryan monuments. And Mr. Jayaswal has argued that "the polish never appears on Post-Mauryan monuments while it is invariably found on Mauryan works and on the evidence of the polish, the statues and the inscriptions cannot be later than the Mauryan times." Mr. Jayaswal starts with the assumption that "it is certain that the inscriptions are contemporary with the statues; in fact the names have been inscribed before the statues were given the finishing touches." His contention is that the script of Mauryan times is known "and the script on the statues therefore must be earlier in age than Asoka's period."

We are not competent to express any opinion on the age of the scripts in the inscriptions on the statues, which we must leave for the consideration of expert epigraphists. We understand Monsieur Senart has undertaken to study the epigraphs. We can only offer in an humble way some criticisms of Mr. Jayaswal's identification on, what he has himself chosen to call, "art considerations." In studying Indian antiquities, aesthetic considerations have hitherto been severely neglected and ignored and it is a phase of an improvement in the methods of Indology to let the art-connoisseur have a word to say in the matter of dating and interpreting Indian antiquities.

In order to study the plastic quality and characteristics of the two statues in question, it

will be useful to³ compare the same with other ancient pieces of sculpture which offer the nearest parallels. For the benefit of our readers we also reproduce here (Illustration D.) the Parkham image from the Mathura Museum, and the image of Manibhadra Yaksha from Pawaya in Gwalior (Illustration E and F)* discovered by Pandit M. B. Garde in 1915. All these figures offer a common feature in the peculiarity of the types depicted—a thick set corpulent frame with characteristic, round abdomen. But apart from this somewhat superficial similarity in type the figures have very little else in common except in some details of drapery and ornaments and in certain postures and attitudes. The Parkham image stands quite apart from the group. The two so called Saisunaga statues are tied together with certain obvious "family" resemblances. While the Manibhadra image approaches the Parkham image in certain features, in others, it keeps touch with the Patna images. The indication of the knee joints peeping through the *dhوتي* both in the Parkham and the Manibhadra image seems to be more than a similarity of sculptor's convention (absent in the Patna images)—for it will be impossible in consideration of the other divergences in plastic features in the two images to impute any close proximity in time so as to import any stylistic link such as may be common to works of the same School. The feature of the knee-joint appears to be due to an adherence to a common canonical prescription imposed on the artist rather than a stylistic peculiarity common to the same school of figure sculpture. The absence of the knee-joint in the Patna images tends to place them far beyond the time indicated by the plastic peculiarities of the other two images. We know from the canons of the *Silpa Sastras* as also from innumerable Jaina images that the indication of the knee-joint was a scriptural rather than an artistic formula. According to one text "*Janu Syat Karkatakritih*" (the knee joint should be in the shape of a crab). It should be noted that in the Manibhadra image it is indicated as a pictorial lineal symbol—rather than as a plastic rendering of the knee-joint—given more out of schematic than actual necessity for actualisation of form—a result of the demand of the iconographer rather than of the artist. Further if we take into consideration the proportion of the different parts of the body, both the Parkham and the Manibhadra image correspond to the *Madhyama Navatala* proportions laid down in the *Silpasastras* being the canonical measure in which the images of Yakshas are prescribed by the texts to be constructed. The Patna images also answer the *Navatala* canon. If the Parkham image is connected with the Manibhadra image by the iconographical formulae indicated above, the "pot-belly" of both



FIGURE B.
Image of Yaksha from Patna.
Indian Museum, Calcutta.

* We are indebted to Pandit Garde, Inspector of Archæology, Gwalior, for these photographs.

the figures assume more significance than an accidental resemblance of type. From examples of Gandhara sculptures we know the "pot-belly" is the invariable characteristic of Yakshas, e.g., Jambhala, Kubera, &c. In fact one of the

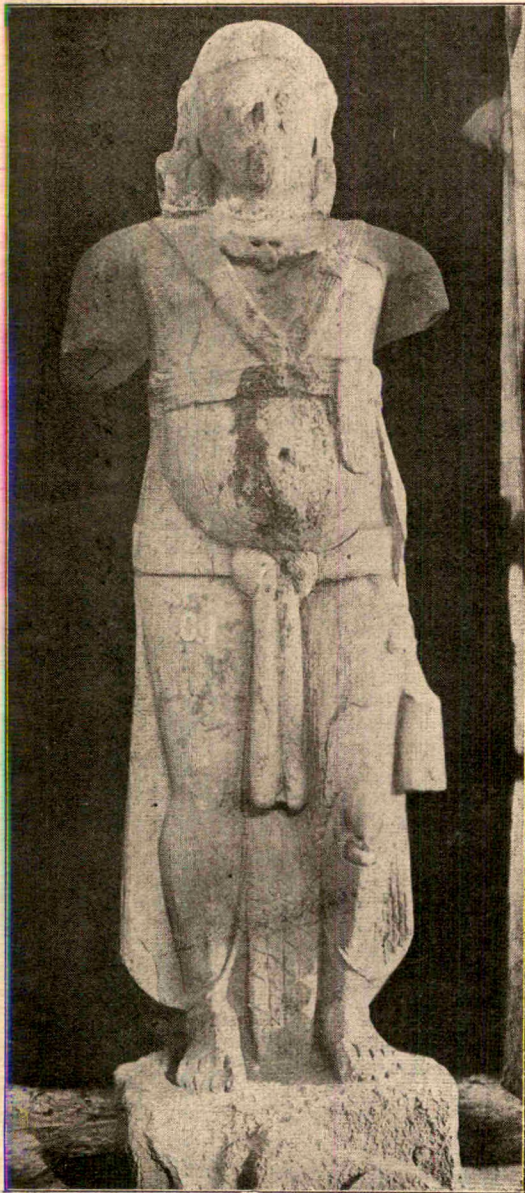


FIGURE D.
Image of Yaksha from Parkham.
Mathura Museum.

Yakshas, the presiding genius of Lanka (Ceylon), actually bears the appellation 'Kalasodara'. Dr. Vogel has suggested that the Parkham image is Kubera. Most probably the image

represents Gardhabhako, the presiding genius of Mathura, and its left hand very probably carried the purse, the ordinary insignia (*lanchana*) of a Yaksha as in the Manibhadra image. In the Parkham image both the hands are broken away—but from the indication of the place near the waist where the left hand touched the torso it is almost certain that the left hand had a similar attitude as the image of Manibhadra. The right hand of the latter image obviously carried the fly-whisk.

The two statues from Patna curiously enough imitate the Manibhadra image in the attitude of their left hand, which is obviously of a hand carrying some heavy object. The almost identical bent at right angle of the left hands of the two Patna statues as also the repetition of the folds of the draperies are difficult to explain on the supposition of the so-called family resemblance between the two. There is not only a similarity in gestures but also in the folds of the *dhoti*, the hanging ends and the knobs of the garments, which along with the other common features of the two figures undoubtedly proclaim them as "twins". As we shall presently see they are "twins" iconologically. The mysterious identity of dress and attitude preclude any supposition of their being individual portrait statues. They are in fact "icons". And if the study of the two other figures cited above (Fig. D and E) and the attitude of the left hand offer any data—they proclaim very loudly that they are the images of Yakshas. Mr. Arun Sen, 'Lecturer in Hindu Art to the University of Calcutta', to whom we showed these photographs, readily endorsed the similarity of the type and attitude and he has favoured the acceptance of identification of the Patna statues as images of Yakshas.

While the Parkham is divergent in many points from the image of Manibhadra, the "twins" from Patna are inseparably connected with each other by more points of contact than could be expected on the basis of a common Yaksha type. This mysterious connection seems to be explained by the text of the *Maha mayuri** which gives an invaluable catalogue of Yakshas, which according to the text had seats—at different places in ancient India—each city having its tutelary Yaksha. Apart from the *Maha mayuri*, we have independent evidence of the existence of widespread cults connected with the Yakshas in various parts of India before the advent of the Christian era. But the *Maha mayuri* by its geographical and iconological data helps us to identify various sites with which the various Yakshas enumerated were associated. Thus the archaeological evidence of the identity of the image of the Yaksha called Manibhadra derives

* "Le Catalogue des Yaksha dans La Mahamayuri" by MSylvain Levi—Journal Asiatique, Janvier—Fevrier 1915; pp. 20 to 138.

authentic corroboration from the text which recites that the two brother Yakshas Manibhadra and Purnabhadra had their seats or shrines in Brahmavati, which was probably a place near the Punjab. Another passage in the same text affords the key to the mysterious resemblance of the two statues from Patna we have been considering. Says our text: "*Nandi ca vardhanas caiva nagare Nandivardhane.*" The twins, Nandi and Vardhana, had their seats or shrines in the city of Nandivardhana. In the course of a very elaborate note which could only be worthy of such a great savant, Monsieur Sylvain Levi lays under contribution various Chinese authorities

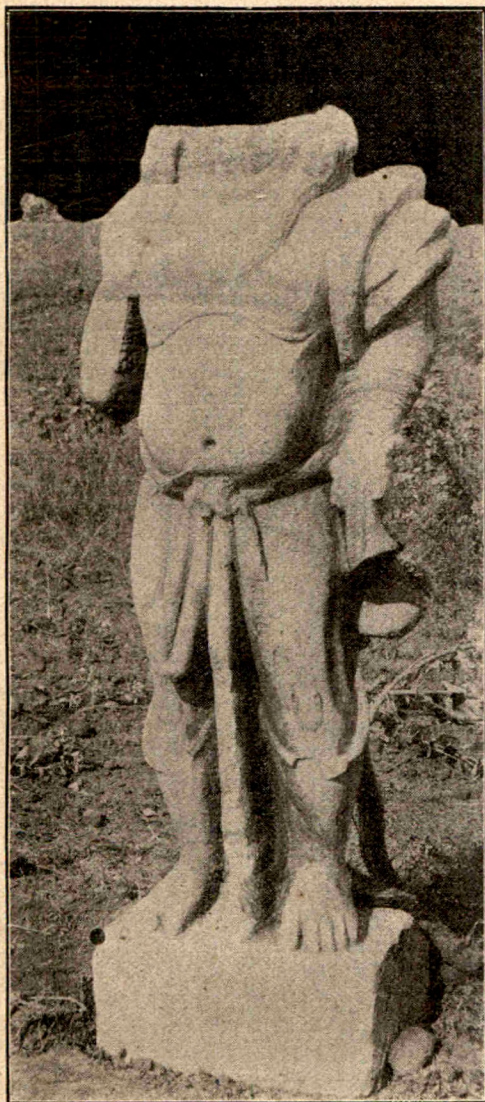


FIGURE E.
Image of Manibhadra from Gwalior.
(Front View).

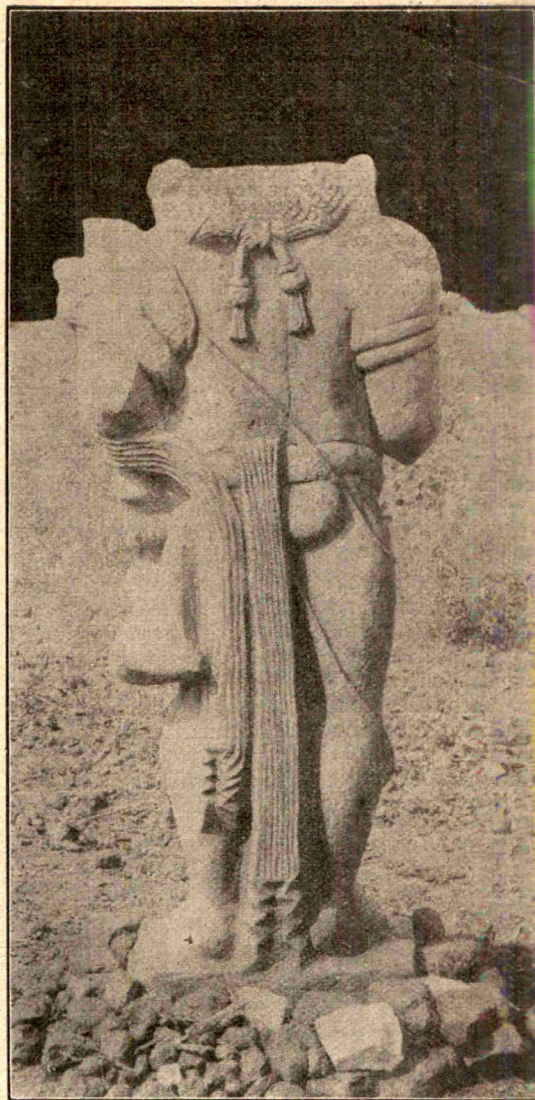


FIGURE F.
Image of Manibhadra.
(Back View).

bearing on the question of the identity of this city. According to one Chinese authority HOWEY-WAN, who composed a glossary on the Avatamsaka Sutra, the city of Nandivardhana was in the Kingdom of Magadha as mentioned in the original Sutra.* The text itself suggests that the names of the two Yaksha tutelaries obviously gave to the city the name of Nandivardhana. The cumulative weight of all these considerations, taken together with the obvious

* It is only fair to point out that more sites than one claim to be identified with the city of that name.

identity of the two statues with Yaksha types familiar to us in other examples, pushes us involuntarily to the conclusion that one of these Patna images represents 'Nandi' and the other 'Vardhana'. And it seems to be in the fitness of things that they should have been discovered in Behar (Magadha). Most probably Nandivardhana was a city somewhere near Pataliputra. There is no doubt that the former was a very old city and probably flourished before Pataliputra grew into importance, as it figures in the Vinaya text of the Mahasanghikas and is mentioned along with such ancient cities as Vaisali, Pushkalavati and Taksasila. The third statue mentioned by Buchanan as having been removed by Mr. Hawkins might possibly have been a 'brethren' of 'Nandi' and 'Vardhana' and probably was Krakucchandah, the presiding Yaksha of Pataliputra.

If Mr. Jayaswal's reading of the inscriptions is correct and they are accepted as correct descriptions of the two statues, the proposed identification that has been hazarded in the note above has to be abandoned, but till then as an alternative suggestion it may commend itself to the consideration of scholars. Both Dr. Spooner and Mr. R. D. Bannerjee appear to have suggested that the inscriptions were incised on the statues after the identity of the figures were forgotten. If so, then the inscriptions lose much of their evidentiary value for establishment of the identity of the figures. Knowing as we do the practice of Indian craftsmen, it is not possible to suggest that the same hand which modelled the statues

also inscribed the letters on the scarfs at the back. Though we know of instances in later times of inscriptions giving the name of an image being placed on the back, the invariable rule in ancient times seems to have been to inscribe the name on some prominent part on the front which would easily attract notice. However, if, as suggested by Dr. Spooner and Mr. Bannerjee, the inscriptions are of later date than the statues themselves (Mr. Bannerjee asserts that one of the inscriptions cannot be older than 1st century B. C.), then it is quite possible to argue that after the decline of the Yaksha cults, people forgot the identity of the images, and, sometime about the first century B.C., wrongly began to call them 'Aja Udayin' and 'Varta Nandin' and the inscriptions, if they do spell out the names of these Saisunaga Kings, as brilliantly suggested by Mr. Jayaswal, may well have been mistaken appellations given in later times to images which represent the Yakshas suggested above.

There is absolutely no doubt that the actual date of the construction of these images, quite apart from and independent of the inscriptions, must be as early as the Mauryan times, if not earlier. The date of the image of Manibhadra according to the age of the inscription on its pedestal, which is in Brahmi character, has been supposed to be of the first or second century A. D. The Patna images are distant by at least three centuries from the Gwalior image and may be older than the Parkham image in the Mathura Museum.

ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOLY.

THE ETERNAL DREAM

Thou knowest not how into thy soul it glides,
This phantom of a world,—how on a sudden
Mountains are there, rich in long-garnered glory
For untold ages' joy ; and opal mist
Filling the splendid chalice of thy sight
To its blue brim ; and solemn-shadowed forests
Through which loud waters race, while overhead
The mournful kites are wheeling.

Men are wise

With a swift wisdom that is soon annulled.
One rock the more uprooted doth but leave
Our last ideal in its magic gleam ;
And he who tamed the will of all the world
Would cast no shadow on the Eternal dream.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

BI-CAMERAL LEGISLATURES

"If a second chamber dissents from the first, it is mischievous. If it agrees with it, it is superfluous."

Abbe Sieyes.

"The Labour Party is opposed to a second chamber, no matter how such a chamber is constructed."

Philip Snowden.

"Its time is past. We can now have Senates no more than we can have trial by battle."

Ramsay MacDonald.

"The survival of a second chamber is purely fortuitous. It is a device to thwart democracy."

J. M. Robertson.

SOME Indian witnesses before the parliamentary joint committee on the Indian Reforms Bill appear to favour bi-cameral legislatures for India. It is proposed in this article to examine the device of a second chamber.

The stock argument of the protagonists of the bi-cameral system is that "practically everywhere there is a recognised Second Chamber problem." What they mean to say is that the bi-cameral system has become almost before they accept it as a cardinal constitutional creed. In the hey cannot help admitting that that problem been solved." And are the Second Chamber has been a 'democratic basis' difficulties avoided." [*The Second Chamber*

to solve the Second Chamber Problem is to dissolve it where it exists, and the means to avoid difficulties is to be found in not creating or inviting them where they do not exist.

Before the November Revolutions of 1918 broke out in Europe, Russia, Greece, Servia, and Bulgaria were already uni-cameral and in future most of the European States are, in every probability, going to adopt Single Chamber systems.

Although the Oversea British Dominions, either following the example of their mother country or forced by necessity and the "Mother of Parliaments" have adopted the bi-cameral system, yet in the local or provincial Councils of some of the Colonies the uni-cameral system still prevails. The "great province of Ontario, the most important of the Canadian provinces, and the new provinces in the West have all adopted the system of a single Chamber." Similarly, "following the example of Canada" the incorporated Colonies of the Union of South Africa "are relieved of the burden of Upper Chambers". And the result of this uni-cameral system is said to be very satisfactory: "The single-chamber system has given satisfaction in Canada, for in no province with a single

Chamber is there any serious movement to change to two Chambers. In Nova Scotia, on the other hand, there has been a strong movement to abolish the Second Chamber." [*The Second Chamber Problem*, pp. 47 and 71.] Then, why did the Colonies adopt the bi-cameral system at all? There were three factors or reasons which led to the establishment of the Second Chambers in the British Colonies.

First: The smaller provinces of these Colonies "feared the domination" of the larger ones and therefore they wished to follow and adopt the same safeguards that were resorted to by the United States of America. Secondly: Second Chambers, in all countries, have been "designed as conservative bodies." And the bi-cameral "Councils have certainly fulfilled the retarding function of a Second Chamber. Nearly every measure which is claimed as democratic has had to pass the ordeal of several rejections....Even so well tried a measure as the workmen's compensation act is in some cases still held back" [in the Australian Commonwealth]. The early immigrants that colonised the colonies, and exterminated the aborigines, were the "land-owners and middle classes." These colonists were conservatives by necessity, temperament and tradition, whether they were British or Dutch or French. The third factor which "saddled" the Colonies with "unnecessary Upper Houses" was "the authorities of Downing Street" who "in the last generation attached some sanctity or importance to the bi-cameral system which made it seem profane and outrageous in their eyes to set up any sort of autonomy without it." [*The Sec. Cham. P. 71.*]

THE HEREDITARY PRINCIPLE ABANDONED.

However, in all the New States where the bi-cameral system has been adopted, the hereditary principle has been deliberately abandoned. Even among the ancient States, where hereditary peers still sit in the Upper House, the only second chamber where the hereditary peers are in the majority is the British House of Lords.

There has been a very strong current of opinion against hereditary Second Chambers even in England, for a very long time. In 1879 Lord Bryce [then Mr. Bryce] said "if I had to select between the present House of Lords and one chamber I should prefer one chamber."

The Second Chamber of Italy is practically a nominated body. Those of Portugal and Canada consist of purely nominated members. Whereas Spain, Denmark and South Africa have partly elected and partly nominated Upper Chambers.

The Second Chamber of France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway (if Norway can be regarded as a bi-cameral State, at all), Switzerland, the Australian Commonwealth and the U. S. America are entirely elected assemblies.

THE REASONS, REAL AND SENTIMENTAL, FOR THE EXISTENCE OF THE SECOND CHAMBER EXAMINED.

Two English political philosophers, Lecky and Sidgwick, have supplied political and constitutional writers with stock arguments in favour of second chambers. Lecky, the tory historian and political thinker, believed that "the necessity of a Second Chamber, to exercise a controlling, modifying, retarding and steadying influence has acquired almost the position of an axiom." Sidgwick, on the other hand, persuaded people to believe that the main end for which a Senate was constituted was "that all legislative measures may receive a second consideration by a body different in character from the primary representative assembly and, if possible, superior or supplementary in intellectual qualifications."

But, as a matter of fact, a careful and critical study of the growth and history of Second Chambers furnishes a more rational and plausible explanation for the prevalence of the bi-cameral system than the philosophical apology or utilitarian reasons offered by various writers, who have been under the influence of Lecky or Sidgwick or continental constitutionalists.

In Europe or America, wherever the bi-cameral system prevails, the Second Chamber is based either on historical or traditional foundations, as is the case in England, Italy and Sweden, and as was also the case in Hungary, before the November (1918) Revolution swept it away; or it has been forced on them by the peculiar needs and circumstances of the countries concerned, as is the case with Germany, Switzerland, France and the United States of America.

THE SECOND CHAMBER IN GERMANY (BEFORE THE REVOLUTION OF NOVEMBER 1919).

The German Second Chamber, the Bundesrath, is historically the descendant of the Council of the old Germanic Confederation. It was established with a view to reconcile and unite the independent Germanic States and the Free Cities. It was the keystone of the German Empire. Lowell while describing the Bundesrath said: "The [fifty-eight] seats in the Bundesrath are distributed among the states and the cities in such a way that each of them is entitled to the same number of votes as in the diet of the old Germanic Confederation, when that body proceeded *in plenum*, except that Bavaria, as a part of the inducement to join the Empire, was given six delegates instead of four and Prussia obtained [twenty delegates] those

of the states she absorbed in 1866." [*Government and Parties in Continental Europe*, Vol. I. P. 259]. *Arbeiter Zeitung* (2 October, 1918) commenting on article IX of the German Constitution, says: "If the Reichstag is the representative of the German people, the Federal council [the Bundesrath], the members of which are appointed by the governments of the individual Federal States, is the representative of the different states of which the Empire is composed. The Reichstag embodies the unity of the nation; the Federal Council is the common organ of thirty-five states."

This explains the origin and *raison d'être* of the second chamber in Germany. And if the Socialistic Republic retains this old relic it will be for the sake of similar federalist reasons, and not to act as a "moderating" influence, a check.

THE SECOND CHAMBER IN SWITZERLAND.

The Swiss Second Chamber is called Ständerath or Council of States. It was forced upon Switzerland almost by the identical circumstances and necessity as was the Senate saddled on the United States. With a view to unite the 22 Cantons (districts) inhabited by three distinct races and speaking as many languages, into a strong federated Republic, they established the Council of States, in which each of the Cantons sent two representatives, irrespective of their size or population. It was devised as a compensation for surrendering their autonomy to the Central Government. It maintained the idea of equality and sovereignty of each Canton. Therefore, we need not be surprised at the proportional inequities that the Canton of Appenzel A. with over 640,000 inhabitants and 2600 square miles of territory, has as many representatives in the Second Chamber as the Canton of Appenzel A. with a population of 14,000 and an area of 61 square miles.

THE SECOND CHAMBER IN AMERICA.

At the termination of the war of American Independence the old thirteen States were a loose confederation. But they soon became "disgusted with the impotent and pitiable confederation which could do nothing but beg and deliberate;" they longed for a "strong and lasting union." Therefore they contrived "to bring the States together into a more perfect confederation." [President Wilson: "*Congressional Government*", p. 15.] It was not expected that the sturdy, self-reliant, masterful men who had won independence for their colonies, by passing through flames of battle, would readily transfer their affection from the new-made states, which were their homes, to the federal government." ["*Congressional Government*."]

However, the American patriots were soon convinced that to become a strong independent nation it was absolutely necessary to consolidate into a great Republic, the United States. Consequently, they adopted the policy of compromise and conciliation. *The Federalist*, which is the

work of a band of American patriots, frankly admits: "The equality of representation in the Senate is the result of a compromise between the opposite pretensions of the large and the small states." [*The Federalist*, p. 385.] That is why such a large State as that of New York with a population of 9,113,614 has no more representatives, in the Senate, than the State of Nevada, which has a paltry population of 81,875.

Thus we see that the Senate, the American Second Chamber, is the keystone of the Union. It has also constitutional ends to serve. The equal representation in the Senate is a constitutional recognition of the individual and residuary sovereignty of each State. It balances the States against the Central Government, the House of Representatives against the Senate and the Senate against both the House and the President. The Federalists also believed that the Senate as a second branch of legislature might prove "a solitary check on government." It appeared to them the real foundation of the Union. And yet two out of the thirteen original States kept aloof for a considerable period and those that did join the Union did so under a keen sense of self-sacrifice. The President at one time was denied the precedence to the Governor of New York.

Apparently America could not be united without the Second Chamber in which each of the 46 States has 2 representatives. That is to say the bi-cameral system was forced upon the United States by necessity; and it was not a mere constitutional paraphernalia or a constitutional check on the "radical proclivities" of the lower chamber.

THE SECOND CHAMBER IN FRANCE.

One might legitimately ask why did the Revolutionary and Republican France enact in 1875, that "the legislative power shall be exercised by two assemblies, the Chamber of Deputies and Senate." The answer to this pertinent question can only be gathered from the Constitutional and Political History of France (between 1789 and 1875). And a critical study of the History will convince the reader that the Second Chamber, the Senate, had become a political necessity to France for establishing the equilibrium between the rival political parties which were in ascendancy when, finally, the constitution was drawn up in its present permanent shape, in 1875.

Another important fact to be borne in mind is that it is the discontented and hungry masses that actually brought about the Revolution, shed their blood for it and suffered for it and on account of it, yet the fruits of the victory were enjoyed by the middle classes, the lawyers and other well-to-do classes—the French bourgeoisie. They took the organisation of the State and Society into their hands and established bourgeois institutions. The conservative elements predominated. They adopted all possible consti-

tutional safeguards to keep under control radical proclivities and political enthusiasts.

The two great political thinkers and constitution-mongers of the Revolutionary period, Mounier and Abbe Sieyes denounced the tri-cameral system of the *Ancien Regime*. Mounier in his *Nouvelles Observations Sur les Etats Generaux*, condemned that system and maintained "that a constituent assembly must be one and indivisible." And Abbe Sieyes in *Qu'est-ce-que-de Tiers Etate?* made out a case for uni-cameral legislature. He was of opinion that, "If a Second Chamber dissents from the first, it is mischievous; if it agrees with it, it is superfluous."

After the overthrow of the Monarchy the Convention having proclaimed France a Republic adopted the single chamber system by an overwhelming majority of 849 to 89 votes.

The Directory whose worst feature "was its corruption" on replacing the Convention re-instituted the Second Chamber in 1795 under the name of *Conceil de Anciens*, council of elders.

During the Consulate the legislature reverted to "three estates." And when Napoleon became Emperor he practically converted the Senate into a House of Lords, filling it with the dignitaries and nobles whom he created to form a *Court*, the paraphernalia of royalty.

The Second Chamber, in one form or other, continued to exist, in France, until it was again abolished during the Second Republic, in 1848. This Republic proclaimed that "All public powers emanate from the people." And having written on their banner Liberty, Fraternity, Equality, they delegated all "the legislative power to a single assembly of 750 members elected by universal suffrage;" and Seignobos adds: "They did not want two Chambers, because a second house seemed an aristocratic institution." [Seignobos: *Political History of Contemporary Europe*, p. 165.]

Unfortunately the democratic republicans of 1848 in their enthusiasm committed political suicide by vesting all the political power in the president. "The peasants had no political education: they knew but one name, that of the Emperor Napoleon: they voted for that name." Louis Napoleon promised to "remain faithful to the democratic Republic and to defend the constitution." Therefore "France decided by 7,500,000 votes against 640,000, to delegate to the Prince President the right of drawing up the Constitution. The nation [thus] abdicated its sovereignty." [Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI, p. 138]

The conservative or monarchical element was strong in the assembly. There were 500 monarchists "elected through the influence of the clergy and the royalist middle class," who played into the hands of Louis Napoleon. By *coup d'etat* he got himself re-elected for ten years. Finding his position pretty secure he established a second assembly which not long after was

called the Senate. And "The Senate chosen by him passed a senatorial decree proclaiming Napoleon III Emperor of the French." [*Pol. Hist. of Cont. Europe*, p. 173.]

The Senate has survived up to the present time, though he, who revived it, fell at Sedan on 3rd September, 1870.

Now, the question is why did the French people, after the fall of the Empire, tolerate the Second Chamber? Here is an explanation for this apparently suicidal policy.

When the news of the capitulation of Sedan reached Paris "the mob broke in, crying: 'Down with the Empire! Long live the Republic!' and the republic was proclaimed in the midst of tumult." The French nation was still at war with Prussia, although the Empire had fallen. The French patriots had no time to think of the first or the second chamber. It was enough for them to have regained their freedom! The republican patriots having set up their Provisional Government devoted themselves to the defence of their fatherland. But the masses were against the continuing of the war. Therefore when the elections took place in February 1871 "the peasants avoided the republican ticket as the 'war ticket', and voted for the 'peace ticket'. As in 1849, the majority in the Assembly was made up of men of the old monarchist parties (Orleanists and Legitimists), elected by the peasants." [*Pol. Hist. of Cont. Europe*, p. 190.] This monarchical Assembly deferred the proclamation of the Republic until 1875.

In the meantime, the differences on constitutional matters between the various Monarchical, Republican, and Revolutionary parties continued. However, when the Monarchist coalition broke up it lost the "power of determining it will the form of government for France." And a group of men "deserting the Right Centre, joined the Left and carried, by a majority of one, the amendment offered by Wallon, which by giving to the Executive the title of the President of the Republic, recognised, by implication, the Republic as the definite government of France [Jan. 30, 1875]." [*Ibid*, p. 201]

One difficulty having been surmounted, the other presented itself. Opinion was divided regarding the bi-cameral or uni-cameral system of legislature. The need of co-operation between various political parties was also keenly felt. Therefore the Senate was recognised as the Second Chamber of the French Legislature.

This compromise was arrived at in the following manner: The Orleanists desired the President should appoint the Senators; the Left proposed that they should be elected by universal suffrage. The Orleanists managed to defeat this democratic motion. Eventually it was decided that 75 Senators should be elected by the Assembly, so that each party may have its own nominees. The Left Centre claimed 30 seats. The Right Centre would not let them have more than 13. "But the Imperialist party,

fearing the preponderance of the Orleanists, refused to vote for their candidates. On the second day of voting they came to an understanding with the Left: they detached 15 Chevaulegers (Legitimists) from the majority by offering them seats in the Senate. This coalition succeeded in electing 58 of the 75 Senators from the Left, with 9 Legitimists, against eight candidates of the Right." [*Ibid*, p. 201.]

The French Historian M. C. Seignobos confirms the conclusion I have come to regarding the causes of the establishment of the Second Chamber in 1872, when it was possible for France to have rejected it finally and for good. He says, "the system established by the Assembly was the result of compromise, as no majority could be found to support any complete constitution." [*Ibid*, 202]

The brief sketch that I have given above makes it quite clear that Republican France adopted the bi-cameral system with a view to balance and reconcile various parties just as Switzerland and the United States adopted it with a view to balance and reconcile the Cantons or the States. In each of these three cases it is, evidently, (admitted as a necessary evil) a key-stone of their national edifice, a means to the great and national unity and the foundation of great Republics.

However, the defects of the Second Chambers, in the three republican countries are apparent, both to the natives of these countries and to the foreign students of their Constitution. That acute and profound student of Continental Constitutions, Mr. Lowell, President of Harvard University, referring to the French Senate says, "At one time it stood very low in public esteem, on account of its origin: for it was created by Reactionaries, in the National Assembly, and was regarded as a monarchical institution;" and that "the extreme [French] Radicals have never ceased to demand its abolition." [Lowell: "*Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*," Vol. I, pp. 21 & 25]

The mere fact that the Senate, in France, is an elective body does not make it immune from the natural incidence of the Second Chamber, which is invariably bound to be conservative and adverse to all progressive changes. Because "An indirectly elected Senate is not really much more representative than the House of Lords and is no more in touch with public opinion." [Robert Dell: "*The Second Chamber Problem*," p. 34.] The Senate is very far removed from the effective control of the electors.....there is not a single socialist Senator, although there are 70 socialist Deputies." Mr. Robert Dell, who has seen the working of the French Constitution during his 20 years' residence in Paris, and is a most profound and keen student of French politics, writes, "My own opinion, whatever it may be worth, is against a Second Chamber altogether. . . . The backwardness of Social legislation

in France..... the grossly unjust incidence of taxation, these are due to the Senate, which has consistently obstructed every effort to improve social conditions." [*Ibid*, p. 35.]

The evil and retrogressive effect of the Second Chamber in France is quite apparent. The French people adopted the two-chamber system for the peculiar reasons that I have already given. They are not alone in this respect. Even "the two most remarkable constitutions", those of Switzerland and America "have committed this blunder." And, Bagehot adds also, "The evil of two co-equal Houses of distinct natures is obvious.....it produces the maximum impediment—the deadlock." Then he also reminds us that they "committed this blunder" because naturally "a little state will like and must like to see some token, some memorial mark of its old independence preserved in the Constitution by which that independence was extinguished." [Walter Bagehot: "*English Constitution*", pp. 97—98.] and that "memorial mark" in the case of Switzerland and America are their Second Chambers.

THE SECOND CHAMBER IN ENGLAND, THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

The British House of Lords is one of the two most ancient Second Chambers in the World—the other being that of Hungary, which resembled the former both in its origin and composition. The House of Lords evolved out of the Great Council, the Witenagemot, the king's advisory committee, which consisted of his principal vassals. It gradually transformed itself into a "chamber of hereditary peers, enjoying their honours by virtue of a grant from the crown."

Some people are inclined to believe that the power of the Lords is very limited. But as a matter of fact they still possess and do exercise tremendous power. They are a great hindrance and an obstruction to all progressive and popular legislation. They can defeat or mutilate any legislation, except a finance Bill, and that they do not like. The present House of Lords represents the titled plutocracy. Its functions can be summarised thus: "It discusses, alters, and rejects bills. It is a standing committee of the Conservative Party [as it were], and keeps watch over the political arrangements under which its class subsists." [*Socialism and Government*, Vol. II, pp. 46.]

It is suicidal to minimise the powers of a conservative and reactionary assembly of vested interests. The record of the doings of the House of Lords is alarming. To name only a few measures that the House of Lords has turned down or mutilated: The Lords resisted a Bill for the protection of the lives of English women and children for thirty years, from 1842 to 1872. They opposed the Workmen's Compensation Act and mutilated the Employers' Liability Bill in 1893. The same year they rejected Railway Servants Bill, and opposed the Load Line and Merchant Shipping Act. "During the past 190 years," one member in the Commons said, "the

House of Lords has never contributed one iota to popular liberty or popular freedom, or done anything to advance the commonweal. During that time it has protected every abuse and sheltered every privilege; it has denied justice and delayed reform." In the same debate an Irish M. P., Mr. McNeill, said that the Lords were "the implacable enemies of Irish rights and liberties.....The Lords have always treated every measure of conciliation and justice towards the Irish people with contumely and contempt." [*Parliamentary Debates*, 25 June, 1907.] And if we substitute "India" for "Ireland" the indictment will hold good in case of India too. Their attitude towards Indian aspirations and reforms of Indian Government has been no less reactionary and contemptuous.

Leaving aside the question of India and Ireland, even in the domestic affairs of England, they have done enough mischief. Mr. Lloyd George, the present Premier, remarked, in the Commons, ten years ago, that the Lords "have rejected or mutilated a good many Bills. They have so mutilated Bills as to take life out of them." And referring to the Education Bill he added, "It is not always necessary to kill a man: you may simply deprive him of his limbs. And that is what was done with the Education Bill... The process has been going on for a three quarters of a century." He also quoted a passage from the speech of Joseph Chamberlain, Member for West Birmingham. "They have more than once brought the country to the verge of revolution; and they have again and again mutilated, delayed, or rejected Bills of the first importance, which are now universally accepted to be salutary and expedient." [*Hansard*, 26 June, 1907.]

Any hereditary and irresponsible assembly could do the same, wherever it thrives or is instituted, whether on European or Asiatic soil.

It is purely a matter of historical accident, that the British Second Chamber happens to be one of the two most ancient Second Chambers. The Hungarian Second Chamber has been swept away with the House of Hapsburg by the November Revolution. The time will, I hope, soon come when another ancient Chamber meets the same fate. At present those who are for its abolition are in the minority in Parliament, though their number in the country is very large. It is an open secret that when the Labour Party comes into power one of its principal acts will be the abolition of the House of Lords. Mr. Philip Snowden has openly said: "The Labour party is opposed to a second chamber, no matter how such a chamber is constituted."

THE PROPOSALS FOR ITS REFORM AND ABOLITION.

The House of Lords was abolished by the Long Parliament during the Commonwealth, when on March 19, 1649, "the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, finding by too long experience that the House of Lords is use-

less and dangerous to the people of England to be continued, thought fit to ordain and enact ... that from henceforth the House of Lords in Parliament shall be and is hereby wholly abolished and taken away." [*Act of Long Parliament*, 1649.]

In 1660 with the restoration of the monarchy the House of Lords, the paraphernalia of monarchy, was restored, too, by the conservative elements of society.

Having re-established the Second Chamber both the rival political parties—the Whigs and the Tories—made use of the Lords, by turns, to check the radical proclivities of a section of the Commons, who were imbued with republican ideas. "First of all the Whigs desired the aristocracy to check the vulgar excesses they dreaded from the middle classes up to about 1870, when the House of Commons was breaking away from the tutelage of the House of Lords; then the Liberals pure and simple desired to curb the radicalism of the House of Commons which came too much under the control of the democracy [by means of the House of Lords]; and finally the general conservative instinct of the country now want to feel the security of having a second trial by a jury [the Second Chamber] prejudiced in their favour and thus likely to give them more than justice." [*Socialism and Government*, Vol. II, p. 51.]

This is not merely the view of democrats or radicals, the official spokesmen of the two great parties admit this fact. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Liberal Premier, said in the Commons: "Before the Reform Act both Houses [whether with Conservative or Liberal party in power] were in the habit of working together in the interest of the existing state of society, which was very far from being a democratic state." [*Par. Debates*, June 24, 1907.] In the past both Conservative and Liberal Parties have made use of the House of Lords, either by cajoling or intimidating it, and it is frankly admitted that "The House of Lords ever since the struggle over the great Reform Bill [1832] has been haunted by a suspicion that it exists on sufferance." [Sidney Low : " *The Governance of England*," p. 218.] But this is no longer true, the House of Lords now "acts as a drag" on the Lower House; and has avowedly become "a tool of the Conservative party." ... "In the great Party struggles that rend the country it throws its weight wholly on the side of the Tories, and plays into their hands." [Lowell : " *The Government of England*," Vol. I, p. 408.]

Its power of retarding progress and doing mischief is still very great. And both constitutional critics and statesmen have often seriously thought to "mend or end" it. In 1867 Walter Bagehot wrote. "With a perfect Lower House it is certain that an Upper House would be scarcely of any value. If we had an ideal House of Commons perfectly representing the nation ... it is certain that we should not need a higher chamber. ... Beside an ideal House of Commons the House of Lords would be unnecessary, and

pernicious." [*English Constitution*, p. 107.] Twelve years later, Lord Bryce, then Mr Bryce, openly said he would rather have no second chamber than have the House of Lords.

However, the first serious effort to reform the House of Lords emanated from the noble Lords themselves. This desire to reform was, evidently actuated by the instinct of self-preservation. In 1884 Lord Rosebery proposed that the representatives of Commerce, Labour, Science Art and Literature should be invited to sit in the House of Lords. If this effort of Lord Rosebery had been fruitful, it would have made the stereotyped system, in spite of the patch-work suggested, more dangerous. The House remained unreformed, out of date and unsuited to modern or new conditions. The Lords made another futile attempt to reform themselves (1907-1908). In the mean time the Commons were not sitting idle. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Liberal Leader of the House, moved, in the House of Commons, on the 24th June, 1907, "That in order to give effect to the will of the people, as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject the Bills should be so restricted that the final decision of the Commons shall prevail."

Mr. Henderson, the leader of the Labour party moved the following resolution: "That the Upper House being an irresponsible part of the Legislature and of necessity representative only of interests opposed to the general well-being, is a hindrance to national progress and ought to be abolished. In his speech on moving the amendment he said that even if the House of Lords was reformed and its powers curtailed it still would "be the means of hindering the passing of progressive legislation in general." He advocated total abolition of "any Chamber which is irresponsible, which is not responsible to the nation." On the third day of this prolonged debate Mr. Asquith said, I do not see many Second Chambers—I do not see any—which are really justifying their existence." And he candidly informed the House that in his youth he had freely expressed his opinion for the total abolition of the Second Chamber. [*Vide Parliamentary Debates*, June, 24 to 26, 1907.]

Ever since the National Liberal Federation has been agitating for restricting the veto of the Lords because "there is the galling fact that the House is always hostile to the Liberal Party." And if the Liberals had succeeded in their demand that "the Lords should not amend or reject a bill passed by the Commons in two successive sessions of the same Parliament," "it would be almost equivalent to an entire abolition of the Second Chamber." If it did not virtually destroy the power of the House of Lords altogether, it would not accomplish the object of Liberals." [*Government of England*, Vol. I, pp. 414 to 415.]

During the Summer of 1917 an unofficial Conference of 30 members of both Houses of

Parliament discussed the question of reforming the Lords, under the Chairmanship of Lord Bryce. The results of the deliberations of the Conference were submitted, in his report, by the Chairman to Parliament [Cd. 9038]. The Chairman informed Parliament that the Conference was of opinion that the Second Chamber "should be different in type and composition from the popular assembly" and that it should "act as a moderating influence in the conduct of national affairs and yet not" have "so much power of delay as to clog the machinery of Government." The Conference agreed that the Second Chambers should not have equal power so as to be a rival to the Lower House and to oppose people's will which is expressed through it.

The two fundamental principles which they considered as the basis of reforming or constructing a Second Chamber are :—

(1) that it should be most quickly responsive and fully responsible to public opinion ;

(2) that it should contain the largest available number of capable and experienced men, of personal eminence. Therefore they recommend that the House of Lords should have two sets of members : (a) 246 members to be elected by the panels of members of House of Commons, distributed into geographical groups, as an electorate : (b) one-fourth of the total number of the Second Chamber to be elected by the joint committee of the two Houses.

Some prominent Liberals suggest a purely elected Second Chamber, instead of the hereditary Upper House. On the other hand, Mr. Sidney Webb suggests that after the Norwegian fashion the Commons might elect by proportional representation, say a hundred members, after each election, for the life of that Parliament. There are others who suggest that experienced retired officers, governors, and ministers might be appointed as members of the Second Chamber.

English radicals are more afraid of an elected Second Chamber than the hereditary House. As regards appointments by the king or his representative they point to the failure of the system in Canada and New Zealand.

The "experienced" retired civil servants or administrators are bound to be petty bureaucrats. And those Governors who go to rule in dependencies like India or Egypt return in the spirit of the tyrant whose will has been law, and whose contempt for the mass of the people is profound. The man who has been accustomed to rule subject peoples has had bad training for taking part in representative government. There would, indeed, be some justification for making all such Imperial servants ineligible to sit in the House of Lords when they return from their proconsulates, their satrapies." [*Socialism and Government*, Vol. II, p. 50.]

So much for the problem of the reform of the House of Lords.

Now I undertake to consider and criticise arguments for and against the Second Chamber in general and bring under notice various new

suggestions made regarding the use and functions of a Second Chamber under reformed or new conditions.

THE CONCLUSION.

AS A COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS AND MACHINERY OF CHECKS.

Some political thinkers desire to convert the Second Chamber into a sort of Committee of Experts to revise the Bills passed by the popular Assembly. Others wish to make it representative of professional or proprietary interests. There are some who look upon it as a Committee of draftsmen or lawyers to give a legal shape to the acts passed or to put them in proper form before the Bill is introduced. There are many people who regard the Second Chamber as the representative of the exclusive nobility or aristocracy, just as in India, any one might suggest that let it represent sectarian or religious interests.

Call it what you may, as experience of all bi-cameral legislatures has shown us, the Second Chamber in all conditions is bound to prove a hindrance to all progressive legislation. It ultimately acts as a drag and as a fatal check on the Legislative Assembly. The conservative section of society and the Governments, of the time, are invariably for a Second Chamber, because they are always interested in keeping under control the progressive elements of Society and radical tendencies of a popular chamber. This point has been very admirably illustrated by the latest constitutional document, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Proposals. They propose a Second Chamber, the Council of State for India, so that "the Second Chamber might develop a conservative character which would be a valuable check on the possibly too radical proclivities of a lower house" [p. 259]. For this new Second Chamber they wish to secure men "who would not seek election or even accept nomination to a composite assembly, where the majority of members were of a different status from themselves." We admire this candid confession of motives. They regard it as "a valuable check."

Let us examine this "machinery of checks," in general, how it works and what its effect is. "Fifty years ago," President Lowell reminds us, "Second Chambers were defended on the ground that they acted as a drag on radical legislation." That a Second Chamber would exercise a check on "democratic haste and instability," was the belief of those American constitution-mongers who met at the Philadelphia Convention, in 1787. And Lord Bryce summarises their attitude in the following words: "Those who invented this machinery of checks and balances were anxious, not so much to develop public opinion, as to resist and build up breakwaters against it." [*American Commonwealth*, Vol. II, pp. 28, 29.]. Precisely similar seems to be the motive of the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Proposals.

A Second Chamber, acting as a check, strangles public opinion. All constitutional checks can work effectively only in normal times, when they serve no purpose but collapse, or, are usually disregarded, in times of distress, when they might have proved useful. Where there is a Second Chamber to "check" the first, the latter does not realise the full responsibility; and is inclined to blame the Upper House for its own faults. The distribution of legislative responsibility, also, encourages dishonesty and wilful obstruction.

If in spite of the inherent and inevitable defects of a Second Chamber, the "machinery of checks," (which is candidly admitted as a device to act as "a valuable check on the possibly too radical proclivities of a lower house") is established in India, it cannot but disregard and overrule the wishes and opinion of the popular assembly. That is not all. In the case of India, the Second Chamber, the 'Council of State,' is to be not merely an ordinary revising and supplementary second chamber. Besides taking part "in ordinary legislative business," it is proposed to be "the final legislative authority in matters which the Government regards as essential." Such extraordinary powers are to be given to fifty "elder statesmen" to legislate for a population of 315 millions people. In this *Council of State* of 50 exclusive members, the Government is to have a majority of 37 on its side. And, even for the 15 elected members "the Governor General in Council will make regulations as to the qualifications of candidates for election to that body." Therefore, it is evident that if the Council of State is really established it will be the most powerfully reactionary and at the same time most subservient Second Chamber in the world.

In India there is neither a historical nor traditional basis, nor any constitutional or political necessity for establishing a Second Chamber. So long as there is the Governor General or a Governor at the head of the Indian Government or an Indian Province, with a veto, to turn down any Bill that appears to him detrimental to the British interest or is far too radical a measure, he will be discharging the function of a second chamber very effectively, so far as second thought or a check may be deemed absolutely necessary. Besides in the case of India there are two more vetoes, that of the

Secretary of State and, finally, that of the Crown. And if the triple veto cannot turn down a Bill, surely, the Second Chamber is not only superfluous but is positively harmful.

To establish a Second Chamber in India, where there is none at present, would be adopting a reactionary step in constitutional progress. If it is meant to be a sort of constitutional experiment, we have no desire to be a perpetual laboratory for constitutional experiments. Once having created a reactionary body, it will be very difficult to get rid of it afterwards.

And if, in spite of our protest the authorities chose to establish a Second Chamber in India, we would have to abolish it when we have our own national government, because the experiences of other countries have shown us the copious disadvantages of the bi-cameral system. Even under the independent national governments of Western countries it has been found that the Second Chamber provides none of the apparent advantages. It cannot guarantee that right and just legislation will always be passed or the will of the people will be carried out; nor will it mitigate the evils of the rule of the majority or prevent the Government from being unjust, if it wants to. On the other hand, the drawbacks of the Second Chamber are very numerous. However it might be composed it is decidedly a hindrance to all progressive legislation and acts as a drag on the Lower House. If both chambers are equally powerful, it leads to constant friction and deadlocks. If the Second Chamber is made more important or more dignified the lower house dwindles into insignificance, and does not attract competent and able men. If the Second Chamber is less attractive and less important, the same result will follow. That is to say, it is really one Chamber that, in either case, counts. This point is remarkably illustrated in the legislature of the United States and France, where in the case of the former, the Second Chamber is more important, and in the case of the latter the Chamber of Deputies is more important. Therefore I submit that there should be no Second Chamber in India. We should rather enlarge and improve the Legislative Assemblies as regards their personnel and stick to the Uni-cameral System.

MUKANDI LAL.

TO A CLOUD

O thou transplendent plume of angel-pinion
Nestling in a deep haven of mountain-trees,
Seeing thy beauty I think of them that conquered
Sorrow and fear, and set the human soul,
Unto the suffering world's tranquillity,
Nearer the quiet stars.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

NOTES

Independence for the Philippines.

A most noteworthy characteristic of the Philippine independence movement is that there is not a trace of bitterness against America in it. There are some striking passages in the memorial presented by the Philippine Mission in the United States to a joint committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives, asking for immediate independence for their country.

The claim is not made on the ground of maladministration, but simply as a fulfilment of American Policy and out of just regard for the national aspirations of the Filipinos. The granting of complete freedom, says the petition, "will insure the maintenance of a full and lasting friendship between the two peoples and will foster the free development of their commercial relations in the future. It will place on a higher level the honour of America by the fulfilment of her repeated promises to grant freedom to the Filipino people."

This is the first time in the history of colonial relations that a subject and alien race has asked for the severance of their political connection with a Sovereign Power without recounting any act of injustice done to them and demanding reparation for such acts; but rather with a feeling of gratitude and affection. That in itself is a splendid tribute to the liberal statesmanship of America.

Embodied in the memorial is a resolution of the Philippine Legislature claiming that there exists at present in the Philippine Islands the conditions of order and government which the United States has always required in countries whose independence was to be recognised.

An undertaking is also given that if independence is granted it will be the policy of the Philippine Government to preserve complete autonomy so that neither Japan nor any other country would be permitted to gain control of the Archipelago in any respect. Such a policy would, of course, receive the hearty sanction both of the American Republic and the League of Nations to which the Philippines would seek admission.

Lala Lajpat Rai on the Need of Publicity in Indian Matters.

Lala Lajpat Rai's letter to the Indian delegates now in London of which he sent

copies to our contemporaries and ourselves, and which has been published in the Indian papers will give a rude shock to many Indians who, on the strength of a word here and a word there uttered by some Americans, generally not in the front rank, in praise of Indian philosophy and culture, are disposed to regard themselves as the salt of the earth. Time was when men like the poet Hem Chandra Banerjee could sing of the Bengalis as the lowest among the nations of the earth ranking lower even than China and Japan among the civilised countries of the globe, without thereby incurring the angry protest of his countrymen. That was the period of undue self-depreciation. But the present reaction in the direction of excessive self-appreciation seems to be less justified by the world's opinion of ourselves than the sentiment voiced by the Bengali poet alluded to above. Even Japan, who at one time used to have some regard for us as the land that gave her religion, has, since her success against Russia, begun to think and speak of us in terms which the proud and dominant West has always considered appropriate to subject-nations of the Orient. Merely to call ourselves great at the top of our voice, and sound the patriotic note in all our books and magazines, will, it need hardly be said, not make ourselves really great. Nor will it do to ignore Western opinion as prejudiced by racial bias and political expediency, which it undoubtedly often is. "The world," says Lala Lajpat Rai, "today has been so closely knit together by means of easy transportation and communication that no nation, however isolated she might have been in the past, can afford to ignore the force of public opinion in the various civilised countries of the world." "We cannot afford to neglect world opinion except at our peril." Nor are we really indifferent to the opinion of the western world, however strong may be our convic-

tion of the superiority of our own civilisation. We have often noticed, for instance, that authors of books with some pretence to original research intended to demonstrate the superiority of Indian culture, generally betray an uncritical subservience to European opinion and give it greater prominence than it deserves whenever it harmonises with their own theory. The very few references to the Hindus in Lord Bryce's *American Commonwealth* painfully reminds an Indian reader that in spite of Vivekananda and Rabindranath, the notion that the average American has of our people, is far from flattering to our self-respect. This notion is reflected in the anti-Hindu legislation of California and Canada. Lala Lajpat Rai quotes from the speech of Senator Reed, and says: "The opinions of Senator Reed and the misconceptions underlying them are typical of a large number of the United States publicists." Senator Reed, referring to the position accorded to India as an original member of the League of Nations, says:

"This little chattel of Great Britain, this pawn of the British Empire, is brought in here and given a vote equal to the vote of the United States.....it is proposed that this nation, that Great Britain says cannot rule herself, shall sit in the council, with her chains upon her wrists, a slave to Great Britain's power, and cast her vote equal to the vote of the United States!"

It will be seen that what Senator Reed has most in mind is the political status of India in the comity of nations, and none can say that his graphic picture of the Indian representative, sitting in the council with his chains upon his wrists, is exaggerated or wrong. We do not enjoy self-government; for England, in her own interest, holds that we are incapable of doing so, and so long as we are a subject nation our position on the League of Nations will not unreasonably call forth such comments as those of Senator Reed. Let us hope that the anomaly of that position will dawn more and more on the Indian people and the bureaucracy which rules its destinies, and for very shame both will try to remove it, for nothing is more evident than the fact that a nation which

does not enjoy the elementary birth-right of self-determination at home cannot be expected to be treated with respect abroad, even in the self-governing colonies within the Empire, as the recent anti-Indian campaign in South Africa most glaringly shows. As for the anti-Hindu prejudice in the United States, it will task the utmost skill of the Bengali civilian, Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, the representative of the Government of India in the Washington International Labour Conference, to live it down. Mr. Chatterjee stood first in his year at the Indian Civil Service examination, and was the first Indian to occupy the responsible office of Chief Secretary of an Indian provincial Government. He has experience of Indian industrial conditions. Let us hope he will be able to impress his personality on the League. But the best and surest way to kill the prejudice is to prove our worth as a nation in all the walks of life. Our political subjection no doubt prevents us from rising to the height of our stature in many, if not most, spheres of national activity, but to lie supine and lay the entire blame on it would be to prove our worthlessness. We must try to make our mark in all the paths of human endeavour, so far as lies in our power, and against all odds. Not in politics alone but in sanitary, educational, and industrial reconstruction as well, we must demonstrate our capacity and fitness to be treated among the self-governing nations of the world. We must not, in the field of social reformation, repudiate the principles which we advocate so loudly in the political sphere. At the same time, we must cultivate sobriety and a sense of proportion in judging of things Indian, and learn more about the world around us and our position therein, for such a comparative study, while giving a sounder basis for our patriotic admiration of our ancient civilisation, will knock off that vain conceit which is at the root of our blind adherence to many obnoxious customs, prejudices and theories, and will infuse into our minds that true sense of self-respect without which we cannot hope to gain the respect of other nations. The following extract from Lord Bryce's

American Commonwealth (vol. II., p. 911) will make our meaning clearer.

"In the middle of the last century, the Americans walked in a vain conceit of their own greatness and freedom and scorned instruction from the effete monarchies of the old World, which repaid them with contemptuous indifference. No despot ever exacted more flattery from his courtiers than they from their statesmen. Now when Europe admires their power, envies their wealth, looks to them for instruction in not a few subjects, they have become more modest and listen willingly to speakers and writers who descant upon their failings. They feel themselves strong enough to acknowledge their weaknesses, and are anxious that the moral life of the nation should be worthy of its expanding fortunes. As these happy omens have become more visible from year to year, there is a reasonable presumption that they represent a steady current which will continue to work for good."

The Bureaucrat's Love of Religious Education.

The following extract from a book written by an ex-bureaucrat gives an explanation of why bureaucrats are so fond of prescribing religious education for a subject people.

"Owing to their impatience of criticism and passion for docile obedience, a bureaucracy, equally with an autocracy, comes to regard with friendly eyes any institution which inculcates subservience to authority. Habits of obedience fostered in any one department of thought tend to influence by process of analogy the mental outlook on many others Now there is one institution that specially preaches reverence for and obedience to authority, and the submissiveness that suffers without complaint. And that institution is religion. Those who are trained to bow down in submission to a heavenly lord or lords—for Hinduism is pantheistic—and to accept with all humility their decrees, are apt to adopt a similar attitude towards the commands of their earthly rulers. And the English rulers of India have not been slow to recognise the fact."—Chapter II. [Speaking of the inefficient monastic schools of Burma] "Because the monastic schools inculcate docility—like monastic schools in all countries—because they are cheap, they will ever be beloved by a bureaucratic government. *It is not education so much as docility that officials desire.*"—Chapter V.—*Bureaucratic Government*, by Bernard Houghton, I. C. S., London, King and Son, 1913.

Sidelights on Religious Education.

There is some truth in the observations printed below.

"I suppose.....that the demand for religious observances and religious orthodoxy as a first condition in schools is more productive of hypocrisy and rottenness in education than any other single cause. It is a matter of common observation. A school is generally about as inefficient as its religious stripe is marked. I suppose it is because if you put the weight on one thing you cannot put it on another. Or perhaps it is because no test is so easy for a thoroughly mean and dishonest person to satisfy as a religious test. Schools which have no claim to any other merit can always pass themselves off as severely religious. Perhaps the truth is that all bad schools profess orthodoxy rather than that orthodoxy makes bad schools. Now-a-days it is religion that is the last refuge of a scoundrel."—*Joan and Peter, the Story of an Education* by H. G. Wells. London, Cassel and Co., 1918, pp. 249-50.

The Advisory Council of Jamnagar.

The felicitations exchanged between the rulers of Jamnagar and Alwar on the occasion of the institution of a *mantrimandal* or advisory council at Jamnagar have led the *Servant of India* to make some remarks which are not at all unwarranted.

The Advisory Council of Jamnagar is to consist of wholly nominated members, one-third of whom will be officials, and is to advise His Highness on such matters as he may be pleased to refer to them. It is to meet twice a year with the Minister for president, and the non-officials are to be accorded the privilege of bringing up petitions for redress. And what laudations were heaped upon the Jam Saheb for introducing this modicum of reform! The Jam Saheb is honorary secretary to the Chiefs' Conference, and has herein given a fair specimen of the reform that may be expected of the Chiefs in general. The only councils they can be persuaded to constitute are, to use the language of Sir William Lee Warner, "sham representative councils intended to quiet the British conscience and to mislead the press. They may avert the evil eye of foreign opinion while they retard real reform." Let the ruling princes understand that if they are not prepared to temper their personal rule by the advice of popular representatives and gradually part with real power to them, these mock councils will deceive no one in these days.

The Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights.

The following, published in 1914, will sound strange to Indian ears in 1919 :—

".....the English, more liberal than the Romans, began by extending to all natives of India, as and when they became subjects of the British crown, the ordinary rights of British subjects enjoyed under such statutes as Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights. The natives of

India have entered into the labours of the barons at Runnymede and of the Whigs of 1688."—*Two Historical Studies*, by James Bryce, Oxford University Press, p. 125.

India—A Military Society.

The following from the same book, is rather a truer picture of India of today, especially of certain portions of it which have lately been much to the fore, owing to the promulgation of martial law :—

"Society is not in India, as it is in England, an ordinary civil society occupied with the works and arts of peace, with an extremely small military element. It is military society, military first and foremost, though with an infusion of civilian officials, and in some towns with a small infusion of lawyers and merchants, as well as a still smaller infusion of missionaries.....The traveller from peaceful England feels himself, except perhaps in Bombay, surrounded by an atmosphere of gunpowder all the time he stays in India." Pp. 13-14.

The Advantages of Caste.

Lord Bryce says in the same book (p. 67) that "it was an advantage for England in conquering India, and is an advantage for her in ruling it, that the inhabitants are so divided by language as well as by religion and (among the Hindus) by caste that they could not combine to resist her." Had the famous English statesman and political philosopher written his book to-day, he could have mentioned other advantages of no mean order. But for caste, it would be difficult to conceive of the plight of the opposition to Indian constitutional reforms led by the Indo-British Association and its wirepullers in India, for it is the principal plank in their platform. Caste prevents Indian Unity and makes despotic Government easy, and can be used as a most potent argument to prevent the grant of self-government to Indians. Many and various are thy uses, O Caste, and well may the bureaucrat thank thee for the excellent services thou hast rendered, and continue to render, to perpetuate his dominion !

The Taxation of India.

In the same book, Lord Bryce says :

"India has for many years past been, if not in financial straits, yet painfully near the limit of her taxable resources..... India is a poor country, probably poorer than was the Roman empire in

the time of Constantine. A heavy burden lies upon her in respect of the salaries of the upper branches of the Civil Service..... Still heavier is the burden in respect of military charges..... It is all she can do to pay her own way, and if the revenue could be increased by raising taxation further, there are many Indian objects, such as education and sanitation, on which the Government would gladly spend more money." (Pp. 37-39.)

Again :

".....the warning Rome has bequeathed, is a warning not to be neglected. Her great difficulty was finance and the impoverishment of the cultivator. Finance and the poverty of the cultivator, who is still, though much less than formerly, in danger of famine, and is taxed to the full measure of his capacity,—these are the standing difficulties of Indian administration.....There is really, so far as can be seen at present, only one danger against which the English have to guard, that of provoking discontent among their subjects by laying on them too heavy a burden of taxation." (Pp. 76-77.)

Stated shortly, Lord Bryce's argument is therefore this: India is taxed to the full limit of her capacity. The salaries of the higher ranks of the Civil Service, and the heavy military charges, leave little for education and sanitation. The civil expenditure might be reduced, the condition of the middle-class Indians bettered and money set free for sanitary and educational improvements, by employing educated Indians to higher posts. But there is one fatal objection to the adoption of this policy—an objection which has always overweighed all the advantages to be derived from such economy, and it is this :

"Some opposition to such a method might be expected from members of the regular civil service, who would consider their prospects of promotion to be thereby prejudiced" (p. 43).

"Responsible" Government.

Under this head we propose to examine, in the light of the Government of India's First Despatch of March 5th last on Indian Constitutional Reforms, what is the exact nature of the so-called 'responsible' government which we are going to have.

We shall begin with the Viceroy, who says in his Minute,

"What are we aiming at in our policy? Surely this, that the decision of certain matters,—I will not discuss what matters—shall rest with Indians ; that in these matters it will be for them

to say "Yes" or "No"; and that our scheme shall provide, as far as possible, for everybody knowing that the decision in any particular matter is their decision, that the "yes" or "no" is their "yes" or "no."

But as his excellency himself puts it, "it is one thing to enunciate a principle; it is another thing to translate the principle into practice." The sequel will, we trust, make it absolutely clear that all that the Government of India scheme provides is that the decision in some matters should be known as the decision of the Governor acting "after consultation with" and not even "on the advice of" (p. 60) the Indian ministers, and that such action may have been taken by the Governor entirely in opposition to the advice of the minister, so long as the latter does not object to being overruled rather than resign his office.

That the responsibility of the ministers in the provincial Governments is far from complete, is admitted in the Government of India despatch.

"While dualism lasts, the part of the government which is responsible to the electorate cannot attain complete responsibility" (§12); "the unique circumstances of our scheme render it impossible that ministers should, during the period of transition, enjoy the same measure or character of responsibility as would be theirs under a genuine parliamentary system" (§20); "in so far as the responsibility of the ministers is to be tempered by the Governor's authority, it is apparent that their relations with him must be regulated by rule to an extent which would be intolerable in a completely developed responsible system" (§108).

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, in his anxiety to discredit the reforms, blurts out the truth when he says:

"The control given to ministers in the transferred subjects will under the scheme be to some extent illusory and to that extent will disappoint political expectations.....if the division of subjects is carried into effect, the scheme will run the risk of being denounced as a sham when people awaken to the real position" (p. 241).

The Madras Government, whose attitude is one of out and out opposition to the reforms scheme, points out another objection to the theory of responsibility as propounded in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

"The Ministers are to be chosen from among the elected members of the Legislative Council, but are not themselves to be elected by the Council or responsible to it. It will, therefore, be possible for the Minister to be in direct opposition to the opinions of the majority of the Council" (p. 137).

As to the fixation of responsibility with regard to any particular question on the minister and through him, the Legislative Council, which the Viceroy (p. 118) considers as the test by which the success of any scheme must be judged, the Madras Government says:

"Looked on merely as a political experiment, the limitations and safeguards will prevent its being possible to draw any decided conclusions from the result and will be liable to throw the discredit for failure on the wrong authorities" (p. 139).

After the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was modified by the Government of India in their despatch, Sir Sankaran Nair wrote:

"According to the scheme as modified by them there is really no responsibility left so far as the transferred departments are concerned, and so far as reserved departments are concerned the influence of the Minister and the Legislative Councils has been eliminated."

The following extracts from paras 101 and 102 of the despatch contain the pith and marrow of the new brand of responsibility manufactured in the bureaucratic furnace of the Government of India. Our readers will see at once that after this, the hitherto accepted meaning of the expression "responsible government," which Mr. Lionel Curtis has been at such pains to elucidate in his books and pamphlets written for our special behoof, must suffer a seachange in text books on political philosophy.

"If the Governor thinks that the minister is going seriously wrong, he may refuse to issue the proposed order, or he may require an order to be issued which differs from it, or he may direct action to be taken where the minister has proposed no action." (§101).

".....the Governor must have the ordinary constitutional right to dismiss a minister who refuses either to work in harmony with him or to resign. It is necessary, however, to take the case one stage further. We feel it important to decide definitely how insoluble disagreements between a Governor and ministers are to be concluded,—for it is only when this point is

reached that our proposed system of dualism is put to the supreme test. A minister, who resigns or is dismissed by the Governor, may have behind him the opinion of the legislature, and accordingly the Governor, being restricted in his choice to the elected members, may find it impossible to appoint successors who will work with him. In that event he would dissolve the legislature; but if the new legislature proved equally obdurate, there would be only one course open to the Governor, assuming (as will occur, we hope, but rarely) that he felt it impossible either to give way upon the point at issue or to effect a compromise. We think that against this ultimate emergency provision must be made in the scheme, and that the only remedy is for the Governor himself to assume the control of the administration of the departments concerned, until the causes of the difference disappear, reporting this action and the reasons for it through the Government of India to the Secretary of State. The King's Government must be carried on; and there must be some effective safeguard against the main danger that threatens the working of the scheme, namely, that differences of opinion between the two elements in the government may lead to a deadlock fatal to the administration. We feel, moreover, that such a power would also be a valuable deterrent to factions and irresponsible action. We doubt whether such administration by the Governor should be more than temporary; and therefore we would provide that if the Governor is unable within a period of say six months to find ministers who will accept office he should move the Secretary of State through the Government of India to retransfer the portfolio in question formally to the charge of the Governor in Council." (§102).

The semblance or simulacrum of all 'responsible' government, partial or complete, having thus attained *Nirvana* by a process of elimination beautiful to behold, the bureaucracy will once more come by its own and there will thus be a permanent, and not merely "a sufficiently long" "truce in the struggle for power" (§ 111) and Mr. Montagu's fad will go the way of all its predecessors.

We shall conclude with quoting the observations of Sir Sankaran Nair on this part of the Government of India despatch.

"Further my colleagues would give power to the Governor and the Secretary of State in certain events to transfer *all* departments from the minister to the Executive Council;.....this view is based upon a gratuitous assumption that actions of the Legislative Council and the minister will always be factious and irresponsible

when such actions are opposed to the opinion of the Governor. I do not think it should be in the power of a Governor or the Secretary of State who will be only his mouthpiece—to strike thus at the root of the reform scheme..... If two consecutive legislative Councils, composed as they would be under the scheme, came to conclusions directly opposed to that of the Governor, the presumption, in my opinion, would be exceedingly strong that the Governor was wrong and that their views should be given effect to.....

"The cumulative effect of all these provisions is to place the minister and the legislative council in relation to the transferred departments not only in a position of no real responsibility but virtually in subordination to the executive council. The scheme, therefore, of my colleagues is directly against the announcement of the 20th August, as it means altogether a negation of responsibility, and should not therefore be accepted.....

"In so far as this part of the scheme is concerned, my criticism therefore is that while the policy decided upon by His Majesty's Government requires definite responsibility to be laid upon the ministers for certain acts of the government, the Secretary of State and the Viceroy would allow such responsibility [in their Joint Report] only under the general supervision of the Governor; my colleagues would practically get rid of all such responsibility by converting the minister into a subordinate Executive officer, and the real legislative council into a subordinate body—subordinate to the Governor and the Executive Council, the latter being without any responsibility for the consequences,—though my colleagues in terms disclaim any intention to create an inferior government under the superior provincial Government" (pp. 98—100).

Sir Sankaran Nair returns to the charge in his Minute of Dissent appended to the Fourth Despatch of the Government of India, paragraph 87 of which says: "The cardinal assumption, made in para 12 of our first despatch, that the authority of Parliament must remain paramount over both halves of Government, forbids us to answer it [the problem arising out of an insoluble disagreement between a Governor and his ministers] except by providing for a possible retransfer." Sir Sankaran Nair observes on this:

"I cannot too strongly protest against the proposal to allow the Governor to resume the portfolio of any transferred subject and to empower the Secretary of State on the motion of the local Government or the Government of India to retransfer any subject from the transferred to the reserved list. As I have said before, it cuts at the root of the whole scheme. Let us

see what this implies. The Reforms Scheme is intended to release the duly elected representatives of the people, in part at any rate, from the control of the Civil Service. The Indian opinion is unanimous that this step is necessary in the interests of good administration and is due to the failure of the Civil Service to carry out the intentions of the Parliament and of the people of England. The Governor in some provinces is likely to be a Civilian for some time to come. In others he will be greatly under civilian influence. In these circumstances the provision of retransfer is, and will be received as a warning to the Legislative Council not to indulge in a course of action which will lead the Civil Service to take that step. In fact, my colleagues practically say so in clear terms. The Civil Service has also openly declared their hostility to any real reform. It is absurd in these circumstances to place the future of Indian constitutional reform in their hands. The reforms are a gift of Parliament, not of the Civil Service. The Parliament may take it away at any future time if they choose. The future Legislative Councils have to perform their duty to the people of India and to Parliament. But to place this weapon in the hands of the Civil Service is in all probability to ensure the failure of Reform.....The interposition of the Secretary of State is no safeguard, as in all that I have said above, the Secretary of State has allowed himself to be merely a passive instrument in the hands of the Civil Service."

This most emphatic and solemn utterance of the only representative Indian who had access to the inner counsels of the Government of India on the most fundamental and vital question affecting the constitutional position of the Minister has been entirely ignored by Mr. Montagu, who in the Government of India Bill laid before Parliament authorises the Government of India to frame rules for carrying on the administration in cases of emergency when owing to a vacancy there is no Minister in charge, and also provides for the revocation of the Secretary of State in Council. Statutory provision has also been made in the Bill for the 'superintendence, direction and control' over transferred subjects by the Government of India for certain specified purposes (safeguarding the administration of all-India subjects and deciding questions arising between two or more provinces. (§ 17 of the fourth despatch).

The Minister will therefore be subject to Parliament, the Government of India and the Governor on the one hand, and the

legislative council on the other. But as in case of an adverse vote in the council he need not resign unless compelled by the Governor, it is the latter who will be his real master. The Minister's permanent secretary, who will have direct access to the Governor, will be another master. But these are not all. A third set of masters are provided in the fourth despatch. There are certain lucrative appointments in the gift of the Government of India. The holders of these offices will have nothing particular to do in the event of the departments to which they are attached being transferred in the provinces to the Ministers. Work had therefore to be found for them, as the only alternative was the abolition of the offices. Para 23 of the fourth despatch accordingly says: "We feel no doubt that the services of the Educational Commissioner, the Sanitary Commissioner, the Agricultural Adviser, and others will be no less necessary, even if the corresponding departments in the provinces are in whole or part transferred to ministers..... The functions of these officers would be to inspect the operations of the transferred departments in the provinces and to report their conclusions to the Governor and Ministers as well as to the Government of India," and in extreme cases where remedial action was called for the Governor is "to use his influence and authority with ministers to secure their removal." Sir Sankaran Nair rightly deprecates this tendency towards interference with the transferred departments and it is easy to see that these Government of India officers will be a fresh set of masters whom the Minister has to obey. His position will therefore be between the devil and the deep sea, to quote a familiar saying which rightly describes the situation. And as it has been provided in the Bill that his salary will be fixed by the Governor, his subjection to bureaucratic control seems to us to be complete.

India is quite right in saying :

"As used in connection with India, it [responsibility] is an impudent synonym for power.... The power to keep the central Government from popularisation is simply the

responsibility of the Parliament for the good Government of India... It is, however, the Indian Civil Service that wants to take cover under the name of Parliament and rule India without being responsible in reality either to the Parliament or the Indian people."

It is deeply humiliating to the people of India and an insult to their intelligence to call the diarchical form of Government outlined by the Government of India Bill 'responsible' Government.

Good Intentions.

We cull the following passages from the First Despatch of the Government of India on constitutional Reforms to show how good are the intentions which actuate our rulers. It is a thousand pities that when it comes to giving them practical effect, all their best-laid plans so often go astray.

"We can conceive no other goal, consistent with the ideals of British history, except that the people of India, helped and guided by us, should learn to govern themselves.....We regard it as beyond question that the first stage of advance must be a generous one, undertaken at the earliest possible moment.....We should particularly deplore any argument for delay, based on disclosures of revolutionary conspiracies which are utterly foreign to the real life of the people, and confined to an inconsiderable section. We believe indeed that, while it is necessary to deal firmly with crime arising out of these conspiracies, repressive measures, unless coupled with definite steps in the direction of political advance, can provide only a temporary remedy.....In all this we feel that we are moving with a spirit which is stronger than our calculations; and we accept whatever lies ahead." (§ 7).

"If we were to halt now until we find the perfect way—if indeed there is any perfect way—we should lose the whole impetus of advance and embitter those whose hearts are set upon it." (§ 25).

[Provincial Services] "The aim should be steadily to eliminate the element of patronage and to establish a system of appointments by examination before or after selection, or, where appointments are made direct, to set up some exterior authority for the purpose of advising." (§ 52).

"We realise that 'the transferred services are generally those which stand in greater need of development' (para 255 of the Joint Report) and we should desire the lion's share of the surplus to be placed at the disposal of ministers." (§ 70).

"The influence of those who represent the electorate is growing now, and will grow. We fully recognise, as an assured consequence of the

political developments which we are discussing in this despatch, that even in reserved subjects our administration will have to be conducted with a closer regard to popular sentiment, and with less thought for theoretical efficiency."

[This is followed immediately by the proposition that "over all essentials of good Government" "we must retain unquestioned control"! (§ 110). The Governor of Bengal and the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and Orissa state in their joint minute that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report "reserves for the Executive Government full control over the really essential subjects" (p. 126)!

"....Certification is a procedure to which no Governor would resort except on rare occasions. Certification is, in fact, akin to the veto, which, as observed in paragraph 171 of the Report, is not an instrument of Government and is tolerable only when it is rarely used, and does not become obtrusive" (p. 206, Bengal Government).

"The Governor in Council does not regard this [the disappearance of European agency] as an insuperable objection, according as it is effected gradually, in proportion to the ability of the country adequately to conduct its own affairs: on the contrary he considers it essential that, if India is ever to be self-governing, it must employ, in the main, an Indian official agency" (p. 212, Bengal Government).

"If any material abatement were now made, it would be believed by almost all educated Indians that the Government had been guilty of a breach of faith, and that the scheme had been put forward merely with the object of keeping India quiet during the war." (Joint minute of the Governor of Bengal and the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and Orissa, p. 126).

"National sentiment, moreover, amongst the educated classes of India had been steadily rising and will not be satisfied with concessions that might have been regarded as adequate a year ago. This sentiment has received a great impulse from the course of the war, in which India has continued to play an ever-increasing part. As the war progresses, the principle of the self-determination of nations continues to receive ever greater emphasis, and when the only vocal classes in India demand that this principle shall be recognised in the administration of India, it is impossible for the British people, who are the foremost exponents of the principle, to meet the demand with a cold negative" (p. 287, Bihar Government).

"However much the raiyat voters of the future may at the outset be devoid of political instinct and incapable of appreciating their strength aright, or exercising their power wisely, however much they may be subject in the beginning to undue influence and intrigue, it is ab-

solutely essential that their training in the duties of citizenship should begin at once, if they are to attain to the place in the body politic to which their numbers and economic importance entitle them. There are already signs of an awakening." (P. 292, Bihar Government.) A long experience of villagers in their own homes has convinced me that their political instinct is quite as sound as that of the richer and more literate classes." (P. 334, Assam Administration.)

"It is only human nature that the educated classes should not be content to remain subject to the domination of foreigners from a distant country who, however sympathetic they may be in their treatment of the Indian populations, remain completely detached from them in the social and domestic spheres, and at the close of their service return to their own country." (P. 305, Bihar Government.)

It would be only fair, in conclusion, to quote from Sir Sankaran Nair's Minute of Dissent the following passage about 'fair promises and smooth excuses', which in the days of Macaulay were considered to be the sole prerogative of the Bengali:—

"Promises made as regards the admission of Indians into the public services without racial distinction have not been kept. Reforms in the land revenue administration which are indispensable were promised by the Government, and the promise has been withdrawn. The separation of judicial and executive functions was promised by the Government of India. It has not yet been effected. The orders of Lord Ripon and Lord Morley about local self-government have been practically disregarded. The wishes of the King-Emperor as regards education have not been carried out. Steps necessary for the revival of industries have not been taken. In all these we have now passed beyond the stage of promise and without actual performance no weight would be given to our declarations" (p. 96).

Grand Committees.

Grand Committees are the device by which the Governor is to carry on affirmative legislation to which the legislative council may be opposed. Some of the Provincial Governments quite frankly express themselves about this procedure. The Bombay Government rightly says that,

"This will undoubtedly be resented by the non-official element in the legislative council...A large number of elected members must...be excluded and will have no vote. These members will be reduced to the position of mere spectators and that position will be keenly resented" (p. 188, First Despatch).

On the other hand, Sir Michael O'Dwyer accepts the large elected majority in the provincial council only because of the provision of "these very necessary safeguards", viz.: the expedients of the Grand Committee and the certificate procedure (p. 229). Sir Michael clearly saw that they made the majority in the council absolutely innocuous, and 'responsible' government a shadow of its real self. The Chief Commissioner of the little Delhi province is refreshingly outspoken. "The idea seems to be," he writes, "that when any really important Bill is contemplated the Governor is invited to assume that his Legislative Council will fail him and will issue a certificate which will cause the Bill to be dealt with by a Grand Committee, or in plain language by a packed jury. Such a suggestion strikes at the very root of the principle of a responsible legislative council....." (p. 356). His Excellency the Viceroy himself has no doubt as to the effect of this procedure when he deals with the proposals put forward by the Heads of some local Governments in opposition to his own scheme of "diarchy." The Viceroy says:—

"The Heads of Local Governments rely on the machinery of the Grand Committee and the use of the certificate to carry their affirmative legislation. In so far as they find themselves able to use this machinery in the whole domain of government, they will reduce the councils merely to bodies of irresponsible critics to whom no power is given, in whom no responsibility is fixed, but whose numbers are materially increased" (p. 81).

Nothing could describe the position more justly and accurately than the language here employed by the Viceroy, and yet he does not feel any hesitation to subscribe to paragraph 79 of the despatch, where we find the Grand Committee plan adopted on the following extremely lame and halting grounds.

"We recognise that this plan for passing what may be described as permanent ordinances... presents the advantages of simplicity and candour. It avoids any pretence of recourse to majority support. But it does not seem to us a practical proposal. [In other words, it would let them see at a glance that the government is as absolutist as ever, and since the outward semblance of 'responsible' government

must be maintained, such candour is inexpedient.] Any attempt to legislate in opposition to the wishes of the legislative council must necessarily involve difficulty [the difficulty of reconciling the reality of despotism with the show of responsibility]; but the best hope of minimising the difficulty is in employing the means which are as nearly as possible those to which the people are already used" (p. 49-50).

This last sentence evidently means that as the people have hitherto been used to the fact that inspite of majorities in the Council the "Government, despite occasional difficulties, has, in practice, been able to obtain its way in most matters of vital importance" (p. 206, Bengal Government), the happy arrangement under which the elected members of the Council have done the talking while Government has carried on the administration in its own way should not be disturbed. In para 89 of the despatch the Government of India speaks of "the sense of unreality which has attended the business of the legislative councils in the past." It is not difficult to foresee that the Grand Committee devise will perpetuate the same "sense of unreality" in the business of the legislative councils of the future.

Sir Sankaran Nair's views on the Grand Committee procedure will appear from the following (p. 107) :

"Our electorates are becoming wider; all kinds of interests and views divergent among themselves are going to be represented; and if, in these circumstances, the government cannot secure any majority, the probabilities of their being in error are great. The grand committee, as constituted, is obviously intended as a check on a popular assembly, and is in itself therefore an undesirable institution. It creates an undesirable antagonism between a local executive and a local legislative council, and if there are other means of attaining the same object in view it is undesirable to retain it. I think the safeguard of the Imperial Legislative Council for all affirmative legislation and the powers of veto possessed by the Governor and the Viceroy to negative any Act which is passed by the local legislative council, and the power of ordinance for urgent occasions would be amply sufficient."

And in reply to this the Government of India, in a subsequent despatch, not satisfied with the bare Government majority on the Grand Committee proposed by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, which was intentionally "designed to operate as a

check upon the Governor exercising hastily or indiscriminately his power of certification" as "the scheme of the Report aims at his carrying his Legislative Council with him and only in cases of sheer perversity resorting to the Grand Committee" (p. 301, Bihar Government), has recommended a substantial official majority on the Grand Committee, and thus frustrated the object aimed at in the Joint Report of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. That Lord Chelmsford should, in these and other matters, have given way to his Executive Council shows how true is the description of the Viceroy's position given at page 39 of Wilfrid Seawen Blunt's *India Under Ripon*. The first two years are occupied in getting used to the climate and way of life, and learning the official view of the larger questions he has to deal with.

"The next two years, if he is an honest man and man of energy, he begins to propound his policy, only to find that he is everywhere defeated in detail by officials who bow to him and pretend to agree with him, but who go away and raise obstacles which defeat his ends, or at any rate delay them till his power to enforce them is nearly over. Usually he swims with the official stream . . ."

Salary and Status of Ministers.

In the scheme propounded by the Heads of some local Governments, they say :

"We attach the greatest importance to the non-official members being in the same position and drawing the same salaries as the official members" (p. 122).

This, however, does not refer directly to ministers under the joint Report. As to ministers, the government of Sir Michael O'Dwyer expresses itself in characteristic fashion.

"It seems an unwarrantable extravagance to pay inexperienced learners the same salaries as the experienced administrators who will have proved their fitness to be appointed to the Executive Council" (p. 231).

The Bihar Government however says :

"The pay and status of the minister should be the same as those of an Executive Councillor. Although the selection of the minister must rest with the Governor, his appointment should be by Royal Warrant" (pp. 289-90).

In the opinion of the Assam Adminis-

tration members of the council and ministers "would be in a complete equality in the matter of pay, status and designation" (p. 330). The Chief Commissioner of Delhi rightly says :

"I do not realise why there should be any differentiation between members and ministers. I consider that the Governor's executive colleagues should all be on one footing as regards powers and position, although the system of recruitment may be different" (p. 354).

But the Government of India decides :

"There is no real reason to prescribe for ministers the scale of salaries fixed for members of council. We feel, however, that if we were to ask you to fix beforehand for ministers a lower rate of pay than that sanctioned for councillorships, such a treatment of the situation, however well justified by practical considerations, would be misconstrued in India. We see, therefore, no alternative but to suggest that the number of ministers and their pay should be fixed by the Governor, after consultation with the prospective minister or ministers, when they first take office, and [are ?] placed upon the transferred estimates." (§ 41).

Had responsible government been really intended in the transferred departments, the position of the ministers would have been higher than that of executive councillors, who are not in independent charge of any department. But as it has been laid down in spite of what the Viceroy may say (p. 118), that no decision should go forth as the Minister's decision, and that every decision of his should be liable to be overruled by the Governor, that the services will have "a generous right of appeal" (§ 49) against the decisions of the minister who may "be disposed to treat lightly vested claims to important or desirable appointments" (§ 47) [though the Government of India says in para 43 that "there is here no question of opposing vested interests to the cause of constitutional change"], that "the Governor must be instructed to control him [the Minister] with a watchful eye to the well-being and content of the services" (p. 209, Fourth and Fifth Despatches), that the Minister or permanent head of the Ministry of the Government will have the power to appoint and dismiss all officers in the transferred departments on the Governor's notice all

be laid before the Governor (§ 97), "the result," as Sir Sankaran Nair puts it, "would naturally be to weaken considerably the position of the minister in relation to his subordinates. In fact, he might be reduced to a figure-head by the Governor and the Secretary" (p. 97). And that being the position assigned to him it is logical to hold that he should have only such salary as the Governor chooses to pay him.

The Government of India Bill incorporates the views propounded by the India Government in their first despatch on the salaries to be paid to ministers in consultation with the Governor, though the taxpayers who would foot the bill are willing, nay eager, to place the ministers exactly on the same footing with the Executive Councillors in the matter of status and pay.

Classes and Masses.

The Bihar Government says (p. 306 :

"The 'nineteen' say that these men are better able to ascertain the feelings of the masses than European officials, and it is no doubt true that in some respects they are often better acquainted with them, though this is by no means always the case. But even if their knowledge of the masses be greater than that of the European officials, it is to be remembered that their interests are frequently diametrically opposed, and where this is the case the masses will go to the wall."

Admitting that there are some matters with regard to which the interests of the classes clash with those of the masses are there not many more matters in regard to which the interests of both the classes and the masses are identical, and opposed to the interests of the foreign bureaucrats and merchants—the administrators and exploiters—and that being so, do not the masses stand to gain on the whole by being represented by the classes of their own countrymen instead of by their foreign masters? We have shown in our last issue that even in the civilised countries of Western Europe it is the classes who represent the masses (*vide* the extract from Lord Bryce at page 323). Here is another extract from Bernard Shaw

dominated by a selected class bred by political marriages... Aristocracy and plutocracy still furnish the figureheads of politics; but they are now dependent on the votes of the promiscuously bred masses... But observe, this aristocracy, which was overpowered from 1832 to 1885 by the middle classes has come back to power by the votes of "the swinish multitude."..... How many of their own class have these electors sent to Parliament? Hardly a dozen out of 670, and these only under the persuasion of conspicuous personal qualifications and popular eloquence. The multitude thus pronounces judgment on its own units: it admits itself unfit to govern, and will vote only for a man morphologically and generically transfigured by palatial residence and equipage, by transcendent tailoring, by the glamor of aristocratic kinship."

• Sir Sankaran Nair puts the whole truth about the so-called sympathy of our rulers for the masses in a nutshell when he says in his minute of dissent (pp. 95-96):

"Great constitutional reforms are also essential in the interests of the masses of this country. The educated classes have failed in their endeavours to bring about any substantial amelioration in their condition. Not only have the Government not taken the necessary steps, but they have not supported the efforts of the educated classes..... Thus it is not true that the reforms will result in the transference of powers to persons who are not interested in the welfare of the masses; and it is also quite feasible to transfer power to the masses themselves."

The Poverty of India.

An instructive sidelight on Indian poverty is thrown by Sir N. D. Beatson Bell who (p. 333) says that to prepare an electoral roll in the Burma and Assam valleys, an annual "family income" of Rs. 250 is likely to confine the franchise to approximately one-fourth of the heads of the 600,000 households in each of the two valleys. But at p. 350 he adds that "some of my officers have represented that in certain parts of the province the general criterion of Rs. 250 per annum is too high and will not produce the necessary quarter." It therefore comes to this that out of 1,200,000 households in the two valleys of Assam not even a quarter can boast of a family income of Rs. 250. If an average Indian family be taken to consist of five persons, this figure would yield an average of Rs. 50 per head. So

age be counted upon, and yet we talk of the prosperity of India! Sir Sankaran Nair spoke nothing but the bare truth when he referred (p. 92) to the "increasing poverty of India."

Is Self-Government an Exotic in India?

Sir Michael O'Dwyer speaks of "India, where the idea of self-government as understood in the West is not an indigenous growth, but an exotic" (p. 236). Sir Reginald Craddock, who belongs to the blood-and-iron school of Sir Michael, speaks of systems and institutions "which are exotic on oriental soil and out of harmony with the history, traditions and sentiments of the land" (p. 270). In the penultimate paragraph of his *Early History of India*, 3rd edition, Mr. Vincent A. Smith discharged this parthian shot: "The nascent Indian constitution now in course of construction is a foreign importation, imperfectly intelligible to the people for whose benefit it is intended, and never likely to be thoroughly acclimatised." And yet in the same book we find that Gopala, the founder of the Pala dynasty of Bengal, in the 8th century of the Christian era, was elected king by the people in order to prevent anarchy, a fact which is recorded in the imperishable tablet of the Khalimpur copperplate grant—

'मात्स्वत्यायमोदितुं प्रकृतिभिर्ब्रह्मा करं यादितुं'

Dr. Rames Chandra Majumdar in his *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, has repeatedly demonstrated the fallacy which is so much favoured, for political reasons, by the Anglo-Indian bureaucrat, and Mr. Havell and others have also done the same. Sir Sankaran Nair's minute of dissent opens with a review of this fallacious theory and he has no hesitation in saying:

"As a matter of fact non-monarchical forms of government are not foreign to the genius of the people... it can scarcely be denied that in the ordinary villages a democratic form of government prevailed when the British took possession of India... It is impossible for anyone who has cursorily studied the history of India to maintain that the spirit of democracy has died out among the

Official Opinion.

"In general it may be said," writes the Government of Bihar and Orissa, "that official opinion [in regard to the Reforms scheme] is either hostile or resigned" (p. 287). "The Civil Service generally," says Sir Sankaran Nair, "have shown their hostility to the proposed reforms. They have expressed their strong opinion of the unfitness of Indians to hold high appointments or to carry out the duties which will devolve upon them as Parliamentary leaders. There will be many persons therefore among them who are not likely to work in harmony with Indians or to view with sympathy their political progress which must curtail the privileges hitherto enjoyed by their own service" (p. 108). As to the so-called unfitness of Indians for parliamentary forms of Government, Mr. Wilfrid S. Blunt, himself a trained politician, wrote as follows in the eighties of the last century on Asiatic progress (*India Under Ripon*, pp. 255-7).

"With all my belief in Asiatic progress, I confess that before my recent visit to India I was not prepared to find this latter at all so far advanced as in fact it is; and from first to last I remained astonished at the high level at which native intelligence in political science already stands. . . Nor is it too much to say that for conversation of a political character there are few races in the world which can equal those of India, or that it would be difficult from our own House of Commons to choose men capable of sustaining a successful argument with the best educated Indian on any of the subjects specially interesting to them. I was throughout struck by this. The native mind is quick, lucid, and it seemed to me, also eminently judicial, and I found it distinguished by the absence of all such passionate exaggeration as I had been led to expect. . . This, I say, was remarkable, and to one who, like myself, was seeking the germs of self-governing power in India, presented itself as a very hopeful sign. Froth, fury, and passionate denunciation, I found little of in India. Of logical argument I found much, and of that reasoning from facts which is the best of all reasoning, and which in politics goes by the name of common sense."

The Chief Commissioner of Delhi opines (p. 356) that "a time must come when disgraceful scenes, similar to those which occur in the House of Commons, will occur". But in the opinion of all competent critics, like Bernard Houghton (see his

Bureaucratic Government), and responsible officials, the elected members of the Council speak with a sobriety, moderation, cogency and ability which maintains the best traditions of the British House of Commons. As to the bureaucracy, Mr. Wilfrid S. Blunt, after an intimate acquaintance with their methods and opinions wrote long ago: 'the covenanted Civil Service neither forgets nor forgives' (p. 40, *India Under Ripon*), 'no real reform can be begun till the Covenanted Service was abolished' (p. 55), 'the sworn enemies of all reform in India—the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy' (p. 273), and in the very last lines of the book; he quotes some desponding words of General Gordon to him, who said: "You may do what you will. It will be of no use. India will never be reformed until there has been there a new revolt." The idea of a revolt is of course absurd, and it would be most foolish to think of it; we rather hope and believe that the pressure of world-forces, of which neither General Gordon nor Mr. Blunt had any conception when they wrote, will compel the British people to put less and less faith in the sacrosanct character of the Civil Service, and gradually to transfer power to the Indians themselves. But up to now Mr. Blunt's description of the Civil Service holds good:

"It was a bureaucracy pure and simple, the most absolute, the closest, and the freest of control that the world has ever seen. . . Its first law is its own interests, its second only those of the Indian people. Nor is it casting a reflection on its members to state this. There has never been found yet a body of men anxious to benefit the world at large at the expense of its own pocket; and the Indian Civil service, which is no exception to the rule, sees in all reform an economy of its pay, a curtailment of its privileges, and a restriction of its field of adventure. Such a service is of its very nature intolerant of economy and intolerant of change" (pp. 311-14).

And Mr. Brenard Houghton, himself a member of the Civil Service, wrote just before the European war:

"The menace, the real peril, lies not in the grant of more popular government to India; it lies in the continuance of the present bureaucratic system, a system which has served its purpose but which India has now outgrown. That is the real danger, and it is one which those who

prate of disloyalty will do well to consider very seriously. The great popular movement springing from the impact of Western knowledge and modern ideas, quickened into life by the war in the Far East, will neither ebb nor remain quiescent. On the contrary, it must wax from day to day, in spite of rebuffs and humiliations [and, let us add, martial law sentences]; nay, rather drawing fresh strength by each instance of official opposition" (p. 197). "Bureaucracy has served its purpose. Though the Indian Civil service were manned by angels from heaven, the incurable defects of a bureaucratic government must pervert their best intentions and make them foes to political progress" (pp. 199-200).

That, under the circumstances, official opinion should be hostile to the proposed reforms was only to be expected, and such hostility is no argument against their justice or expediency—rather the contrary.

The Opinion of the Bengal Government.

It is of interest to us to look a little closely into the opinion of the Bengal Government on the proposed constitutional reforms, and we regret to have to say that it is the reverse of liberal. Though it is not out-and-out reactionary like the views of the Madras and Punjab Governments, still in many respects the Government of Bengal is more conservative than Bombay, the United Provinces and even Bihar. Of all the provincial Governments, Bengal and Bihar alone support "diarchy", but on the ground that the Heads of some of the other provinces, in their joint scheme, by conferring on the legislature the power of refusing supply, "would have succeeded in making the whole of the executive amenable to the legislature" (p. 127, First Despatch), and also because they are satisfied that the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme "reserves for the Executive Government full control over the really essential subjects" (p. 126). The Government of Lord Ronaldshay advocates the appointment of two official members to the Executive Council instead of one as proposed in the joint report, though admitting that "it will render top-heavy the administration at headquarters," on the ground that "in practice there would be every likelihood of the views of Indian Ministers prevailing against the advice of the single official who would be represented as an obstructive and reac-

tionary bureaucrat" (p. 199). The Bihar and Orissa Government is however of opinion that "as a necessary corollary" to the division of subjects among Executive Councillors and Ministers, the number of the former should be reduced from three to two, one an Indian and the other a European member of the Indian Civil Service (p. 289). While to the Bengal Government "the proposal for the appointment of members of the Legislative Council to positions analogous to that of Parliamentary Under Secretaries in Great Britain does not appear to be practicable at the present stage," the Bihar, the United Provinces, and even the Punjab Governments consider it a quite feasible suggestion, and have no hesitation in accepting it. Above all, the Governor of Bengal in Council "cannot but regard with the greatest misgivings the large powers with which it is proposed to invest the Legislative Council in the matter of Finance...it is fundamentally unsound to give the legislature these wide powers over Finance" (pp. 207-8). But the Bombay Government says: "The budget will be discussed and passed by the legislative council, and their resolutions will be binding in all cases except where the Governor considers that peace, order and the safety of the state require the exercise of his veto" (p. 186). Annexure I, pp. 183-95, of the Report of the Committee on the Division of Functions also shows that many subjects which some of the other provincial Governments considered fit to be transferred to the ministers, were placed on the "reserved" list by the Government of Bengal.

A Woman of India.

The London correspondent of the "Tribune" sends the following account of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's debut before the joint Parliamentary Committee:—

"Lord Salborne welcomed her with the remark that the memorandum she had sent in illuminated their prosaic literature with a poetic touch..... Mrs. Naidu made a striking picture as she eloquently pleaded the cause of Indian women. She did it without the aid of a note and in language as choice and moving as the greatest jurist could desire. She was perfectly at her ease, and no point was either overdone or omitted.

She disclaimed the idea of making a speech. In truth it was an oration expressed in terms which would have done credit to some of the great masters of parliamentary eloquence."

Mrs. Besant writes to *New India* that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu may visit the United States in the autumn in order to give a series of lectures, literary and political, very pressing offers having been made to her by leading lecture bureaus.

"There is no doubt that her remarkable and cultured eloquence would be a revelation to the American people, and would prove beyond dispute, evidence which will be before their eyes, the strength of the claim of India to a lofty place among the nations of the world."

Peaceful Penetration.

The following notification, issued by the Government of India in the Home Department, published in the *Gazette of India* dated the 6th September, 1919, is republished for general information.

H. P. DUVAL,
Secretary, to the Government of Bengal.

NOTIFICATION.

JUDICIAL.

Simla, the 3rd September, 1919.

No. 1201—In pursuance respectively of section 29, and of rule 26 (b) of Order V of the First Schedule of the Code of Civil Procedure (V of 1908), the Governor-General in Council is pleased to declare—

(1) that the provisions of section 29 of the said Code shall apply to the Courts in Mesopotamia specified in the Schedule hereto annexed; and

(2) that the service by such Courts of any summons issued by a Court in British India under the said Code shall be valid service.

SCHEDULE.

1. Court of Appeal, Baghdad.
2. Court of First Instance, Baghdad.
3. Court of First Instance, Basrah.
4. Court of First Instance, Ba'qubah.
5. Court of First Instance, Mosul.

W. F. RICE,
Addl. Secretary to the Govt. of India.

Education.

The Committee on the Division of Functions report as follows :

"We have received suggestions for making various divisions of the subject of Education, but we have come to the conclusion that the problem should be treated as a whole, and that any division of education, such as would result from the transfer of primary apart from secondary and university education, or from the

transfer of primary and secondary apart from university education, is unsound in theory and would be unworkable in practice."

They proceed to support this opinion by quoting from para 186 of the Joint Report that "the main defect of the system is probably the want of co-ordination between primary and higher education," and also from Mr. Hornell's Quinquennial Review on the progress of Education in Bengal, in which he says :

"The existing educational system of India is an organic whole, no part of which can be modified without affecting vitally the other parts. . . . It is impossible to attack the problem by compartments. Secondary education depends upon primary education and university education upon both."

The Committee therefore recommend the transfer of education as a whole to the minister subject to the observation that technical education should be dealt with by the Department of Industries which is also to be one of the transferred departments.

The Government of India strongly dissent from the committee's recommendation to transfer secondary, collegiate and technical education, and by far the largest part of the Fourth Despatch is devoted to making out a case for confining the transfer to primary education. Much is made of the 'heavy responsibility' (what a blessed word!) which is supposed to lie on the Government of India, in view of the division of opinion among local Governments. We shall see presently that this divergence is more nominal than real, and having regard to the fact that the local Governments are divided in opinion on almost every conceivable point, the argument carries but little weight. Mr. Hornell's assertion is said to be too sweeping, and certain anonymous gentlemen are quoted in the appendix who view the proposed transfer with serious misgivings. The view propounded in the Joint Report, that education is essential to further political advance and is one of the chief tests by which the work of the new popular Governments will be judged, is cordially endorsed, and the Government of India further lay down the principle that political enlightenment and wise education cannot be

divorced. They notice the argument that "inasmuch as it will be from the vernacular schools that we shall draw the mass of the intelligent voters of the future, it is our duty to concentrate upon vernacular education, and to leave English education, as a subject in which they will be more interested, to ministers;" also that "if political progress is to depend on education it is only fair that the whole subject should be transferred and the power of developing it placed in the hands of those who are most interested in the consequences. The argument indeed is even pushed further: we are told that Indian opinion is so strongly set upon the entire control of education that to withhold any part of it will imperil the harmony and good will with which we hope the new regime will start. We cannot accept this extreme presentation of the case. We do not deny the general desire of progressive Indians to assume complete responsibility for education, or the disappointment that many will feel if this is not conceded." But the Government of India hold that there is 'a compelling case for the transfer of primary education' only. Here, however, they grow quite eloquent:

"It is that part of the field which will give the fullest and freest play to responsibility at once: it will be most responsive to patriotic effort: and it will be the nursery for the broad and enlightened electorate on which the future depends. The labour of bringing primary education up to a reasonable standard, the need for almost unlimited development, the difficulties of gradually making it free than compulsory,—these and its many other problems constitute a task which will be enough to occupy all the energy and ingenuity of ministers for years to come."

They then quote from the report of a Committee appointed in 1917 which says that the elected councils "will be able to raise money for education from sources that never could be tapped by a Government of the existing official type." Next they proceed to consider secondary and university education, and hold that there is an equally compelling case for its retention in official hands.

"India stands today in a critical position; and her immediate future, apart from her slower political growth, depends upon the solution of

social, economic and industrial problems to which a good system of secondary education is the chief key. If we handed it over at this juncture to untried hands we should be guilty of grave dereliction of duty."

The real motive of the Government, however much sought to be disguised in a mass of humanitarian verbiage, leaks out shortly afterwards in the following sentence:

"We have seen what has happened already in provinces where high school and collegiate education has been allowed to pass largely into non-official control. The worst developments of such a system are described in the Bengal administration and the Rowlatt reports."

To what an extent the activities of Bengali boys have turned the head of the Simla authorities will appear from the fact that even "organisations which are primarily non-political, such as boyscouts, civic guards, volunteer *samities* and proceedings like strike and picketing in the industrial field" have been classed together and included among the subjects which the Government of India retain in their own hands (see para 53 of the Fourth Despatch). Regarding technical and industrial education, also, the Government of India, desiring to retain complete control in their own hands, express themselves in language full of a gushing sentimentality to which our boys are so unaccustomed that they cannot but view it with suspicion. "It is admitted," runs the despatch, "that one of the greatest needs of the country is industrial development and wider openings for her young men in scientific and technical professions. It is accepted that the public services must be recruited in future to a greater extent in this country." Then the despatch refers to the necessity of "improving and extending the facilities in India for higher learning, particularly on the technical side," and triumphantly concludes:

"We cannot in the face of these plain requirements assent to a proposal to place the control of the legal, medical, engineering, technical and industrial colleges or schools of India in inexperienced hands. After the maintenance of law and order there is no matter for which the responsibility of the British government is heavier."

The Government of India then advance

a final plea for the retention of control over higher education. To many people it will sound a curious plea. Having made mistakes in the past, they ask for further control in order to repair those mistakes.

"Before leaving the subject we may revert to the argument that our educational policy has not been a success in the past. That it has at times been lacking in foresight and perspective we do not deny. During the lean years education received only such funds as were available after more imperious needs had been satisfied. Too large a proportion of the money that was forthcoming was devoted to higher education... In particular they were content to let higher education pass more and more under non-official control... We admit the errors of the past and we ask for time to repair them: their reparation is perhaps the most urgent task before us, if constitutional changes are to bring India the happiness which we hope. For these reasons we accept the Committee's proposal to transfer primary education, and we strongly dissent from their proposal to transfer secondary, collegiate and technical (including medical and engineering) education."

As a last resource, the Government of India propose to retain control of the Calcutta University, "in the event of the transfer of higher education to ministers," "up till the time when the recommendations of the first statutory commission [i.e. another twelve years or more] are carried into effect" on the ground that "the changes proposed by the Calcutta University Commission are so far-reaching that a considerable period must necessarily elapse before they can be brought into effect."

Let us now turn to Sir Sankaran Nair, whose minute of dissent, appended to the fourth despatch, is perhaps the most masterly of the various documents of that kind penned by him. Referring to the India Government's proposal to transfer primary but not higher education, he says:

"It appears to me to be impracticable to divide the subject of Education like this. Hitherto no such division has been made anywhere in India."

Discussing the high sounding principles laid down in the despatch, he disposes of them in one short sentence.

"Political progress is said to be dependent upon the expansion of sound education, and such expansion should not be left in the hands of classes which have hitherto opposed political and

sound educational progress. Indians are deeply interested in it."

He proceeds to strengthen the case for transfer by analysing the opinions of the various official authorities.

"I have been the head of the Department of Education now for more than three years, and I am satisfied that future educational progress depends upon Indian direction. My predecessor in this office, Sir Harcourt Butler, also would make it a transferred subject. The only other member of Indian Government who has been an education member since the creation of the Department, Sir Claude Hill.....has recorded his opinion in favour of transfer. The Governments of Bombay, the Punjab, and the United Provinces, would transfer education as a whole. The Madras Government would not transfer any branch of education. Bengal and Assam would not transfer collegiate education, but my colleagues, like myself, are of opinion that this cannot be done if secondary education is transferred. Bihar and Orissa alone is opposed to the transfer of secondary, technical and collegiate education. My colleagues would transfer primary education, while the reasons given in their report, if they are correct, tend inevitably to the conclusion that it is primary education that should be kept in the hands of the Government and that higher education may safely be transferred."

Sir Sankaran Nair then goes straight to the root of the matter and without mincing his words and trying to conceal his meaning, as the despatch does, by eloquent phraseology, he says:

"Those who would keep education a reserved subject, do so, I fear, not in the interests of educational progress but for political reasons... A retrogressive policy has been followed since Lord Dufferin's time... Efforts were then made by the Government to confine higher education and secondary education leading to higher education to boys in affluent circumstances. This again was done, not in the interests of sound education, but for political reasons. Rules were made calculated to restrict the diffusion of education generally and among the poorer boys in particular. Conditions for recognition for 'grants'—stiff and various—were laid down and enforced... Fees were raised to a degree which considering the circumstances of the classes that resort to schools, were abnormal... English education, according to this policy, is to be confined to the well-to-do classes. They, it is believed, will give no trouble to Government. For this purpose the old system of education under which a pupil could prosecute his studies from the lowest to the highest class was altered. For the masses, a new course of elementary or primary education solely in the vernaculars extending to about seven years

was devised. It was hoped that this would keep them in their present condition confined to their lowly ancestral pursuits... The masses, the poorer classes of people, were thus deliberately denied all access to any real or English education... They are thus denied all means of material improvement, self-development and culture... At the [Delhi] Durbar it was announced that the Government have resolved "to acknowledge the predominant claims of educational advancement on the resources of the Empire." As a fact, that acknowledgment has not been translated into action. In almost all the local Councils attempts are being made to introduce private bills for optional compulsory education. These bills are allowed to be introduced only on condition that no financial responsibility is thereby imposed on Government. Local resources are inadequate and such education as is imparted will not be sufficient. Without Government financial assistance the scheme will not succeed or even cannot be put into operation.

"With reference to commercial and industrial education, we do not give the higher education required to foster manufacturing industries, to start great commercial concerns of any kind, or produce captains of industry or commerce but we have industrial schools to train intelligent artisans or foremen or to further or develop local cottage industries... Similarly, it was intended to start or encourage schools with commercial courses whose chief aim was to supply practical training for those who were to enter business houses in a subordinate capacity...

"Now there is no doubt that in all this the Government were actuated by the highest motives, but there is no use ignoring the fact that the Indians were satisfied that all these changes were made with a sinister purpose. It is the universal belief and there is little doubt that facts unfortunately tend to support it, that, primary English education for the masses and higher education for the middle classes are discouraged for political reasons. Higher professional, industrial, and technical education is discouraged to favour English industries and recruitment in England of English officials.

"If, therefore, we should have more Indians in scientific and technical professions and more engineering and industrial colleges, experience shows that the present system must be abandoned and that an Indian Minister alone would supply the necessary institutions. Otherwise, we are likely to follow the same course as hitherto; we will tell those few of our young men who have made themselves fit for these professions that such education as they have received is not satisfactory; at the same time discourage them from going to foreign countries to receive education and fail to provide sufficient facilities for education in India itself. The errors of the past are admitted even by those who will not allow education to be a transferred subject and a promise is made to repair them. The subject

is far too important and vital to the interests of the nation for any further experiments to be made or for the matter to be left in the hands of those who stand thus self-convicted and whose promises have not been faithfully kept. The reason often assigned for mistakes in the past has been want of funds, and conservatism of the rural classes, both of which I entirely deny. . .

"As to University education, there can be no more scathing condemnation of the system than that to be found in the Commission Report. It has to be remembered that the University itself is an officialised body under Government control..... They point out that even such a University is under the unduly rigid control of the Government. 'There is far too much detailed Government intervention.' They are perfectly right, and it is impossible under such a system that any University can carry on its work efficiently. It is just for that reason that Indians are anxious to get rid of bureaucratic control and place the University and secondary education under the control of a Minister..... Most of the important Native States have gone ahead."

Sir Michael Sadler, President of the Calcutta University Commission, advocates the transfer of the whole of education to the Indian Ministers.

The "Earning" and the "Spending" Departments.

[Sir Sankaran Nair:] "It will appear from this table [of 'reserved' and 'transferred' subjects] that the chief earning departments come under the 'Reserved' head. The great spending departments on which the real progress of the country depends are the first six items in the list of 'Transferred' subjects [Local self-government, Medical administration, Sanitation, Education, Public works, Agriculture]..... The Minister... will never have a sufficiency for his expanding departments. He will always want the full amount which can be obtained from his subjects and much more. His subjects are not expanding sources of revenue. Excise ought not to be, and in Indian hands will not be, an increasing source. But is he likely to get anything from the 'Reserved' departments? I feel fairly sure that the revenue obtained and obtainable by the Executive Council will set the standard of their expenditure. The services are under them and we know from experience that there is no limit to their demands and to the general sympathy with which requests for new appointments to be filled by English officials, for allowances for them, and for increase in their pay or pensions, is viewed by the Executive Council..... The Executive Council under the scheme will not only take the normal growth of land revenue, but would be entitled to increase it by periodical settlements without any recourse to the

legislature. Even under normal conditions they will have, compared to the Minister, ample revenue for their needs; but there is little doubt that pressure will be put upon them by the English services for increase in their establishments, pay and services—a pressure to which they would not be unwilling to yield. It is very probable, therefore, that the raiyat, always impoverished, will be further harassed. The development of the transferred departments essential to Indian progress will be retarded. The result will be the same with reference to all sources of revenues. The Minister and the Executive Council are invited by this proposal to raise as much revenue as they could, nothing can be more prejudicial to the interests of the country. It appears to me therefore that the scheme of my colleagues, under these conditions, will be fatal to the prosperity of the country.”

Indian Poverty and Land Revenue Assessment.

“Indian poverty” [continues Sir Sankaran Nair in his minute of dissent appended to the Fourth Despatch] “is attributable to the land revenue policy and the industrial policy hitherto followed.....

The Committee [on the Division of Functions] state...that as the assessment of land revenue is left to executive action, the periodical settlement of land revenue must be treated as a reserved subject within the jurisdiction of the Executive Council only...In my opinion, however, there should be no increase of revenue merely by executive action...At present, outside the permanently settled zemindaries, the theory maintained by the executive government is that land is the private property of the crown, the landholder, being bound to pay any assessment that may be fixed by the executive government at their discretion. India is the only country in the world where neither law, nor custom, nor competition determines the revenue or rent. This has been responsible to a great extent for the increasing poverty of the country. It has certainly tended to keep away labour and capital from land.”

Sir Sankaran Nair accordingly proposes that the imposition of land revenue should be made a transferred subject.

“In the alternative, I would urge that it should at least be laid down that (1) the general principles of land-revenue assessment be embodied in provincial legislation as recommended ten years ago by the Royal Commission on Decentralisation, and (2) every proposal of resettlement of a district be embodied in a bill that should be passed by the legislative council like any other taxation bill.”

Industries.

The Functions Committee propose to transfer the development of industries to the control of ministers. “From this proposition at the present stage we entirely dissent and for most cogent reasons,” say the Government of India in their despatch. What are these reasons? In the first place, in some provinces there are no departments of industries at all, and in others they have only a nominal existence. In the second place, Indian ministers will be devoid of business experience [“as if the Civilian member has great experience” says Sir Sankaran Nair]. Thirdly, “it is our earnest desire that the industrial policy of the country should be directed to securing for Indians the fullest possible participation in future industrial development,” though “the Indian Press, on the other hand, sees in the [Industrial] Commission’s Report an attempt to rivet the chains of British economic domination still more firmly on the country.” But “there remains, however, a still more serious objection.” European non-official opinion expressed “very definite apprehensions lest an increasing degree of self-government should bring with it an increasing degree of racial discrimination,” and “we apprehend that until a far greater sense of responsibility is established among the electorate and the representative assemblies, considerable pressure may be exercised on ministers to refuse any form of aid or countenance to British enterprise and to favour Indian undertakings, especially those backed by political influence.....”

Let us now revert to Sir Sankaran Nair, who presents the Indian point of view with refreshing candour.

“The proposal of the Committee to transfer all questions of industrial development in my opinion should be accepted. As my colleagues are unwilling to accept this proposal, it is desirable to state the present situation. India, we know, was a great manufacturing country whose wealth attracted the East India Company. Before the Mutiny, her industries were, by deliberate policy of active discouragement in India and by prohibitive duties in England, destroyed. She was thus reduced from an agricultural and manufacturing, to an agricultural country. The general policy of the subordination of Indian to English commercial interest:

has since continued to the present day. India has been utilized for the exploitation of her natural resources, for the investment of English capital and for the dumping of English goods. Instead, therefore, of the Indian industries relieving the pressure on land, their ruin has thrown millions of workmen out of employ to compete with the agriculturists. This attitude of the Government has materially contributed to the unrest and disaffection in the land. It is therefore essential that we should adopt a course which would place us beyond suspicion.

"We know now that there are Trade Commissioners whose business it is to find out the natural resources and facilities for trade—English trade in particular—that exists in the country. The results of their observations are to be made the basis of expert advice as to the best mode of utilising those natural resources in the interests of English trade. It is true that the information would be equally available to the Indian public but we know that it is the commercial organizations in England that would be able to utilize them. There is no objection, of course, to the export of our raw products without detriment to the interests of the country itself, but she should not be deprived of the means of creating her own manufacturing industries and employing her own labouring population. This can only be done if the development of Indian industries is a "transferred" subject, otherwise a great export of foodstuffs tending to the starvation of millions not only by depriving India of her foodstuffs which she badly wants, but also by depriving her of great opportunities which the manufacturing industries will afford her, will be the result.

"Similarly, as to the investment of English capital. We know that we cannot do without English capital, but we must obtain it on the same terms generally on which it would be lent to the colonies and other countries. The terms must be those agreed upon between the English capitalists and competent Indians who will protect Indian interests. The English officials in India and the India Office have not in the past protected India. They have submitted to English capitalists and I have no doubt will do so in future. We want also Englishmen to start industries in India but not to the detriment of indigenous industries. It is quite clear to me that unless there is an Indian to protect Indian industries, we will have English firms starting industries on a large scale in India in which the Indians will have very little share to the detriment of Indian industries. That unfair means have been adopted to hamper Indian industries for the benefit of Lancashire and other capitalists is well known. Unfair competition should not be allowed. For these reasons, if we do not leave the development of Indian industries in Indian hands, I feel satisfied that the same course will be followed in the future as in the

past, and will lead to increased irritation between Indians and Englishmen....."

Alluding to the arguments advanced in the despatch, Sir Sankaran Nair says :

"Lastly, it is said that there is a racial question involved, that considerable influence would be exercised on Ministers to refuse any form of aid or countenance to British enterprise and to favour Indian undertakings. So far as Indians are concerned, this charge is absolutely unfounded. Objection to English capital and enterprise is raised only when that stands in the way of Indian enterprise and Indian prosperity. And to remove any such misapprehension is it difficult to provide safeguards similar to those proposed by my colleagues in other cases ? But I assert without hesitation from experience that so far as the Government are concerned, the fear that they will unduly favour foreign enterprises to the prejudice of Indian enterprises is well founded. It is true enough that the Industrial Commission makes recommendations, themselves unsatisfactory, which in some respects may assist the Indians, but here again we know from experience how little we can rely on such recommendations when they have to be carried out in practice."

Non-Brahmin Movement.

Sir Sankaran Nair has as good a right to stand forward as the representative of the non-Brahmin classes as the late Dr. Nair. Let us see what he has to say on the movement of which Dr. Nair, backed by the Indo-British Association, was the protagonist.

"The representative of the Madras Government (and it is said the Madras Government accept his view) has taken objection to the division of subjects on the ground that without adequate protection being provided for by communal representation, the non-Brahmins will be oppressed by the Brahmins. I support non-Brahmin communal representation but I demur entirely to the proposition that it should be regarded as an essential preliminary to any responsible government for the reason given...

"In the earlier years of the Congress, the non-Brahmin leaders were invited by the officials to stand aloof from it, and if possible, to denounce it as inimical to their interests. They resolved to disregard the advice. The main reasons were these : They found that by the British conquest it was the Mahomedans and the non-Brahmin higher castes who had suffered most. The Rajahs and the zemindars who were deprived of their properties by the British Government generally belonged to those classes... I have already pointed out that the *raison d'être* of the Congress was the intense poverty of the people and the measures which they put forward to relieve such

poverty concerned the non-Brahmins more than Brahmins; the non-Brahmin higher castes, therefore, stood to gain from its success more than any others... They found also that, though the old class of Brahmins had faults which are now imputed to them by the leaders of the non-Brahmin movement, a distinct improvement was visible in the younger generation that was growing up and they hoped that common efforts, common aspirations and the common good of the country would introduce a change in the Brahmin class. These hopes have not been disappointed... Besides the reasons above referred to, the non-Brahmins were startled at the official attitude. Many of the officials while insisting upon the existence of this class division as a bar to political progress, not only did not themselves take any active steps to remove them but by their passive resistance foiled every attempt of the reform party to remove such restrictions. The latter were sneered at as Anglicised Indians who had lost touch with the ordinary people and therefore untrustworthy in these matters or denounced as impracticable visionaries. Several officials went even so far as to say not only privately but in public that this ancient caste system was necessary to the stability of the society as it accustoms the people to order and obedience to authority and it is therefore in the interest of the Government to support that system. The non-Brahmin leaders felt therefore that very little could be hoped from officials to remove this caste restriction. These were the reasons, so far as I remember, that determined the attitude of the non-Brahmin leaders then and I do not think those reasons have lost their force now."

The Franchise Committee point out that the non-Brahmins will be in a majority of four to one in the electorates, and they "cannot but think that, if the capacity already devoted to politics among non-Brahmins were utilised in organizing this great majority, the Non-Brahmins would in no long space of time find that such a preponderance of votes would make itself effectually felt despite the power and influence of the Brahmins." The Government of India, in their fifth despatch say: "We are less optimistic. . . Numbers count for little in India at present against social, educational and especially religious superiority which has behind it the sanction of centuries." They therefore propose that the constituencies should be arranged in such a way that thirty out of the sixty non-Muhammadan seats should be reserved for non-Brahmins, while both parties

might contest the remaining seats without restriction.

But the poison having been thus introduced in the body-politic, it was bound to spread and the despatch proceeds to say: "At the same time, if divisions in the Hindu community are once recognised in the electorate, as in the case of the non-Brahmins in Madras, we admit that it becomes extremely difficult to resist the claims of the Marhattas in Bombay." Accordingly the Government reserve the Marhatta question for further consideration before making their final recommendations.

Depressed Classes.

The depressed classes constitute nearly one-fifth of the entire population of British India. Franchise Committee gave them seven seats in the various provincial Councils. The Government of India propose for them thirty seats. They say: "We think there should be in each council enough representatives of the depressed classes to save them from being entirely submerged, and at the same time to stimulate some capacity for collective action."

Sir Sankaran Nair, speaking of the Depressed classes, says in his minute:

"It is absurd to say that their position, so far as their material prospects are concerned, has improved under the British Government. It has steadily gone from bad to worse. To mention only a few instances, under the old customs they were entitled to free house sites, materials free from the jungles for building their cottages, free pasturage and a fixed share of the produce of the land which they cultivated for their wages, which ensured a living wage. All these they have lost under the rayatwari system. With the ruin of the Indian industries also the non-agricultural labourers lost their fixed wages and they were involved in the ruin of their masters. The agricultural labourers suffered equally from the Government and the Zemindars and the big raiyats. The proposed reforms will not directly benefit them to the same extent as the superior non-Brahmin castes, but they are bound to share in the benefits which will accrue to the whole country if the reforms are carried out in the directions indicated and the poverty problem, in particular, is dealt with."

Town and Country.

The Government of India make a tentative proposal to give all towns with a

population of 50,000 and above, twice as much representation as the rural population. They say :

"After religion and race, the boundary between town and country is the greatest dividing line that runs through the Indian people. It corresponds closely with the division between progress and conservatism ; between English education and vernacular ; between experience of self-government and lack of such experience ; between the existence of newspapers, professions, bar libraries, societies, etc., and their absence. It is roughly the difference between the old Indian and the new, the forces that are pressing us forward and those that are holding us back."

The Congress-League Compact.

The Government of India in their Fifth Despatch deal at length with the Congress-League compact under which, in the view of the Government, Muhammadans in some of the provinces have got "extravagantly good terms." They are not much in favour of the compact, but feel bound to say :

"The Congress-League compact is an accomplished fact and a landmark in Indian politics which we cannot possibly ignore. . . . The difficulty with which the agreement was reached is a measure of the earnest efforts made to attain it ; and those efforts imply on behalf of the larger community at least a subordination of their immediate interests to the cause of unanimity and united political advance which we should be sorry to appear to undervalue."

They therefore confirm the compact with one important variation, which would compel the 'larger community' to make still further sacrifices to the cause of unity.

"We accept therefore the conclusions of the committee except in one respect. The Muhammadan representation which they propose for Bengal is manifestly insufficient. It is questionable whether the claims of the Muhammadan population of Eastern Bengal were adequately pressed when the Congress-League compact was in the making. They are conspicuously a backward and impoverished community.

The census and other reports make much of the prosperity of the peasantry of East Bengal ; they are reported to be the most prosperous in all India ; the Mussalmans of East Bengal mostly belong to the peasantry. A peasantry will always be backward in the literacy test. But how is it that they are now admitted to be impoverished, and if they are so, what

becomes of the peasantry of the rest of India.

The repartition of the presidency in 1912 came as a severe disappointment to them, and we should be very loath to fail in seeing that their interests are now generously secured. In order to give the Bengal muslims a representation proportionate to their numbers, and no more, we should allot them 44 instead of 34 seats ; and we accordingly propose to add ten seats to those which the Committee have advised on their behalf."

Without grudging our Moslem brethren the excessive generosity here shown at the cost of Hindus, we may point out that in other provinces this principle of proportionate representation has been violated in their favour on the ground of "past history and the presence of Muhammadan centres." "Heads, you lose, tails, I win" may be a good policy to adopt against the Hindus, but they are determined to remain in fraternal amity with their brethren the Moslems 'for a' that' and thus frustrate evil intentions.

The Council of State.

The Government of India preface their proposals regarding the upper chamber of the Indian Legislature with an observation which they are never tired of repeating, and which is evidently the only one of the proposals of the Joint Report which is entirely after their own heart. "We all agree, however," they say, "that, be the form of the central legislature what it may, the power of the Government of India to secure the legislation which they desire in essential matters must, as stated by the authors of the Report, remain indisputable." After reminding themselves and the world of this fact, they proceed to quote suggestions to the effect that the Council of State should "ensure a certain sobriety in its membership," that "the progressive elements" should find their representation in the Assembly "giving the Council of State the definite character of a revising chamber by making it the organ of conservative and stable opinion," in other words, that it should be a chamber of fossilised *ap-ke-wastes*. But the Government of India is nervous lest it should be called by its real name, "a standing Grand

Committee of the Assembly," and they "are anxious that the Council should partake of the character of a hall of elder statesmen" and with that end in view would provide for each province an electorate of 1,000 to 1,500 voters, possessed of the same qualifications as those prescribed for membership of the Council of State, who should be required to elect that body from among their own number, thereby rejecting the recommendation of the Franchise Committee, which would give the members of the Council of State the same popular character as the members of the lower chamber, the Legislative Assembly, by confining the franchise in both cases to members of the provincial legislative councils. The senatorial house will be a packed house in which "the strength of the official element available" "must be the ultimate determining factor," and an electorate of 1,500 voters, probably based on property qualifications as in the case of the general electorate, can never possess a representative character. The Government of India lay down this principle for the lower house of the bicameral legislature :

"We look upon direct elections as the only system that is compatible with true responsibility to the voters. And we do not accept any arguments which would relegate the creation of a direct electorate for the Assembly to an indefinite future. We consider that it will be the clear duty of the Government of India to devise such an electorate before the enquiry of the first statutory commission."

European Seats.

"The proportion of seats set down for European interests is higher than can be justified on any numerical basis : but strong representation of these interests is thought to be well justified on account of the stake of European commerce in the country and also to be politically expedient." (Appendix III, Fifth Despatch of the Government of India.)

The Franchise Committee decreased the European seats from 9 to 7 and increased the seats given to Indian commerce [in the provincial councils] from 3 to 4. The fifth despatch says :

"We also deprecate the reduction and restriction of the European representation...and we should prefer not to endorse it until we know how it is received by those affected."

Communal Representation.

The Fifth Despatch says :

"Communal electorates are now proposed [by the Franchise Committee] not only for Muslims everywhere and for Sikhs in the Punjab, but also for Indian Christians in Madras and Bengal, and Europeans in the three presidencies, the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa. We feel the objections of principle to the communal system as strongly as the authors of the Reforms Report but see no advantage at this stage in reiterating them. India is not prepared to take the first steps forward towards responsible Government upon any other road. The road does not lead directly to that goal, and we can only echo the hope expressed by the committee that "it will be possible at no very distant date to merge all communities in one general electorate."

We feel that the blame which is here laid at our door is fully deserved. The road on which we have been launched may lead to further bifurcations, for the ramifications of caste are endless, and once the principle of recognition of divergent communal interests gains the ascendancy, there is no knowing where it will stop. Unless we can sink our mutual distrusts and agree to forego our communal claims, true self-government will never be within our reach. The thin end of the wedge was introduced when a pledge was given to the Muhammadans by the Government, and the mischief has already penetrated too deep into the body-politic to be capable of being easily eradicated without strong united efforts, and tremendous patriotic self-sacrifice.

Light and Feeder Railways.

The Functions Committee have placed Light and Feeder Railways among transferred subjects, and they say :

"As regards railways we have been impressed with the evident strength of the desire in many provinces to develop light and feeder railways. There is a general feeling that such development is unduly hampered under existing conditions. This feeling is particularly strong in Madras, where several local authorities have given proof of their keenness on the subject by levying for years a cess for railways the construction of which has not even been sanctioned. We have tried therefore, while conserving the essential interests of the Railway Board as controller of the railway communications of India and guardian of the rights of existing railways, and the ultimate veto of the Government of India, to

give to the provincial legislative councils a power of initiative in legislation which will give scope to local enterprise. We recommend that local authorities or private corporations should be allowed to introduce Bills for the construction of light and feeder railways in the provincial councils. But we suggest that provision should be made by standing orders of each provincial council requiring that, before any Bill providing for construction and management of a light or feeder railway is introduced in the council, sufficient notice of the provisions contained in such Bill should be given to the Railway Board, and to such other parties as may be prescribed, and that the Bill shall be referred after introduction to a Select Committee of the Council with powers to hear evidence, and shall be dealt with by procedure similar to that applied to private Bills under British Parliamentary practice; and we further propose that any such Bill shall, after being passed by the provincial council, be reserved for the consideration of the Governor General....."

One would have thought that in the above, enough, and more than enough, provision had been made for the protection of the vested interests of all the main lines of railways, managed and owned by foreign companies. But the attitude of the Government of India is characteristic. "It involves," say they, "a marked departure from Indian [autocratic?] methods of business that a department of the Government of India acting under the orders of that Government should appear as a party to plead its case against the promoters of a private line before a select committee of the provincial legislature with a majority of non-official members." And yet, the practice is a common one in the United States, and all the big railway companies in that land of big railways maintain paid "lobbyists" in the local and federal legislatures to look after their interests, and placate members who may introduce Bills adverse to their interests. True, the system lends itself to corruption in America, for the voice of the legislature, and of the members thereof, is not there subject to dictation by a Railway Board, set up with a view to guard the interests of the railway companies. But in India the legislative council cannot be permitted to deal with such matters even under all possible restrictions, and the proposal to transfer light and feeder railways to the minister meets with the strongest oppo-

sition of the Government of India. Sir Sankaran Nair truly says: "The decision of my colleagues [to treat light railways as a reserved subject] is calculated to subordinate national interests to the interests of capitalists, railway companies."

Independent Audit.

This question has been dealt with in the first and fourth despatches, and also in the note submitted to the Functions Committee, and in the report of the Auditor General, Mr. Gauntlett. Mr. Gauntlett says: "Any scrutiny of, or enquiry as to the manner in which executive officers are exercising the financial responsibilities entrusted to them by Government is often resented by such officers." "Generally speaking," say the Government of India, "the control of the provincial finance department is acknowledged in theory; but in practice its strength varies greatly with the disposition of the executive government, and depends largely upon personal influence and the amount of backing received from the head of the province."

In the *quasi*-commercial branches of the administration, particularly irrigation, it is believed that the financial control and the observance of strict economy are almost entirely at the discretion of the departmental officials. Other branches are more closely watched, but the power of the Finance Secretary to a local Government is far from always being as definite as it ought to be. This is especially the case in connection with excesses over budget grants and the unduly wide liberty of reappropriating funds from one grant to another and entirely separate purpose. There is also a tendency for the spending departments to budget for expenditure of which the details have not been presented to the Finance Department for the necessary criticism. In all these respects the Government of India apprehend that the system will require to be tightened up before the introduction of the new regime." (Annexure V to the Report of the Subjects Committee).

In the same note we find that there is to be a Public Accounts Committee of the provincial legislative council, which will keep an eye on the budget expenditure.

"Before the Public Accounts Committee the Finance Department will be the champion of the audit. It will bring all irregularities into the light of day, and will move the committee to accord them full consideration and to deal ade-

quately with the offenders." (Annexure V). The Committee on Public Accounts will have [the right to examine all audit objections and executive orders passed upon them, and to make recommendations to the legislature. It will then be for the legislative council to decide whether to move resolutions in regard to any matter which in their judgment requires more discussion or publicity. Incidentally, the same procedure will be open to them in regard to excesses over budget grants or reappropriations which have been reported by the finance department." (Para 78 of the First Despatch).

Hitherto the Auditor General and the Comptroller-General of Accounts has been one and the same person. The Comptroller General is the head of the Indian Finance Department and as such subordinate to the Government of India, but as Auditor-General he is responsible to the Secretary of State alone. It is obvious that this is a most unsatisfactory arrangement, as it is of the utmost importance that an audit officer should be in as independent a position as possible" (Mr. Gauntlett's report). In order to ensure this independence, Mr. Gauntlett proposes "the abolition of the control of the Government of India over the Indian Finance Department and the vesting in the Comptroller and Auditor General of all the powers of the Government of India regarding the Department." This would make the Auditor General directly responsible in all audit and finance matters to the Secretary of State alone, but all that the Government of India propose (para 77 of the First Despatch) is that audit officers "in all questions of control, discipline and method, will be entirely independent of the local Governments." Their duty will be to "ask every question that might be expected from an intelligent taxpayer bent on getting the best value for his money." This is all very well so far as it goes, but while the Secretary of State makes provision in the Government of India Bill for the appointment of an Auditor General, there is nothing to show that Mr. Gauntlett's suggestion of placing the Indian Finance Department under him has been accepted by Mr. Montagu or in the Government of India Bill.

'Sphere of Influence.'

Having regard to the proposals in the

Joint Report for an unified budget and the exclusive control of the Minister over taxation, the Functions Committee could rightly say in their Report that "the provincial legislative councils are, from the outset, to be directly concerned in these [reserved] subjects..... It appears to be clear therefore that the sphere of influence of the new provincial councils will extend beyond the actual area of the transferred subjects." Though the Government of India entirely eliminate the power of the legislature to influence reserved subjects, they have no hesitation in employing language which gives an altogether false impression of the scope of the legislative council's influence. "Unquestionably, however," they say, "their administration of those subjects will in future be conducted under the eyes of a legislature which is more representative and will have further opportunities of advice and criticism than the legislative councils of the past have enjoyed." But presently they explain that the assent or dissent of the local legislature on a reserved subject will not in any way control the decision of the Government of India, only "the attitude of the legislature would be one factor in the situation."

Sir Sankaran Nair, in his first minute of dissent, says :

"According to the Reforms Report, no taxation, when it becomes necessary even in the interests of reserved subjects, can be imposed in a province without the consent of the minister who is supposed to represent the legislative council. The first essential, therefore, of a popular government is thereby secured. Again the entire budget, both for the transferred subjects and for the reserved subjects, is to be settled by the Executive Government as a whole. The minister has thus a powerful voice in the settlement of the budget... Then, again, this is a very important provision : the entire budget has to be submitted to the legislative council, whose resolutions on the budget will be binding even so far as the reserved subjects are concerned, unless the Governor restores the budget on specific grounds. The proposals that I have referred to above give the minister and the legislative councils very considerable influence in the most important question of finance and everything that depends on it concerning the reserved subjects."... "The government of India now would treat every budget resolution only as a recommendation. (This modification has been incorporated in the Government of India Bill). To my

mind, this is a grave departure from the scheme of the Reforms Report..... My Hon'ble colleagues have followed this up by further modifications which practically get rid of all popular and Indian influence. Instead of one joint budget and one joint purse for the whole Government they will create separate purses for ministers and Executive Council members respectively..... The result of all this is that so far as the reserved subjects are concerned, neither the minister nor the council is to have any real voice in the settlement of the budget. This is avowed to be the real purpose of the new proposals. Real popular influence in the settlement of the budget is, therefore, entirely gone."

In the minute of dissent attached to the Fourth Despatch Sir Sankaran Nair says :

"The further proposal that council resolutions will have only the status of recommendations to the Governor in Council as well as the Governor and Ministers, reduces the council to as much impotence as the present [legislative] councils. The remaining proposal that the ministers may have to [and are not necessarily bound to] resign on account of budget resolutions carried against them, is of the nature of a finishing stroke."

Fortunately it would appear from the Government of India Bill that the control of the legislative council over the budget in regard to transferred subjects has been maintained, in accordance with the views of Sir Sankaran Nair, who says :

"The control by the legislature must in any event be regarded as indispensable if the reforms are to be worth anything in the eye of even the supporters of the scheme. What is put forward [by the Government of India] is a combination of the drawbacks of autocratic and responsible government with none of the advantages of the latter."

The Instrument of Instructions.

The Instrument of Instructions will, according to the Fourth Despatch, afford the Governor guidance "in the comparatively delicate matter of his relations with ministers. They measure the extent to which the ministerial portion of the Government is to be regarded as still coming short of a purely constitutional position. They are the means by which the discretion of the ministers and legislatures is still to be regarded in some respects as tempered by the need of securing that the wishes of Parliament in vital matters are not disregarded." The Government of India Bill provides that "in relation to a

transferred subject, the Governor shall be guided by the advice of the Minister in charge, unless having regard to His Majesty's instructions he sees sufficient cause to dissent from the opinion of the Minister, in which case he may require action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with that advice." The draft Instrument of Instructions which has been published as Appendix II to the Fourth Despatch, lays down that the Governor is to "restrict the exercise of the power to act in opposition to his minister's advice...to cases in which he considers that the consequences of acquiescence would be serious." The Instrument also provides for the exercise of control over ministers by the Government of India. "The Governor is responsible for the due compliance with any orders affecting the administration of transferred subjects which may be issued by the Secretary of State and the Government of India." "The Governor is responsible for bringing to the notice of the minister concerned any observations on the administration of a transferred subject which may be communicated to him by the Government of India." Para 4 of the Fourth Despatch lays down that "the central Government's powers to intervene in the administration of the transferred subjects should be specifically restricted to the following purposes :—(1) to safeguard the administration of the Government of India subjects, (2) to secure uniformity of legislation where such legislation is considered desirable in the interests of India or of more than one province, (3) to safeguard the public services, and (4) to decide questions which affect more than one province." In the very last paragraph of the despatch, the Government of India, in regard to transferred subjects, says: "We must rely for help in the solution of difficulties on the Governor's powers in relation to ministers ; and also on the fact that the Government of India, being agents for Parliament which must remain the paramount authority, *can never sink to the level* (italics ours) of a merely federal government." Compare the open contempt here shown towards federal government with para 300 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report (and also para 120)

where it is said : "Looking ahead to the future we can picture India to ourselves only as presenting the external semblance of some form of 'federation'. The Government of India, in the name of its responsibility to Parliament, will not permit any relaxation of its hold on the transferred subjects, even if the Governor, who is vested with full powers to act in opposition to his ministers, feels disposed to do so. The subjection of the Minister is thus absolutely complete.

The All-India Services.

Every now and then in the despatches we come across something which shows the extreme nervousness of the Government of India about the position of what are known as the All-India services under the reforms. The Fourth Despatch says : "The all-India services should be regulated by legislation in Parliament. We consider that these services are entitled to have their conditions settled beyond the possibility of alteration by any authority in India." Accordingly we find that Part IV of the Government of India Bill is devoted to securing the position of these services. Not content with this, we have already seen that the Government of India reserve power to themselves to intervene in transferred subjects "to safeguard the public services". And we find a paragraph in the Governor's Instrument of Instructions to the following effect : "The Governor is responsible for the protection of all members of the public services in the legitimate exercise of their functions, and in the enjoyment of all recognised rights and privileges." From the Parliament right down to the Governor, therefore, at every step statutory provision has been made for the protection of the services. Their "recognised rights and privileges" in the words of the draft Instrument of Instructions, and their "vested claims to important and desirable appointments" (para 47 of the first despatch) which ministers may "be disposed to treat lightly", have been adequately secured. A visitor from Mars, making a tour of our planet, might be inclined to think that compared with every other

country in the world, India requires protection from the bureaucracy and not the bureaucracy from the representatives of the people of India. But it is the weak who, in the present stage of our moral growth, always go to the wall, and so we need not be surprised to find it being solemnly laid down by the Government of India (Annexure IV, p. 209) that "the Governor must be instructed to control him [the minister] with a watchful eye to the well-being and content of the services", and that "his role as protector of the public services should be known and recognised both by Ministers and the services." To what lengths this doctrine has been carried will appear from the following extract from the fourth despatch regarding the private practice of I. M. S. officers.

"The enjoyment of private practice is admittedly one of the fundamental conditions of medical service in India, and we agree that the privilege within due limits should be secured by regulations which it is beyond the competence of ministers to alter. We agree also that inasmuch as the value of private practice depends directly upon an officer's station, the posting of I.M.S. officers should require the Governor's concurrence; but in this respect we see no need to distinguish between one service and another. The posting of all-India officers is a matter in which we should expect the Governor in any case to interest himself personally" (para 123).

Para 50 of the First Despatch says that they are to be protected "against arbitrary or unjust treatment", as if ministers are sure to be guilty of such treatment. If there is so much suspicion against the exercise of the legitimate authority of the ministers, it may be asked why does the Government (first despatch, para 46) decide that the all-India services are to have no option as to service under Ministers? One cannot but think under the circumstances that the object of placing the members of the Civil Service under the ministers instead of allowing the latter to choose their own men who would loyally carry out their orders, is to keep the ministers strictly under control by compelling them to look to the Civil Service for the execution of their policy. As for the provincial services, the first despatch says: "We recognise that a time

must come, and may come soon, when ministers will wish to take the Provincial Service of their departments entirely into their own hands, and to regulate their recruitment, pay, pension and the like." It is accordingly laid down that "the aim should be steadily to eliminate the element of patronage and to establish a system of appointments by examination before or after selection." So long as all the appointments were in the gift of Civilians, patronage was preferred to open competition, but now it is said: "As regards nominations the need for regulation is obvious. The present distribution of patronage, however conscientious, does not escape criticism, and is extremely laborious for which reason it is very desirable to set up without delay some more impersonal method of selection" (Annexure IV, Functions Committee Report).

Franchise in the Punjab.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer was supposed to be the friend of the Punjab peasant, who rendered such conspicuous services in the war, services which Sir Michael eulogised in enthusiastic terms on a memorable occasion in the Imperial Council. But it appears that he was not willing to enfranchise him. The Franchise Committee write in their Report :

"Another of our members (Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed) is anxious to see a substantial reduction both in the rural and urban qualifications proposed for the Punjab, so as to secure a material increase in the number of electors, more nearly approximating to that proposed for the United Provinces. He points out that the population of the Punjab consists mainly of small peasant proprietors, who are likely to be better fitted both to use the vote and to appreciate the education derived from its exercise, than the large number of tenants enfranchised in the other provinces, that this class has rendered conspicuous services to the State during the War, and that there is, in his opinion, a general feeling in the Punjab that the province should not be refused political privileges granted in other parts of India. The standard which we have adopted was, however, proposed by the local Government, which was strongly adverse to a lowering of the standard until further experience of the working of the franchise had been gained."

Communal Election.

The Fifth Despatch, referring to the electoral college, composed of all the members of the provincial councils, which is to elect the members of the Legislative Assembly on the lower chamber of the Indian legislature, says :

"The [Franchise] committee have not mentioned in their report whether they propose that the elections to the general and communal seats allotted to each province in the Assembly shall be made by the non-official members of that province voting as a whole, or only by those of the community concerned : but their intentions are clear from their Appendix IX. We agree with them that the former alternative is not feasible—the Muhammadan members of the provincial councils would not wish their own representatives in the Assembly to be returned by an electorate in which the Hindus preponderate."

It seems to us that here was an admirable occasion for the Muhammadans to forego their communal claims which have been proved in the Joint Report to be so harmful to the development of democratic institutions. In the first place, the Legislative Assembly will enjoy no real power; its functions being confined to mere criticism, and all essential legislation will be passed by the permanent government majority in the Council of State. It is not therefore worth the while of our Moslem brethren to apply the communal principle in all its rigour to elections to the Legislative Assembly. In the second place, the essence of the communal system will in any case be kept intact, inasmuch as the numbers of Muhammadan seats in the Assembly will be fixed by statute. All that is wanted is that the Muhammadan members of the Assembly should be elected by all the members of the provincial council, Hindu and Muhammadan, voting together, just as much as all the Hindu members of the Assembly will have to seek the votes of the entire body of members, whatever their religion, of the provincial councils. If the joint voting be tried on such a limited field, it cannot do much harm even from the worst Muhammadan point of view, whereas by the development of a spirit of unity and patriotic self-sacrifice it may have the way for the eventual abolition of all communal tests, which well-

wishers of Indian self-government so ardently desire. Moreover the Government of India have definitely expressed themselves in favour of the introduction of direct election (para 38 of the Fifth Despatch) before the enquiry of the first statutory commission ten years after the introduction of the reforms. That being so, the system of a mixed electorate roll, the number of communal seats being fixed, which is the transitional method towards the ultimate abolition of the communal principle, has here an excellent chance of being put to the test, and if it proves successful in this limited sphere, it may, when direct elections to the Legislative Assembly take the place of the present indirect method of election, be extended to such elections in the first place, to be gradually extended in the case of elections to the provincial councils, where alone the principle of self-government has been allowed a limited scope for development. We commend this suggestion to our Moslem leaders.

Periodic Commissions.

Almost the only suggestion of the Government of India with which we are wholly in agreement, though perhaps not from identical motives, is that which they make regarding periodic parliamentary commissions. "We think," they say in para 112 of their First Despatch, "that a commission appointed *ad hoc* will be able to deal with the complicated questions involved more expeditiously, more authoritatively, and more impartially than the Government of India, and that it will be advisable to deal with all the provinces at once rather than *seriatim*."

We desire in fact to lay the greatest stress on the advantages of enquiries at stated intervals by an outside authority whose recommendations will carry weight both with Parliament and with the people of India. We attribute the favourable attitude of Indian opinion on this matter largely to the confidence of the people [a confidence, we may add, for which there is hardly sufficient justification in view of the artificial importance attached to Anglo-Indian opinion in England] in a commission of the nature proposed, and to the guarantee implied that the whole political situation both in the provinces and the Government of India will come under review at regular intervals. Any suggestion

that future progress should depend entirely on the initiative of the Government of India would meet with the strongest opposition and, we think, rightly. We ourselves consider these commissions to be the most substantial safeguard which the scheme affords against a policy of drift; and we are convinced that the success of the whole scheme will be gravely jeopardised if its future development is left to be treated in a hand to mouth fashion according as the Government of India find time and inclination."

Residential Clause.

The Franchise Committee (para 29 of their Report) 'although on principle opposed to such a restriction anywhere,' resolved, on a consideration of the evidence, to abandon uniformity and exempt Madras and Bengal from the residential restriction imposed on the other provinces. It may be noted in passing that the Government of Bengal insisted on a residential qualification, but the neighbouring Governments on the east and west did not. The Government of India decided "to accept the committee's proposal," not because they agreed with the progressive politicians whose views they expressly contradict, but "mainly because we doubt the effectiveness of insistence on the residential qualification, but also because it will give us an opportunity of testing it by results in different areas." The committee write as follows in their report :

"Associations and individuals representing what may be termed the more progressive element in Indian politics were definite in their view that there is no justification for restricting the choice of the electors in this respect, and that insistence on such a regulation might, by depriving the new councils of the services of men of experience and capacity, impair the success of the reforms now being inaugurated..... It was pointed out to us that one object of constituting territorial electorates is to encourage the candidature of persons with knowledge of local interests and actually representative of such interests, and that the chance of securing such candidates among the rural population, hitherto unversed in politics, would be impaired by the competition of candidates from outside. Much of the educative effect of the franchise would thus be lost, and the representative character of the councils impaired."

The last argument sounds well in theory, but the fact is that in these days of rapid travelling and facilities of communication, and in the case of a fairly

homogeneous people like the Bengalis, whose intellectual and political activities are moreover centred in a single capital, everybody who is anybody is well known throughout the country and knows the country well, and is therefore quite capable of looking beyond his nose and getting thoroughly acquainted with the needs and requirements of other districts than his own. There are indications here and there in the mass of official opinion published in the despatches of some acquaintance with Lord Bryce's standard work on the American Commonwealth. Now those who have even cursorily glanced through the pages of this book know quite well that Lord Bryce is emphatically of opinion that the low level of American public life and its failure to draw the best men of the country into politics is due, in a very large degree, to the residential clauses in the constitution. Again and again Lord Bryce points out how sadly the public life of America suffers from the existence of this unnecessary restriction, and the argument applies with all the greater force in the case of a country like India, where the masses in the interior cannot compare with the corresponding classes in America in political, educational and social advancement. If the enlightened and advanced people of rural America find the residential restriction a bar to the election of the best men, how much more must it be the case in India where the rural population is not nearly so advanced. In Great Britain, as everybody knows, there is no such restriction and English politicians frequently seek election in Scotch constituencies and *vice versa*.

Bureaucratic Resistance.

"The opponents of this [Congress] movement maintained that the Congress was started by the Bengalis and the Brahmins of South India, and that India as a whole was not with them. The Marathas were invited to declare that they had nothing to do with these Bengali and South Indian agitators. We know now the answer. The Mahomedans were warned that the Government might tolerate the agitation carried on by certain classes, but they, the Mahomedans, will not meet with the same tolerant reception. No efforts were spared to inform them that the Congress was hostile to them. The exigencies of

controversy alone can now represent the attitude of the Mahomedans as hostile to reforms. Indeed their advanced section asks for reforms more far reaching than any that the Hindus claim... Lord Lansdowne introduced an elected element into the councils, but there was no real improvement. All their efforts for more than fifteen years proved abortive. They were told that they did not know the conditions of the country themselves; that the officials knew better; and against their strong protests measures were enacted and a line of conduct pursued which led to the growth of sedition in the country... It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to initiate or to carry out any progressive policy under the present constitution of the Governments in India which has been explained in detail in the Report... in the opinion of the political leaders reform is imperative for another reason. It is required in the interests of peace, order and good government, i.e., efficient government according to English ideals. The present system has proved inefficient."—(Sir Sankaran Nair, Minute of Dissent to the First Despatch).

Peace and Order.

"Leaving now the question of the budget, let me take the equally important question of peace and order. If sedition had its origin in Bombay, it would be noticed that this was due to the harsh administration of the plague regulations by a collector, which would have been impossible if the Indian element was powerful in the government of the country. Similarly the course of maladministration by the government of Eastern Bengal, which was responsible for the growth of real Bengal sedition, would also be practically difficult. Under the law which we have recently passed [the Rowlatt Act] and under certain regulations which were passed at the commencement of the last century to meet certain exceptional classes of cases, it would be open to an executive government in a province to deprive a man of his liberty and of his freedom of speech without the orders of the magistrate or any other judicial tribunal. The press may also be deprived of its freedom by executive action, the ordinary courts being deprived of their jurisdiction. The Governor of a province has the power of depriving a person who attacks him of his liberty of person and of his property without affording him public opportunity of proving his allegations before the ordinary tribunals of the country. Under this law no Indian paper would venture to indulge in criticisms distasteful to the head of the province. Any agitation against the civil service or the bureaucratic form of government would scarcely be possible under the civilian head of a province. The Home Rule agitation, or in fact any constitutional agitation, may be suppressed without the interference of a judicial tribunal solely at the instance of an executive government. In these circumstances it seems to me to be imperative that

the Indian element and the popular element should be powerful in the government of a province. Otherwise we will perpetuate all those evils due to the inutility of the Councils which, as forcibly pointed out in the Report, are responsible for the widening gulf between officials and non-officials."—Sir Sankaran Nair's Minute of Dissent to the First Despatch.

Summary.

In para 109 of the First Despatch the Government of India write as follows :

"At this point it seems desirable that we should sum up our impressions of the working of the machinery as a whole, and of the manner in which it may be expected to fulfil the purposes for which it is designed. The fundamental idea is that the Governor in Council shall be armed with sufficient power in the administration of the reserved subjects to discharge the responsibility for them which he owes to Parliament, while ministers will have *the widest liberty to administer transferred subjects according to their own ideals* (italics ours), but in constant sight of, and comparison with, the working of their official colleagues."

To say that the ministers will have the widest liberty is simply absurd, having regard to the serious limitations under which they will have to work,—limitations intentionally introduced in order to hamper their initiative and keep the bureaucratic control inviolate. The Government of India's attitude towards the ministers under the reforms scheme is throughout that of the Drill-sergeant, and the purely gratuitous assumptions underlying the various despatches as to the bureaucrat's natural superiority to the ministers are actuated by jealousy and would be amusing if they had not been so mischievous. To the bureaucrat the knowledge of official red-tape may be the essence of good government, but in England the bureaucrat is always kept in his place, and never allowed to aspire to ministerial dignity, for such knowledge as he possesses is valuable only in a subordinate capacity, a knowledge of facts and data upon which the minister, a public man without technical knowledge or administrative experience, is to base his constructive plans. The Right Hon'ble Mr. Fisher, who came to know the civilians as a member of the Public Service Commission, wrote as follows in *The Empire and the Future* :

"It may indeed be questioned whether the life spent in the Indian Civil Service is calculated except in rare cases, to stimulate that part of political talent which consists in the study and guidance of political opinion or in the framing of the large legislative proposals which are from time to time needed in actively thinking political communities."

Sir Sankaran Nair, who quotes this passage in his minute of dissent and who came into intimate contact with the civilians of Simla, evidently does not think very highly of the civilian's boasted administrative capacity and individual worth. In both these respects, and in conceiving large plans and boldly executing them, some of the ministers of the larger native states who had a comparatively free hand have done much better than the hidebound bureaucrat, tied to departmental routine and irresponsible to the progressive currents which agitate the country. The Government of Bihar and Orissa say :

"It is contrary to human nature that three hundred million people should acquiesce in the perpetual domination of a small body of foreigners from a distant land, however highminded and efficient the latter may be. The present regime cannot continue for ever, and British rule will have failed of its purpose in India, if it does not draw out all that is best in Indians and help them to build up a fabric of self-government which will stand unshaken on its own foundations."

We are deliberately of opinion that the position given to the ministers in the Government of India Bill and the despatches of the Government of India, cannot possibly draw out the best in Indians—in fact some may even think that the position has been intentionally made a humiliating one in many respects in order to keep away the best men who might not find it consistent with their self-respect to accept the ministerial portfolio on the terms proposed.

The summary (para 109 of the first despatch) concludes :

"In brief, as we anticipate the course of events, progress towards full responsible government will take two forms. One will be the regular periodic advance, as defined by the statutory commissions, and measured by the further and still further transfer of the once reserved subjects to ministerial control. The other, informal but always at work, will be the increasing influence

which the elective principle will acquire over the subjects retained in official hands. But there will be simultaneously a third process, which is not in our programme and which we shall have steadily to resist [but why ?] the constant endeavour to transform influence into ascendancy over those branches of the administration for which the responsibility lies with the official Government."

The International Labour Conference.

The importance of the coming International Labour Conference at Washington has not been sufficiently felt in India, because people here find that their interests are determined for them by others on the plea of their immaturity on most selfish or casual grounds. Problems of topical resettlement ought to have an important place in the discussions of the conference, but such as will casually arise will be dealt with by the High Contracting Parties, according to their own interests. The talk has been that Germany will not be allowed to continue the policy of exploitation which has led to an awful decimation of the native races. The theory of the mandate, which is the logical outcome of economic Imperialism, the doctrine of the white man's burden, may be productive of as much suffering as the German or Belgian Plantation system. International safeguards are essential to protect the rights and secure the well-being of the immature races, but it remains to be seen how far the principles laid down by the Berlin and Brussels congresses are expanded and adapted to modern requirements in the tropical regions now acquired by the allies. The world is now in greater need of the raw materials of the tropics than ever before, and the process of unethical competition and exploitation now fast developing will bring in its train untold evils and even bear the seeds of future estrangements and wars between races. The limits of white colonisation have now to be frankly recognised and land policy in the tropical regions modified accordingly. The due regulation of white capitalism must have to receive the sanction and support of international bodies. There is need of international labour legislation much on the lines suggested in the article relating to the subject in the present

issue. The problems of labour supply, and especially of immigrant labour supply, cannot be effectively dealt with except by international agreements. There remains the ticklish problem of supplying loans to such countries as Persia and China, which must no longer be allowed to drift to 'spheres of influence' of particular races. International action can alone be qualified for the task of setting aright past mistakes and abuses in this connection. Equally momentous is the demand for the open door in the West, in the United States, Canada, and Africa, for instance, by the easterner, who sees his own regions being explored and exploited by the white races, and yet large areas in different continents are kept barren by the fiat of sovereign authority. The ethics of the White Australia and of the Anglo-Saxon Alaska policy is in need of discussion in the light of the open door policy forced upon the East. Japan is putting forward the claims of the East but her deceit in the occupation of Shantung is a reminder of the older cannibalistic imperialism, which must go sooner or later. The League of Nations or the Supreme Economic Council of the allies, which is now devising methods for a more effective exploitation of the tropical regions, must adjust the relations between white capital and black or yellow labour on an ethical and humanitarian basis and give up once for all the older policies of unfair treatment and unequal opportunities which have bred sources of estrangement in the past. Finally, we have to remember that the world cannot be a world of peace until and unless there dawns the sense of a cosmic humanism, the concept of a physical and spiritual unity of man, which, supported by science, would devise the same means of social and economic progress for all races, great or small, advanced or backward and not reserve special measures for the so-called superior types and would extend to immature races, that are being ousted and despoiled, the loving hands of protective law and administration for the welfare of humanity and the increase of international wealth at large.

RK. M.

Civilian Governors.

Paragraph 35 of the First Despatch says :

"As regards the appointment of Governors, however, it is clear from another passage [of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report] that, although there is no idea of excluding the members of a permanent service from appointment to governorships, the intention is to assimilate the method of appointment of all heads of provinces to that of the presidency Governors... We understand that no immediate change is intended in the existing practice by which the charge of the five provinces in question has always been held by men with long official experience in India ; and we think that at all events for some years to come no such change is possible."

A few lines down the Government of India admit : "We take this opportunity to note that all the three presidency Governments have called attention to the heavy personal burdens which the new order of things will impose upon the Governor." How heavy this burden will be, has been shown in detail by the Bengal Government in para 10 of their letter, in which it is said that "the whole responsibility for efficiency will fall ultimately on his shoulders." They further say that the reforms give prominence to the capacity of one individual, the Governor, and this is but too true, for he shall be called upon at every step to exercise his judgment and tact with a view to the smooth working of a complicated machine, one part of which will be run on the usual bureaucratic lines and the other part move upon constitutional principles with which a governor brought up in the traditions of the Civil Service is not likely to be familiar. Tact, judgment, the spirit of mutual give and take, tolerance, sympathy, a disposition to listen to the other side in a conciliatory spirit, &c., are qualities which a life spent in bureaucratic routine is not likely to develop ; and if it be true, as Mr. Bernard Houghton, in his *Bureaucratic Government*, says, that "in spite of plausible protests to the contrary, we must clearly recognise that a bureaucracy as such is, and from its nature will always be, hostile to a popular government," then there can be no doubt that it does not augur well for the reforms that they are going to be started under

civilian auspices. Sir Sankaran Nair truly voices public opinion when he opposes the views of the Government of India in this matter on the ground that "the primary consideration that should weigh with the Secretary of State in making the appointment is the fitness of the person to carry out the duties not, as hitherto, of an autocratic head of a province but of a constitutional ruler... Those civilians who are in sympathy with Indian progress or who can be trusted to work smoothly with the political machinery of the future under the altered conditions and who are not prejudiced by the feelings of hostility to the proposed reforms evinced by many of them may be appointed as heads of provinces." Mr. Havell, in the introduction to his new book on Aryan Rule in India says : "It is significant that Indians generally prefer an administrator who has not been through the mill of the Indian Civil Service, from the idea that he will be likely to treat high political questions in a more liberal and unbiased spirit." The strong Indian feeling in favour of a statesman brought up in the parliamentary and free public life of England should not be ignored by the Joint Parliamentary Committee now sitting in London.

A Laudable Undertaking

We gladly make room for the following and commend it to the attention of those who can render help :—

RADHANAGAR RAMMOHUN MEMORIAL SOCIETY.

PUBLICATION OF RAMMOHUN ROY'S WORKS.

IMPORTANT PROPAGANDA WORK.

The Works of Raja Rammohun Roy are by far truer memorial to his greatness than any that we can raise in brick or stone. The Radhanagar Rammohun Memorial Society have, therefore, besides erecting a memorial of the great man at his Birth Place, thought it their bounden duty to bring out a popular edition of the Raja's English, Bengali, Sanskrit and Persian works which will be carefully edited and elaborately annotated. There is no greater authority on Rammohun Roy

than Dr. Brajendranath Seal. And we are happy to be able to announce that this work of editing, which will be done under Dr. Seal's direction,—a circumstance in itself a sufficient guarantee of the success of the undertaking—has been entrusted to Babu Pratulchandra Som, Editor, *Indian Messenger*, a capable writer, a judicious critic, withal an ardent admirer of the Raja and a diligent student of his life and writings. It is proposed to publish the Works part by part, and the first part is expected by the first week of January, 1920.

The publication of the Works will be followed by the publication of a comprehensive Life of the Raja.

The Committee of the Radhanagar Rammohun Memorial Society would be greatly obliged, should any gentleman having in his possession any fresh facts, unpublished letters or writings of the Raja kindly place them at their disposal through the Hon. Secretary, Mr. D. N. Pal, at the premises of the Calcutta Branch of the "Rammohun Roy Orphanage" 14 Vidya-sagar Street, Calcutta. The sale proceeds of the publications will go to the Memorial Fund.

DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY,
Kt., C.I.E., M.A., D.L.,

*President, Radhanagar
Rammohun Memorial Society.*

Rammohun Ray.

Eighty-six years ago, on the 27th September, Raja Rammohun Roy breathed his last in a foreign land. Considering the whole range of his thoughts, activities, and interests, it must be said that no greater man has been born in India in modern times. The best way to honour him is to study him, and to live in his deep and broad humanitarian spirit.

The Indemnity Act.

The Indemnity Bill has been passed. Owing to the official majority in the Indian Legislative Council, that is a foregone conclusion with all official Bills, even if the non-official opposition be solid and unanimous. On account of the absence of some members of the Council in Eng-

land, the number of speakers who would otherwise have spoken against the Bill was less than it would otherwise have been. But Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was a host in himself. He nobly, courageously, strenuously fought for justice and humanity, and opposed the Bill from first to last. He spoke from personal knowledge of facts gathered by laborious enquiries on the spot. He deserved the heartiest and most fearless and disinterested support of his colleagues. But, though a few supported him, others did not; and the behaviour of the members from the Punjab was very discreditable. Though they were not elected by, and representative of, the people of the Punjab, they were Punjabis and as such they ought to have felt for those of their sisters and brethren of the province who had suffered cruel wrong and indignities in recent months. On the last day of the session some dozen non-official members absented themselves and thus deprived the people's cause and Mr. Malaviya of their support. Of course, so far as the practical result is concerned, their presence would not have altered it in the least. But, if the practical result were all that had to be considered, no non-official member opposed to the Bill need have been present or spoken on any day. For neither their speeches, nor their votes can avail to defeat any official Bill. In fact, so far as the question of making the will of the representatives of the people felt in the council, is concerned, the council is a farce, and from that point of view, no non-official should stand for election to the council. But as members do stand and get elected, and as they take pains to attend meetings of the council and make elaborate speeches costing much previous labour, simply for the sake of the "moral effect" or "moral victory," all elected members should see the thing through,—unless, of course, they fall ill or are called away by urgent and unavoidable business. But it has not yet been reported that the simultaneous absence of so many members was due to any such cause.

It is more cheering, however, to dwell on the fearless patriotism of Pandit Madan Mahan Malaviya in the present crisis. It

should also be noted incidentally that he has also been working hard and enthusiastically to give relief to distressed people in the Punjab. Some official members abused and insulted him without being called to order by the Viceroy, whose own attitude towards the Pandit was unbecoming. The Pandit's facts were gathered on the spot by himself or other respectable Indians; whereas the information on which the official European members relied for abusing the Pandit, was supplied by police underlings. No reason can be shown why information gathered or concocted by Indian underlings should be treated as quite correct and the information collected by non-official Indians far superior to the former in education, social position and character, should be treated as untrustworthy. Surely the mere fact of one's being a Government servant cannot make him infallible and superior to every non-official, and entitled to be insolent.

It has been said that it is usual in England to pass an indemnity bill after the proclamation of martial law. But is it usual to indemnify the officials concerned *before* the holding of an enquiry or *after*? In the case of the proclamation and enforcement of martial law in Jamaica, of which we have told the story in our last number, as soon as the facts became known in England, a Royal Commission was appointed for enquiry; the indemnity bill was passed subsequently. And then, what is usual is not necessarily right. Moreover what is usual in England cannot be usual in India. In England it is usual for the voice of the representatives of the people to prevail, here it is not. It is usual there for the indemnity bill to be passed in a legislative chamber where all the members are representatives of the people. That is not usual here. It is a very bad argument which lays down that the "necessary evils" must be usual in India as in England, but the good features of politics in England must not be usual in India. In the case of the enforcement of martial law in Jamaica, the indemnity act was passed by the British Parliament. Similarly the indemnity bill for India ought to have been introduced in the British House of Commons.

Sauce only for the Official Goose.

Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda's motion for the removal of the summer capital of the Panjab from Simla was, as anticipated, thrown out. When the capital of India was removed from Calcutta to Delhi, it was urged that the Viceroy should not have his capital within the jurisdiction of a provincial governor. Simla being in the Panjab, Mr. Chanda used the above argument. But he was told it would be very expensive to remove the Panjab headquarters to another hill station;—as if the building of New Delhi has not been costing quite a mint of money! What is sauce for the official goose is not sauce for the non-official gander.

"Persons on Relief."

The Catholic Herald of India writes :

In his speech at the first meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, His Excellency the Viceroy, who is a believer in statistics, quoted with gratification the numbers of persons on relief in 1901 and 1918. They rose then in any week to a maximum of 6,332,121, whereas in 1918 they never went beyond 588,335.

This statement is just now penetrating to every corner of the mofussil and is rousing laughter or indignation according to tempers. One correspondent writes from the Mogra-Hat district: "Relief is small, because no matter how you pester the officials, no relief is forthcoming. People are actually dying of hunger, and all that issues forth from official headquarters in answer to my representations is official gas, with endless promises and reams of documents."

Hunger-stricken peasants are now coming in to Calcutta, and last Wednesday one lay dying in Canning Street. He was not a person on relief, and not included in the sacred number 588,335 quoted by His Excellency. There are millions of others and it is fortunate that they are too weak to start a revolution.

A Town Hall Burned by Mob in England.

LONDON, JULY 21.

A crowd of several thousands, infuriated by the refusal of the Corporation to grant the use of the park for a memorial service to the fallen soldiers, attacked the Town Hall at Luton, which was wrecked and burned to the ground. The damage is estimated at a quarter of a million pounds.—*Reuter*.

Reuter has omitted to add that the fleeing mob were bombed from aeroplanes, martial law was declared, and many

persons were awarded the severest punishments allowed by the law.

Travancore Industries.

Says the *Indian and Eastern Engineer* :

Dr. S. G. Barker's report on his recent industrial survey of the Travancore State, shows that Travancore, like Mysore, possesses very considerable assets both vegetable and mineral, but their development can hardly be said to have begun, and what little industry does exist is in need of co-ordination and guidance for its progress and development. The more important industries indicated are tapioca, shellac, sugar, fibers, dyeing and weaving, and on these immediate concentration of effort is most necessary. One experiment of special interest mentioned in the report is the manufacture of acetic acid from the shell of the cocoanut, for this acid has an important use in the manufacture of rubber, an enterprise which is being taken up by a very large number of the people of the state, and the high price of acid now makes it difficult to carry on the work. It is satisfactory therefore to note the experiment has shown the possibility of

cheap and easy production of the acid. Travancore is not in a satisfactory position as regards power. There is no coal, and although the waterfalls are fairly numerous, few survive the hot weather. For the present power will have to be generated by means of wood fuel. With regard to motor spirit Travancore proposes to strike out in a direction which will produce results of value to the country at large. The Government of Travancore has a big distillery in south of the State and experiments are being made for the employment of the alcohol distilled there to drive engines of small power. What is needed is cheap fuel for manufacturing plant.

Cheap fuel for manufacturing plant can be obtained by wood distillation. The charcoal left as a bye-product of the distillation may be used as fuel. We understand, preparations are in progress at Benkipur in Mysore for wood distillation in connection with the Mysore Iron scheme for obtaining cheap fuel in this way. As Travancore has forest areas, the wood distillation industry should be paying in that State, both directly and indirectly.

An Urgent Request to Our Subscribers.

When writing for change of address, complaining of non-receipt of the *Review*, or on any other business, our subscribers are requested kindly to quote their "Subscriber's Number", *hand-written* on the wrappers of the *Review*.



AT THE WELL.

By the courtesy of the artist, Mr. Bireswar Sen, B. A.

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WHOLE
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AUTUMN-FESTIVAL

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

Translated by the author from a Bengali play written for the boys of the Shanti-niketan.

CHARACTERS

SANYASI—EMPEROR VIJAYADITYA IN DISGUISE
THAKURDADA
LUCKESWAR
UPANANDA
RAJAH
THE BOYS, COURTIER, &c.

SCENE—The Forest near the River
Vetasini.

LUCKESWAR AND UPANANDA.

Luckeswar.

Have you brought me the money which
is long overdue?

Upananda.

My master died last night.

Luckeswar.

Died! Absurd! That trick won't do.
What about the money?

Upananda.

He hasn't left anything except the *vina*
which was his only means of paying off
your debt.

Luckeswar.

Only the *vina*! That's a consoling piece
of news to bring to me.

Upananda.

I haven't come to give you news.
There was a time when I was a beggar in
the street; he sheltered me and allowed

me to share his food, which was scanty
enough. I have come to offer my service
till his debt is fully paid.

Luckeswar.

Indeed! Now that he is no more you
have come to share *my* food, which is not
overabundant. I am not such an ass as
to be taken in by you. However let me
first know what you can do.

Upananda.

I can copy manuscripts and illuminate
them. Food I won't take in your house.
I shall earn it and also pay off the debt.

Luckeswar.

(Aside) The *vina* player was a big fool
and he has moulded this boy in his own
pattern. This vagabond is pining to take
up some voluntary burden to be crushed
to death. For some creatures this is the
only natural death.—Good, I agree. But
you must pay me the money on the third
day of each month, otherwise—

Upananda.

Otherwise what! Your threats are of
no use. In memory of my dear master I

take this up. But no threats for me, I warn you.

Luckeswar.

Don't take offence, my child. You are made of gold, every inch of you ; you are a jewel. You know I have my god in the temple, his worship depends upon my charity. If, owing to any irregularity in your payment, I have to curtail the temple expenses, the sin will be on your head. (Upananda moves away to another side of the forest.) Who's that ! It must be my own boy prowling about this place. I am sure the rogue is seeking for the place where I keep my treasure hidden. Simply out of fear of these prying noses I have to remove it from place to place.—Dhanapati, why on earth are you here ?

Dhanapati.

If you give me leave, I can have my game here this morning with the other boys.

Luckeswar.

(Aside) I know their game. They have got scent of that big pearl which I hid near this spot. (To Dhanapati) No, that won't do ! Come at once to your multiplication table.

Dhanapati.

But, Sir, it is a beautiful day—

Luckeswar.

What do you mean by the day being beautiful ! Come at once ! (Drags him away.)

ENTER BOYS WITH THAKURDADA.

First Boy.

You belong to our party, Thakurdada !

Second Boy.

No, to ours.

Thakurdada.

Children, I don't sell myself in shares. I must remain undivided. Now for the song.

(THEY SING.)

Over the green and yellow ricefields

sweeps the shadows of the autumn clouds followed by the swift-chasing sun.

The bees forget to sip their honey ; drunken with light they foolishly hover and hum.

The ducks in the islands of the river clamour in joy for nothing.

ENTER ANOTHER GROUP OF BOYS.

Third Boy.

Was it fair ? Why didn't you call us when you came out ?

Thakurdada.

It is your part to call me out. Don't quarrel, finish the song.

(THEY SING.)

Let none go back home, brothers, this morning, let none go to work.

Let us take the blue sky by storm and plunder space as we run.

Laughter floats in the air like foam on the flood.

Brothers, let us squander our morning in futile songs.

First Boy.

Look there Thakurdada, a sanyasi is coming.

Second Boy.

It's grand ! We shall have a game with the sanyasi. We shall be his followers.

Third Boy.

We shall follow him to the end of the earth and nobody will be able to find us out.

Thakurdada.

Hush, he has come.

The Boys.

(Shouting) Sanyasi Thakur ! Sanyasi Thakur !

Thakurdada.

Stop that noise ! The father will be angry.

First Boy.

Sanyasi Thakur, will you be angry with us ?

Second Boy.

We shall become your followers for this morning.

Sanyasi.

Excellent! When you have had your turn, I shall be *your* followers.

That will be splendid fun!

Thakurdada.

My salutation. Who are you, father?

Sanyasi.

I am a student.

Thakurdada.

Student!

Sanyasi.

I have come out to fling to the four winds my books.

Thakurdada.

I understand. You want to be lightened of your learning, to follow the path of wisdom unburdened.

First Boy.

Thakurdada is wasting time with talk, and our holiday will come to its close.

Sanyasi.

You are right, my boys. My holidays are also near their end.

The Boys.

Have you long holidays?

Sanyasi.

Oh! no, extremely short. My school-master is already after me.

First Boy.

You frighten us! Even *you* have school-masters?

Sanyasi.

What boy is that under the shade of that tree, merged in his manuscripts?

Boys.

He is Upananda.

First Boy.

Upananda, we are Sanyasi Thakur's followers, come and become our chief.

Upananda.

Not to-day. I have my work.

Second Boy.

No work. You *must* come!

Upananda.

I must finish copying manuscripts.

Third Boy.

Father, you ask him to come. He won't listen to us.

Sanyasi.

(To Upananda) What work have you, my son? To-day is not meant for work.

Upananda.

I know it is our holiday. But I have my debt to pay and I must work.

Thakurdada.

Upananda, your debt! To whom?

Upananda.

My master has died, he is in debt to Luckeswar. I must pay it off.

Thakurdada.

Alas! that such a boy as you must pay your debts, and on such a day! The first breath of the autumn has sent a shiver through the white crest of flowering grass and the *shiuli* blossoms have offered their fragrance to the air, as if in the joy of reckless sacrifice, and it pains me to see that boy sitting in the midst of all this, toiling to pay his debts.

Sanyasi.

Why, this is as beautiful as all these flowers,—his paying his debts. He has made this morning glorious, sitting in its centre. Baba, you go on writing, let me watch you. Every line you finish brings you freedom, and thus you fill your holiday with truth. Give me one of your manuscripts and let me help you.

Thakurdada.

I have my spectacles with me, let me also sit down to this work.

First Boy.

We shall also write. This is great fun!

Second Boy.

Yes, yes, let us try.

Upananda.

But it will be such a great trouble to you, father.

Sanyasi.

That is why I join you. We shall take trouble for fun. What do you say to that, boys ?

The Boys.

(Clapping hands) Yes, yes.

First Boy.

Give me one of the books.

Second Boy.

And me also.

Upananda.

But are you sure you can do it.

The Boys.

O ! Yes !

Upananda.

You won't be tired ?

Second Boy.

Never.

Upananda.

You will have to be very careful.

First Boy.

Try us.

Upananda.

There must be no mistakes.

Second Boy.

Not a bit.

Sanyasi.

Baba Upananda, what was your master's name ?

Upananda.

Surasen.

Sanyasi.

Surasen, the *vina* player ?

Upananda.

Yes, father. Was he known to you ?

Sanyasi.

I came to this place with the one hope of hearing him.

Upananda.

Had he such fame ?

Thakurdada.

Was he such a master, that a sanyasi like yourself should have come all this way to hear him ? Then we must have missed knowing him truly.

Sanyasi.

But the Rajah of this place ?

Thakurdada.

The Rajah never even saw him. But where could you have heard him play ?

Sanyasi.

I suppose you know that there is a Rajah whose name is Vijayaditya.

Thakurdada.

We may be very provincial, but surely you don't expect us not even to know him.

Sanyasi.

Very likely. Surasen played the *vina* in his court, where I was present. The Rajah tried hard to keep him permanently in his capital, but he failed.

Thakurdada.

What a pity that we did not honour him.

Sanyasi.

But that neglect has only made him all the greater. God has called him to His own court. Upananda, how did you come to know him ?

Upananda.

At my father's death I came to this town seeking shelter. It was at the end of July and the rain was pouring down in torrents. I was trying to find a corner in Lokanath temple, when the priest came and drove me out, expecting me to be of a low caste. My master was playing the *vina* in the temple. At once he came up and putting his arms round my neck asked

me to come to his house. From that day he brought me up suffering calumny for my sake.

Sanyasi.

How did you learn illuminating manuscripts?

Upananda.

At first I asked him to teach me to play the *vina*, so that I could earn something and be useful to him. He said, "Baba, this art is not for filling one's stomach." And so he taught me how to use paints for copying books.

Sanyasi.

Though Surasen's *vina* is silent, I hear the undying music of his life through you. My boy go on with your writing.

The Boys.

(Starting up). There he comes, Lucki's owl! We must run away. (They go.)

ENTERS LUCKESWAR.

Luckeswar.

Horror! Upananda is sitting exactly on the spot where the pearl is hidden. I was simple to think he was a fool seeking to pay off other people's debts. He is cleverer than he looked. He is after my pearl. I see he has captured a sanyasi to help him. Upananda!

Upananda.

What's the matter!

Luckeswar.

Get up from that spot at once! What business have you to be sitting there!

Upananda.

And what business have *you* to be shouting at me like that! Does this place belong to you?

Luckeswar.

It is no concern of yours, if it does or does not.—You are cunning! The other day this fellow came to me, looking innocent as a babe whose mother's milk had hardly dried on his lips. And I believed him when

he said that he came to pay his master's debts. Of course, it is in the King's statute also,—

Upananda.

I sat down to my work here for that very purpose.

Luckeswar.

That very purpose! How old am I do you think? Only born overnight?

Sanyasi.

But why do you suspect him and of what?

Luckeswar.

As if you know nothing! False Sanyasi!

Upananda.

(Getting excited) Won't I just smash his teeth with this pestle of mine!

(Luckeswar hides himself behind the sanyasi.)

Sanyasi.

Don't be excited. Luckeswar knows human nature better than any of you here. Directly he sets his eyes upon me, I am caught,—a sanyasi false from his matted hair to his bare foot. I have passed through many countries and everywhere they believed in me, but Luckeswar is hard to deceive.

Luckeswar.

(Aside) I am afraid I am mistaken. It was rash on my part. He may curse me. I still have three boats on the sea. (Taking the dust off Sanyasi's feet.) My salutation to you, father! I did make a blunder. Thakurdada, you had better take our Sanyasi to our house. I'll give him some alms. But you go first; don't delay, I shall be there in a minute.

Thakurdada.

You are excessively kind. Do you think that father has come crossing hills and seas to accept a handful of rice from you?

Sanyasi.

Why not Thakurdada! Where that

handful of rice is so very dear, I must claim it. Come Luckeswar !

Luckeswar.

I shall follow you. Upananda, you get up first ! Get up, I say, with your books and other nonsense.

Upananda.

Very well, I get up. Than I cut off all connection with you for good.

Luckeswar.

That will be a great relief to me. I was getting on splendidly before I had any connection with you.

Upananda.

My debt is paid with this insult that I suffer from your hands. (Goes.)

Luckeswar.

My God ! Sepoys riding on horses are coming this way ! I wonder if our Rajah also—I prefer Upananda to him. (To Sanyasi) Father, by your holy feet I entreat you, sit on this spot, just on this spot ; no, slightly to the left, slightly more. Yes, now it is all right. Sit firmly on this plot of grass. Let the Rajah come or the Emperor, don't you budge an inch. If you keep my words, I'll satisfy you later on.

Thakurdada.

What is the matter with Luckeswar ? Has he gone mad ?

Luckeswar.

Father, the very sight of me suggests money to my Rajah. My enemies have falsely informed him that I keep my treasure hidden underground. Since this report, our Rajah has been digging an enormous number of wells in this kingdom. When asked for reasons, he said it was to remove the scarcity of water from this land. And now I can't sleep at nights because of the fear that a sudden fit of his generosity might lead him to remove the water scarcity from the floor of my own dwelling.

ENTERS THE KING'S MESSENGER.

Messenger.

Father, my salutation ! You are Apurva-Ananda ?

Sanyasi.

Some people know me by that name.

Messenger.

The rumour is abroad of your extraordinary powers. Our Rajah is desirous of seeing you.

Sanyasi.

He will see me whenever he sets his eyes on me.

Messenger.

If you would kindly—

Sanyasi.

I have given my word to somebody that I shall remain immoveable in this place.

Messenger.

The King's garden is close by.

Sanyasi.

All the less trouble for him to come.

Messenger.

I shall make known to him your wishes. (Goes.)

Thakurdada.

Since an irruption of Rajahs is apprehended, I take my leave.

Sanyasi.

Do you gather my scattered friends together and keep them ready for me.

Thakurdada.

Let disasters come in the shape of Kings or of anarchy, I firmly hold by you. (Goes.)

ENTERS LUCKESWAR.

Luckeswar.

I have overheard all. You are the famous Apurva-Ananda ! I ask your pardon for the liberties I have taken.

Sanyasi.

I readily pardon you for your calling me a sham sanyasi.

Luckeswar.

But, father, mere pardon does not cost much. You cannot dismiss Luckeswar with that. I must have a boon,—quite a substantial one.

Sanyasi.

What boon do you ask ?

Luckeswar.

I must confess to you, father, that I have piled up a little money for myself, though not quite to the measure of what people imagine. But the amount does not satisfy me. Tell me the secret of some treasure, which may lead me to the end of my wanderings.

Sanyasi.

I am also seeking for this.

Luckeswar.

I can't believe it.

Sanyasi.

Yes, it is true.

Luckeswar.

Then you are wider awake than we are.

Sanyasi.

Certainly.

Luckeswar.

(Whispering) Have got on the track ?

Sanyasi.

Otherwise I shouldn't be roving about like this.

Luckeswar.

(Touching his feet) Do make it a little plain to me. I swear I shall keep it secret from everybody else.

Sanyasi.

Then listen. I am on the quest of the golden lotus on which Lakshmi keeps her feet.

Luckeswar.

How bold ! This takes my breath away. But, do you think you can find it unaided ? It means expense. Do one thing, let us go shares in it.

Sanyasi.

In that case you will have to be a sanyasi, never touching gold for a long time.

Luckeswar.

That is hard.

Sanyasi.

You can only prosper in this business if you give up all others.

Luckeswar.

That sounds very much like bankruptcy. But all the same I *do* believe in you—which astounds even myself. There comes our Rajah ! Let me hide behind this tree.
(Hides himself.)

ENTERS THE RAJAH.

Rajah.

My salutation !

Sanyasi.

Victory to you ! What is your desire ?

Rajah.

Surely you can divine it already. My desire is to rule over a kingdom which is supreme.

Sanyasi.

Then begin by giving up what is small.

Rajah.

The overlordship of Vijayaditya has become intolerable to me.

Sanyasi.

To tell you the truth he is growing too much even for me.

Rajah.

Is that so ?

Sanyasi.

Yes. All my practices are to bring him under control.

Rajah.

Is that why you have become a sanyasi ?

Sanyasi.

Yes.

Rajah.

Do you think your charms will be potent enough to bring you success ?

Sanyasi.

It is not impossible.

Rajah.

In that case do not forget me.

Sanyasi.

I shall bring him to your court.

Rajah.

Yes, his pride must be brought low.

Sanyasi.

That will do him good.

Rajah.

With your leave I take my departure.

(Goes.)

(Returning) Father, I am sure you know Vijayaditya personally—is he as great as the people make him out to be ?

Sanyasi.

He is like an ordinary person,—it is his dress which gives him a false distinction.

Rajah.

Just what I thought. Quite an ordinary person !

Sanyasi.

I want to convince him that he is very much so. I must free his mind from the notion that he is a different creature from others.

Rajah.

Yes, yes, let him feel it. Fools puff him up and he believes them, being the greatest of their kind. Pull down his conceit to the dust.

Sanyasi.

I am engaged in that difficult task.

(The Rajah goes.)

ENTERS UPANANDA.

Upananda.

Father, the burden is not yet off my mind.

Sanyasi.

What is it that troubles you, my son ?

Upananda.

In my anger, at the insult offered to me, I thought I was right in disowning my debt to him. Therefore I went back home. But just as I was dusting my master's *vina* its strings struck up a chord and it sent a thrill through my heart. I felt that I must do something super-human for my master. If I can lay down my life to pay his debts for him, this beautiful day of October will then have its full due from me.

Sanyasi.

Baba, what you say is true.

Upananda.

Father, you have seen many countries, do you know of any great man who is likely to buy a boy like me for a thousand *kahan*? That is all that I need for the debt.

Sanyasi.

What do you say to trying Vijayaditya, who used to be so fond of your master ?

Upananda.

Vijayaditya ? But he is our emperor.

Sanyasi.

Is that so ?

Upananda.

Don't you know that ?

Sanyasi.

But what if he is your emperor ?

Upananda.

Do you think he will care to pay any price for a boy like myself ?

Sanyasi.

I can assure you, that he will be ashamed.

ed of his full treasury, if he does not pay your debt.

Upananda.

Is that possible, father ?

Sanyasi.

Do you think in God's world Luckeswar is the only possibility ?

Upananda.

But I must not idly wait for chances. In the meanwhile, let me go on with my work and pay off in small parts what I owe.

Sanyasi.

Yes, my boy, take up your burden.

Upananda.

I feel ever so much stronger, for having known you. Now I take my leave.

(Goes.)

ENTERS LUCKESWAR.

Luckeswar.

I give it up. It is not in my power to be your follower. With an infinite struggle I have earned what I have done. To leave all that, at your bidding, and then to repent of my rashness till the end of my days, would be worse than madness ; it would be so awfully unlike myself. Now then, father, you must move from your seat.

Sanyasi.

(Rising) Then I have got my release from you ?

Luckeswar.

(Taking out a jewel case from under some turf and dry leaves) For this tiny little thing I have been haunting this place, like a ghost from the morning. You are the first human being to whom I have shown this. (Holding it up to him and then hastily withdrawing it) No, impossible ! I fully trust you, yet I have not the power to put it into your hands even for a moment. Merely holding it in the light makes my heart palpitate. Can you tell me, father, what kind of man is Vijaya-ditya ? If I try to sell it to him, are you sure he won't take it away by force ? Can you trust him ?

Sanyasi.

Not always.

Luckeswar.

Well, that does not sound promising. I suspect, after all, this will lie underground, and after my death nobody will be able to find it.

Sanyasi.

Neither Kings nor Emperors, but the dust will claim it as its final tribute.

Luckeswar.

Let it ; that does not trouble me. But my anxiety is lest some one should discover it, when I am no more..... However, father, I shall never forget about that golden lotus. I feel sure you will get it some day ; but all the same I cannot be your follower.

(Goes.)

ENTERS THAKURDADA.

Sanyasi.

After long days I have learnt one thing at last, and that I must tell you.

Thakurdada.

Father, you are very kind to me.

Sanyasi.

I know why this world is so beautiful, —simply because it is ever paying back its debt. The ricefield has done its utmost to earn its fulfilment and the Betasini River is what it is because it keeps nothing back.

Thakurdada.

I understand, father. There is One Who has given Himself in creation in his abundance of joy. And Creation is every moment working to repay the gift, and this perpetual sacrifice is blossoming everywhere in beauty and life.

Sanyasi.

Wherever there is sluggishness, there accumulates debt, and there it is ugly.

Thakurdada.

Because where there is a lacking in the gift, the harmony is broken in the eternal rhythm of the payment and repayment.

ENTERS LUCKESWAR.

Luckeswar.

What are you two people conspiring about ?

Sanyasi.

About that golden lotus.

Luckeswar.

Have you already given away your secret to Thakurdada ? You hope to be successful when you do your business in such a manner ? But is Thakurdada the proper man to help you ? How much capital has he, do you think ?

Sanyasi.

You don't know the secret. He has quite a big amount, though he does not show it.

Luckeswar.

(Slapping Thakurdada on the shoulder) You are deep. I never thought of that. And yet people only suspect me and not you, not even the Rajah himself. . . . Father, I can't bear Thakurdada to steal a march on me. Let all three of us join in this business. Look there, a crowd of people is coming this way. They must have got news that a Swami is here. Father, they will wear out your feet upto the knees taking the dust of them. But I warn you, father, you are too simple. Don't take anybody else into your confidence. . . But, Thakurdada, you must know business is not mere child's play. The chances of loss are eleven to one—keep that in mind. I give it up. But no, I must take time to decide.

(Goes.)

ENTER VILLAGERS.

First Villager.

Where is the Sanyasi they talked about ?

Second Villager.

Is this the man ?

Third Villager.

He looks like a fraud. Where is the real one.

Sanyasi.

A real one is difficult to find. I am playing at Sanyasi to amuse boys.

First Villager.

But we are not boys.

Sanyasi.

I know the distinction.

Second Villager.

Then why did someone say, that some swami is somewhere about ?

First Villager.

But your appearance is good. Have you learnt some charms ?

Sanyasi.

I am willing to learn. But who is to teach me ?

Second Villager.

There is a proper man. He lives in Bhairabpur. He has control over some spirits, and there is no doubt of that. Only the other day a boy was about to die. And what do you think this man did ? He simply let the boy's life-spark fly into the inside of a panther. You won't believe it, but I can assure you, that panther is still alive, though the boy died. You may laugh, but my own brother-in-law has seen the panther with his own eyes. If anybody tries to injure it, the father rushes at him with his big stick. The man is quite ruining himself by offering kids twice a day to this beast. If you must learn charms, this is the man for you.

Third Villager.

What is the use of wasting time ? Didn't I tell you in the beginning, that I didn't believe a word about this sanyasi. There are very few people in these days who have magic powers.

Second Villager.

That is true. But I was told by Kalu's mother that her nephew knew a Sanyasi who overturned his pipe of ganja and there came out a skull and a full pot of liquor.

Third Villager.

But did he see it with his own eyes ?

Second Villager.

Yes, with his very own eyes.
(They go.)

ENTERS LUCKESWAR.

Luckeswar.

I can't stand this. You must take away your charm from me. My accounts are all getting wrong. My head is in a muddle. Now I feel quite reckless about that golden lotus, and now it seems pure foolishness. Now I am afraid Thakurdada will win, and now I say to myself let Thakurdada go to the dogs. But this doesn't seem right. It is sorcery for the purpose of kidnapping. No, no, that will never do with me. What is there to smile about ? I am pretty tough, and you shall never have *me* for your disciple.

(Goes.)

ENTER BOYS.

First Boy.

We are ready for the autumn festival. What must we do ?

Sanyasi.

We must begin with a song. (Sings)
The breeze has touched the white sails,
the boat revels in the beauty
of its dancing speed.
It sings of the treasure
of the distant shore,
it lures my heart to the voyage
of the perilous quest.
The captain stands at his helm
with the sun shining on his face
and the rain-clouds looming behind.
My heart aches to know how to sing to him
of tears and smiles made one in joy.

Sanyasi.

Now you have seen the face of the autumn.

First Boy.

But where is it, father ?

Sanyasi.

Don't you see those white clouds sailing on ?

Second Boy.

Yes, yes.

Third Boy.

Yes, I can see them.

Sanyasi.

The sky fills up.

First Boy.

With what ?

Sanyasi.

With light. And don't you feel the touch of the dew in the air ?

Second Boy.

Yes.

Sanyasi.

Only look at that Betasini River—what headlong rush to spend herself. And see the shiver in the young shoots of rice. Thakurdada, let the boys sing the welcome song of the autumn and go round the forests and hills yonder.

(*Thakurdada sings and the boys join him*).

I have spread my heart in the sky
and found your touch in my dreams.
Take away that veil from your face,
let me see your eyes.
There rings your welcome at the doors
of the forest fairies ;
your anklet bells sound
in all my thoughts
filling my work with music.
(The boys go out singing.)

ENTERS LUCKESWAR.

Thakurdada.

Hallo ! Our Luckeswar in a sanyasi's garb !

Luckeswar.

I have become your disciple at last father. Here is my pearl-case, and here are the jewel caskets. Take care of them.

Sanyasi.

Why has this sudden change come over you ?

Luckeswar.

The Emperor Vijayaditya's army is marching towards this town. Nobody will dare touch you, so you are the safest man to whom I can entrust my treasure.—I am your devoted follower,—protect me !

ENTERS THE RAJAH.

Rajah.

Father !

Sanyasi.

Sit down. You seem to be out of breath. Rest awhile.

Rajah.

No time for rest. I am informed that Vijayaditya is almost upon us. His flag has been seen.

Sanyasi.

Very likely. He must be feeling eager to acquire new dominions.

Rajah.

What do you say ? New dominions ?

Sanyasi.

Why do you take offence at it, my son ? You also had a similar idea.

Rajah.

Oh ! no, that was quite different. But whatever that might be, I ask for your protection. Some mischief-makers must have carried tales to him. Please tell him, they are all lies. Am I mad, that I should want to be the Emperor ? Have I got the power ?

Sanyasi.

Thakurdada !

Thakurdada.

Yes, my master !

Sanyasi.

Simply with this rag upon my back and a few boys as my followers, I was fully successful in making this day glorious. But

look at this wretched man,—this emperor,—he has power only to ruin it.

Rajah.

Hush ! Somebody may overhear you !

Sanyasi.

I must fight it out with that—

Rajah.

I won't allow it. You are becoming dangerous. Can't you keep your sentiments to yourself ?

Sanyasi.

But I already had a discussion about this with you, haven't I ?

Rajah.

What an awful man you are ! Luckeswar, why are you here ? Leave this place at once.

Luckeswar.

Sire, I can tell you, it is not for the pure pleasure of your presence that I am here. I should be only too glad to get away, but I am fixed to this spot. I have not the power to move.

ENTER VIJAYADITYA'S COURTIER.

The Minister.

Victory to the Emperor Vijayaditya !
(They all bow.)

Rajah.

Stop that stupid jest ! I am not Vijayaditya. I am his most unworthy servant—Somapal.

Minister.

(To the Sanyasi) Sire, the time has come for you to come back to your capital.

Thakurdada.

My master, is this a dream ?

Sanyasi.

Whether your dream or theirs is true who can tell ?

Thakurdada.

Then—

Sanyasi.

Yes, these people happen to know me as Vijayaditya.

Thakurdada.

But this new situation has made things critical for me.

Luckeswar.

And for me also. I surrendered myself to the Sanyasi in order to be saved from the Emperor. But I do not know in whose hands I am now.

Rajah.

Sire, did you come to try me ?

Sanyasi.

And also myself.

Rajah.

What is to be my punishment ?

Sanyasi.

To leave you to your memory.

ENTERS UPANANDA.

Upananda.

Who are these people ? Oh ! here is the Rajah. (About to leave.)

Sanyasi.

Upananda, do not go ! Tell me what you had come to say.

Upananda.

I came to tell you that I had earned this three *Kahans* by my day's work.

Sanyasi.

Give them to me. They are too valuable to go for clearing Luckeswar's debt. I take these for myself.

Upananda.

Must you take these, father ?

Sanyasi.

Yes, I must. Do you think I have mastered my greed, because I have become a sanyasi ? These tempt me beyond anything else.

Luckeswar.

This sounds ominous ! I am undone !

Sanyasi.

Where is my treasurer ?

Treasurer.

Here I am.

Sanyasi.

Let this man have a thousand *Kahan* from my treasury.

Upananda.

Then does he buy me ?

Sanyasi.

You are mine. (To the minister) You were troubled, because no son had been born to my house. But I have earned my son, by my merit, and here he is.

Luckeswar.

How unlucky for me that I am too old for such adoption !

Sanyasi.

Luckeswar !

Luckeswar.

Command me !

Sanyasi.

I have protected your jewels from the grasp of Vijayaditya. Now they are given back to you.

Luckeswar.

If the Maharajah had given them back in secret, I could feel secure. Who is to save them now ?

Sanyasi.

That is my business. But Luckeswar, something is due to me from you.

Luckeswar.

(Aside) Curse me ! I knew it would come at last.

Sanyasi.

Thakurdada is witness to my claim.

Luckeswar.

(Aside) There will be no lack of false witnesses for him now.

Sanyasi.

You wanted to give me alms. You owe

me a handful of rice. Do you think you will be able to fill an Emperor's hand?

Luckeswar.

But, Sire, it was a sanyasi's hand which gave me courage to propose what I did.

Sanyasi.

Then I free you from your promise.

Luckeswar.

With the Maharajah's leave I take my departure. Everybody's eyes seem to be turned upon these caskets.

(He goes.)

ENTER THE BOYS.

They shout.

Sanyasi Thakur! (They suddenly stop and are about to run away.)

Thakurdada.

Boys, do not go.

Sanyasi.

Rajah, leave me.

(Rajah goes.)

(To his courtiers) And you also.

(They go.)

Now back to our festival.

COMMERCIAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

A MERICAN universities have within the past few years undertaken a new responsibility. Just as they have for many years been training students to become lawyers, physicians, clergymen, and technical men, they are now training them to become business men. Commerce has been made a subject of study in American universities ever since it became recognized as a science; ever since by systematic experiments and investigations its laws have been formulated; and the theories of advertising, marketing, and accounting have been established.

Twenty years ago the commercial schools and colleges, so-called, limited themselves to the teaching of shorthand, typewriting, and bookkeeping. Even now there are many of these schools, turning out sometimes efficient, more often, indifferent stenographers, clerks, and bookkeepers. But the more progressive schools are now giving courses which are wider in scope, though even these cannot be said to give a training which will qualify a student to become a business executive.

There are, however, about a dozen first class universities which do make this claim, and most of them with justice. Among these the most noteworthy are, (1) School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance of the New York University; (2) School of

Business of Columbia University; (3) School of Commerce of the University of Chicago; (4) Wharton School of Finance, of the University of Pennsylvania; (5) School of Administration and Finance, of Dartmouth College; and the Schools of Commerce of the Northwestern University and the Universities of California and Illinois.

A business may be said to have five departments: production, distribution, transportation, financing and accounting. These universities offer courses which give a general knowledge of each of these, and a thorough training and education in any particular one of them, if the student so desires. Then there are further courses in the more important special lines of business, such as Foreign Trade, Insurance, Real Estate, Consular Service, etc.

Courses in accounting begin with simple book-keeping and then proceed to the accounting of complicated business ventures, to the theory of accounting, to fiduciary, investment and cost accounting, auditing, and research work, consisting of audit examinations, and investigations and system building in various fields of business.

An advertisement of a school of accounting, emphasizing the value of this study, says:—

"Accountants must take the soundings; the post-war era demands safety as well as progress—both require frequent determination of profit and loss results and financial condition; accurate costs of production, including dependable inventories; understanding of capital needs, including permanent and working requirements; and knowledge of markets, domestic and foreign; of financing procedures; of compensation and bonus plans; of sound and progressive management."

New York University has listed on its bulletin 28 courses in finance. These include several courses in banking, its theory, practice, and history. Corporations, "the American octopus" in industry and finance, receive due attention in the courses entitled "Corporation Finance," "Analysis of Corporation Reports," "Financial Investigations," "The Work of Wall Street," "Physical Construction, Operation, Valuation, and Ratemaking of Public Utilities," and "Comparative Corporation Finance." Harvard University has three courses in Financial Management:—(1) Industrial Corporations, (2) Railroad Companies, and (3) Local Public Service Corporations. The University of Chicago furnishes light on the all-powerful trusts in the courses: (1) Industrial Combinations, (2) Problems in the Control of Trusts and Corporations, and (3) Public Regulation of Prices and Earnings.

The most important of these studies, and the one in which the greatest number of investigations have been made, is the field of distribution and marketing. New York University has a department of Advertising and Marketing which offers twenty different courses in this line. In the courses in advertising the student is taught "the essentials" first, and then made to write advertisements. He is further instructed in "Lay-outs," "Printing," "Advertising Media," "The Principles of Art and Their Application to Advertising," and most important of all, "The Psychology of Advertising and Selling." In marketing proper, there are courses in "Markets and Marketing Methods," "Salesmanship," "Sales Management," and "Export Selling Methods," followed by "Marketing Research" when the student

is sufficiently advanced. In Harvard, marketing includes courses in "Retail and Wholesale Store Management," and "Purchasing." The University of Chicago has an interesting course bearing the pedantic title of "Marketing Function and Market Structure." The general principles of production and administration and their application to factories; labor problems; business policies; business statistics-theory, and methods, also come under this head, as do courses in commercial and industrial history and geography, and in the important products and industries of the world.

Harvard has four courses in Railroad-ing, which have to do with the organization, accounting, operation, and rate-making of the railroads. There is also a course in Ocean Transportation. Since the war the United States has the second largest tonnage in the world, and New York University, recognizing the importance of steamship traffic, has established a course in "Principles of Merchant Marine Administration and Operation."

There are some special lines of business activities which have been recognized by the Universities as being worthy of scholarly research. Of these, Insurance—fire, life and marine,—is most conspicuous in university announcements. New York University teaches Real Estate, and Harvard gives three courses in Lumbering, under which it lists "General Lumbering," "Principles of Forestry," and "Lumber Problems." Two courses that will be of especial interest to Indian students are those given by Professor Cherrington of Harvard on "Chambers of Commerce." They deal with the duties of a secretary of a commercial organization, functions of chambers of commerce, and methods of organization and management.

The businessman should know at least a little law—enough to prevent his getting into difficulties and to provide first aid in emergencies. With this in mind various schools have provided courses in law, relating to "contracts, business associations, and banking operations." Courses of this kind will teach a prospective businessman caution and prudence in

making contracts, in forming partnerships, and in handling commercial paper and bonds.

The system of commercial training as outlined above is as broad and comprehensive as it is possible to make it. That it is theoretical there is no doubt, nevertheless the theories are all those that deal with difficulties that the students are bound to encounter when they become business men. The training gives them a vision and a broader outlook than can be obtained by a man trained only in the school of experience. Experience must not be underrated, but it is at best a long, tedious, and often extremely costly way of learning. The universities through their researches, which record and crystallize the experiences of thousands of successful businessmen, are able to give a more direct, scientific, and economic business training.

Nor have the universities overlooked the danger of commercial education becoming too specialized. In order that the businessman may retain the culture, dignity, and scholarly attainments that are expected of a University graduate, cultural courses in literature, history and social sciences are now being made compulsory in most of the Universities. The bulletin of information of the new Chicago School of Commerce and Administration says :

"Business is, after all, a pecuniarily organized scheme of gratifying human wants, and, properly speaking, falls little, if any, short of being as broad, as inclusive, as life itself, in its motives, aspirations, and social obligations. It falls little short of being as broad as all science in its technique. Training for the task of the business manager must have breadth and depth comparable with those of the task. Consistent with this view of the training needed by business managers, the school bases its training in business technique and business administration on a broad foundation of courses concerned with physical and social environment."

The bulletin further relates that management of a given business is conditioned upon (1) physical environment, which justifies attention to the earth, sciences, biology, physics, chemistry ; and (2) social environment, which justifies attention to civics, economics, law, history, social

psychology, and other branches of the social sciences. It makes a survey of the whole field of management upon which the training of a business executive should be based. The problems of operating a business and the devices which have sprung up to meet the needs may be summarized as follows :

1. The new leadership in relation to technology and social responsibility.

2. Organization policies and methods—general and special.

3. Computing aids of administration, e. g., accounting, statistics, mathematics.

4. Communicative aids of administration, e. g., language, business writing, phonography, advertising technique.

5. The manager's relation to production, e. g., location, construction, equipment, etc.

6. The manager's relation to labor, e. g., employment, payment, training, etc.

7. The manager's relation to finance, e. g., credits, collections, capital changes, etc.

8. The manager's relation to risk bearing, e. g., insurance, speculation, contracts, information, etc.

9. The manager's relation to the markets, e. g., transportation, selling policies, advertising policies, price policies.

10. The manager's relation to social control, e. g., public opinion, habit and custom, codes of ethics, law and government.

On this survey the University of Chicago bases its curriculum of courses, but it allows the student all latitude in selection. "Apart from the courses required of all to make certain that every student secures an appreciation of the physical and social environment in which business is carried on, and an understanding of the basic functions of business, each student's choice is a matter of personal adjustment on the basis of previous training, present aptitude, and expected occupation.

The same thing is true of all the other first class universities. They all co-operate with business organizations and corporations in their work, and avail themselves of the research departments that the many American Chambers of Commerce and

the big corporations has established for the study and investigation of business conditions.

Another very important factor in commercial education is that the universities invite businessmen, leaders in their various lines, to come and lecture before the students. In fact many of the courses are given by businessmen, and often their offices and business equipment serve as laboratories for business studies. Nor are the text books written by pundits, pedants or mere theorists, but by the collective effort of and co-operation with businessmen. In many lines where no text books exist, or in which they would soon become out of date, the current periodical literature in advertising, marketing, merchandising, and management is used.

The Universities award degrees for the successful completion of a required number of courses. Many new degrees have been recently coined. Harvard awards the degree of Master of Business Administration, M. B. A. and Doctor of Philosophy in Business Economics. New York University offers the degrees of Bachelor of Commercial Science, (B. C. S.), and Master of Commercial Science, (M. C. S.). The Chicago University awards a Ph. B.; other Universities give Bachelor of Science, or Bachelor of Arts, according to their classification of business, as a science or as an art. But degrees have little value in business, where only results count.

Most of the universities hold evening classes in business subjects. This enables businessmen to perfect their knowledge of their own particular lines, or to broaden their vision in other lines. Then there are

many correspondence schools, some really excellent, others not so good. Among the best of these is the Alexander Hamilton Institute of New York City.

The courses given in the Universities have for their object the training of men to become business executives. The function of the business executive is to organize, correlate, and apportion the various elements entering into the operations of his business. The system of education provided by the various universities is eminently adapted to do this, and it is but fitting that Indians seeking to venture into new fields of enterprise should come to the United States and specialize in some form of commercial education. India needs businessmen most of all, men able to organize, finance, and manage new industries. In order to keep pace with the world India must become an industrial nation, and the sooner her sons are equipped with the necessary knowledge, the better it will be for her.

The science of business is the science of profit making, and efficiency in acquiring the maximum gross profit is its objective. *Given the opportunity*, which no one can deny they do not have in India, there is no question but that Indians can learn business as they have proven they can learn other things, and, quite aside from idealistic and patriotic reasons, entirely for their own good they should come to America and study.

RAM KUMAR KHEMKA.

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NEW YORK, U. S. A.

DESTINY

Wherever I go, in this far land,
The people wish to understand
Where I am going. If I knew
They would not think my answer true;
And if I said I did not know
They would advise me not to go.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

THE INDIAN DEPUTATIONS AND THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

By ST. NIHAL SINGH.

II.

BOOTH Mr. Tilak's Home Rule League and the All-India Muslim League contented themselves with sending answers to the questions framed by the Joint Committee.

Since the answers given by Mr. Tilak's League followed the general lines laid down in the Congress resolutions, and I have already dealt with the Congress memorandum, I shall omit further reference to it.

In regard to the answers given by the delegates of the Muslim League, the one fact that deserves to be noted is that while reproducing the resolutions asking for full provincial autonomy, they themselves give support to the diarchal form of provincial administration. Congressmen here naturally take exception to the course taken. But the Muslim Delegates justify their action by saying that they came here as plenipotentiaries and not mandatories and, therefore, they were within their right to accept diarchy.

(I)

The Memorandum submitted by Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer on behalf of the All-India Home Rule League is an able document, which deserves to be read with great care. I, therefore, have taken some pains to summarize it.

Mr. Ramaswami, while stating that "the majority of...the All-India Home Rule League" take the view that complete responsible government should be immediately introduced in the provinces, declares that personally he is willing to discuss the proposed Reforms on the basis of "diarchy". But he thinks that "this doctrine necessitates the application of another principle," that "side by side and simultaneously with the granting of respon-

sible government in the provinces, a similar granting of responsibility is essential in the Government of India." The Legislative Assembly should not be allowed to indulge in criticism unaccompanied by responsibility. He then summarises the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, and calls attention to the fact that "practically all influential opinion in India was united" on the modifications of that scheme.

The principal defects of "diarchy" on the popular side, Mr. Aiyer points out, are (1) the difficulty of rendering it workable, and (2) the facilities it affords to the official hierarchy to transfer as little power as possible. On the other side, the objections are that it is impossible to predicate of any subject that it can be dealt with by one department without reference and close co-ordination with many others. A unitary type of government is thus insisted upon. Mr. Aiyer's answer to these objections is that "the co-ordination of two departments under independent control is being effected now, and can be continued even under the new regime on the basis of that good faith and comradeship which is the foundation" of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, whether as formulated in the Report or by the Local Governments, "as well as the possession by the Governor of great tact and sympathy."

Mr. Ramaswami declares that the Congress-League scheme is really the basis of the proposals of the Local Governments, and its chief merit was that it purported to be a logical extension of the present system. But he considers that the Congress-League scheme would not be in consonance with the implications in the declaration of August 20th, 1917, in regard to the grant of real and undivided responsibility of Ministers so as to lead to the achievement of Parliamentary ideals.

Mr. Ramaswami analyses and points out the defects in the recommendations of the Government of India, which, on the whole, he considers illiberal and retrograde.

Whatever other matters may be left to be regulated by rules, Mr. Ramaswami says, it is essential that the question of fiscal autonomy should be faced and answered. The Bill should contain a provision frankly conceding fiscal freedom. The Bill should also definitely settle the question of salary and status of the Ministers and the member of the Executive Council, on the basis of equality. It should lay down the process of interpellation and discussion possessed by the members of the legislature and the election by the various bodies of their president and vice-president. It should include a clause regarding the examination at the end of five years after the formation of the new Councils, as to the transferred and reserved subjects, and as to the voting of the Legislative Council of the salary of Ministers. He objects to the provision disempowering Indian legislators from altering the rules. In any case, he suggests that all rules should be published in India before promulgation, and the Legislative Council should be able to make rules for the conduct of its own business.

Generally speaking, in his Memorandum Mr. Ramaswami accepts the decision of the Franchise Committees in the matter of communal representation—subject to certain suggested modifications. The residential qualifications of members of the Legislative Council he considers retrograde.

Mr. Ramaswami asserts that women possessing the same qualifications as men and subject to the same conditions, ought not to be disenfranchised. No special treatment is asked for, and no concession, no lowering of the franchise, is claimed. If the Purdanashin declines to go to the Polling Station, special arrangements need not be made for her. While the number of women who will take advantage of the privilege may be very small, still the result is bound to be beneficial to public life in general and to social progress of women in particular, both as to their education and status in the life of the nation.

It is the general opinion, the Memorandum states, that any attempt to go back on the Congress-League compact between Hindus and Muslims in the case of Bengal will be attended with unnecessary agitation and attempts to re-open the whole question on both sides. It is conceded that no system of election can be devised to meet the case of the depressed class at present, and no objection will be raised to their representation by nomination. It is suggested that the rules may provide that persons who possess certain specified academic qualifications but not the minimum property required should be entitled to franchise. Exception is taken to the abolition of University seats. It is recognised on all hands that a special Muslim electorate must, for the time being, be preserved. But Sikhs, Christians, Europeans, and Anglo-Indians should not be given special treatment. The difficulties experienced by the non-Brahmans are grossly exaggerated. The community has an overwhelming electoral strength, and does not require protection.

With reference to functions, the All-India Home Rule League Memorandum declares that the suggestion of the Government of India that permanent heads of departments and secretaries should have direct access to the Government cannot be accepted for a moment. The suggestion for the re-transference of departments is also opposed. It is considered that the inclusion in the All-India list of law status, and property and civil rights is inexpedient.

The legislature can wield no real power unless it controls taxation for provincial purposes in connection with the unified budget. The subject of land revenue must be held an appropriate subject for transfer. The right of taxation must be fixed by non-officials and the land tax must no more be raised or lowered by executive action not susceptible to popular control. Irrigation is held to stand on the same footing, and be subject to the same arguments as land revenue.

Opinion is unanimous that all questions of industrial development, the entire field of education, and light railways and

tramways and the administration of civil justice should be transferred to the control of the minister.

The number of constituencies proposed in the Southborough report is too small, in Mr. Ramaswami's opinion. The executive Council should be composed of an equal number of Indian and non-Indian members. There should be no difference made in the status, position, and salary of the Minister and of the member of Executive Council. It is not argued that uniform scheduled salaries should be fixed for Ministers ; but in no case should they be less than the salaries of the respective Executive Council Members of the State, and the Act itself must settle the question. The Governor should not have power to compel a Minister to carry out a policy to which he is opposed. If such action is taken, it should be on the sole responsibility of the Governor himself. The Minister should be chosen by the elected members of the Legislative Council from among themselves. The salary of the Minister should be provided in the Bill, and should be placed on the transferred estimates, otherwise his accountability to the Legislature would be very shadowy. Statutory rules should also be provided for the institution of standing committees, and the appointment of under-secretaries.

There should be a rule requiring the Governors to be appointed from the ranks of public men in the United Kingdom.

If the legislature is deprived of the power of initiating fresh taxation proposals, the bills originated for the purposes of reserved subjects may be referred to the Grand Committee, and thus may be secure of all control. Administrative control must go hand in hand with adequate financial supervision. As finance is a reserved subject, there will be no real popular control at all over expenditure. So far as reserved subjects are concerned, the Council cannot even resist taxation occasioned by extravagance in respect of them. Instead of removing large topics from discussion under the heading of permanent charges, and of extending the doctrine of certification, annual discussions of all but a very few indispensable heads

and the resort to the procedure of supplemental budgets is suggested.

Responsible Government must be introduced in the Central Administration. It is pointed out in Mr. Ramaswami's Memorandum that under the Bill even the Statutory Commission will have no power to recommend a transfer of power to popular representatives in this sphere. "Under this scheme popular control is denied access to the place where the country's future is most in the making." No one insists that the progress should be on the same scale as in the provincial governments, but if no promise is held out of progress in the Central Government, all future attempts will be strenuously resisted. Half the members of the Executive Council, Provincial and Imperial, should be Indians.

Very strong objections are taken to the power conferred upon the Council of State to pass laws without previous discussion in the Legislative Assembly. For the present, a procedure analogous to that of the Grand Committee is suggested, instead of the creation of an inadequate second chamber. In any case, half the total strength should consist of elected members. Permanent legislation of an exceptional character should not be carried through the Council of State against the opinion of the Legislative Assembly, but the Select Committee of the House of Commons should sanction the passage of such legislation. It should, moreover, be only temporary.

The power of the Council of State to certify that a Bill is essential to the interests of British India or any part thereof is very strongly objected to. The power of ordinance would be sufficient.

The devolution of the powers of the Secretary of State as defined in the Crewe report is favourably commented upon in the All-India Home Rule League Memorandum. The abolition of the India Council will bring about active co-operation between the Government and the people under joint action. The creation of the projected Advisory Committee will, it is thought, preserve all the defects of the present system and detract from the undivided responsibility of the Secretary of State. If the Council is retained during the transitional

period, it should be reconstituted as suggested by Mr. Basu, half its members being Indian, while Englishmen taken from public life in England should be included in the other half. The appointment of a permanent Indian Under-Secretary of State must be provided for in the rules, if not in the Bill itself. The fear is expressed that the appointment of a High Commissioner may mean only an amplification of functionaries and establishments, and it is thought it may well be postponed until the India Council is reconstituted.

It would be unfortunate, the Memorandum states, if the Select Parliamentary Committee be abolished. Unless the public services are placed in a position of subordination to the Indian legislatures, they will not come in line with the new conditions. If a public service Commission is contemplated, it should be on the same footing as the Civil Service Commission in England.

Rules should be made by His Majesty's Government in Council on the recommendation of the Secretary of State. The mere submission of statutory rules to Parliament is inadequate to invest Parliament with real control over principles, unless and until those principles are definitely discussed. Attention is called to the experience of 1909 in connection with the Morley-Minto reforms, in regard to this matter.

Each province should contribute, either on the basis of its population or its revenue.

(II)

The delegates of the Madras Presidency Association, consisting of Messrs. V. Chakkarai Chetty, B.A., B.L., B. P. Wadia, and P. Chenchiah, B.A., M.L., rendered a great service to the Indian cause by presenting a Memorandum to the Joint Select Committee contradicting the statements as to the social relations existing between the Brahmans and non-Brahmans of Madras put before the Committee by the South Indian National Federation—the non-Brahman supporters of the Indo-British Association propaganda. The Madras Presidency Association Delegates repudiate the statement that the

Brahman is playing the part of a tyrant, and asserts that many of the social movements for the amelioration of the conditions of the Panchamas have been led by Brahmans. They categorically deny that caste feeling is on the increase; that Brahmans take advantage of their power to influence elections; that Brahmans, as members of the legal profession, wield undue influence on the non-Brahmans; or that the Brahmans alone stand in the way of social progress: and present indisputable facts to support their argument.

As practical politicians, however, and in view of the fact that certain sections of the non-Brahmans of Madras want their interests safeguarded, the Delegates of the Madras Presidency Association suggest, in their Memorandum, purely as a matter of expediency, that plural constituencies be created, with a general electoral roll, and that a limit be fixed to the number of Brahmans to be returned. It is recommended that the number of members of the Legislative Council of the Presidency be fixed at 200, and the seats distributed as follows:

Nominated Members of the Government	...	20
Mahomedans	...	28
Indian Christians	...	7
European Trade and Commerce (including Planters)	...	6
Indian Trade and Commerce	...	6
Graduates of the Madras University	...	3
Uriya Tamindars	...	1
Uriyas	...	1
Tamindars other than Uriyas	...	4
Landholders: North	...	2
„ South	...	2
„ Malabar	...	1
Backward classes to be nominated by elected representatives if election by them is not possible	...	8

- 108 Members to be elected by 12 groups of general electorates, each group returning 9 members, of whom not more than two should be Brahmans. All who pay Rs. 5 and over as land revenue or as tax per annum, or who earn between Rs. 15 and Rs. 20, should be titled to vote. The Franchise should also be extended to women. The Madras Presidency Association deprecate the Government scheme to arrange the constituencies so that 30 out of the 61 non-Muslim seats should be

reserved for non-Brahmans, and contend that that scheme would throw open 31 seats to Brahmans as well as to non-Brahmans. Their own scheme, they point out, would fix a maximum for Brahmans instead of a minimum for non-Brahmans, and would place a restriction in all the 12 electorates.

The Association strongly supports the demand for the introduction of the principle of transferred and reserved subjects in the Central Government, and the grant of fiscal autonomy.

(III)

In the powerful Memorandum submitted by Mrs. Naidu to the Joint Committee, urging the claims of Indian women, she stated that there were two reasons why she desired to dwell on the ancient and historic Indian tradition of woman's place and purpose in the civil and spiritual life of the nation and to recall the versatile and illustrious record of her contribution to the national achievement by her wit and wisdom, her valour, devotion, and self-sacrifice, as scholar and statesman, soldier, saint, queen of her own social kingdom, and compassionate servant of suffering humanity. First, she wished to refute the reiterated argument of the illiberal or instructed opponent of women's suffrage as being too primitive or too novel and radical a departure from accepted custom likely to offend or to alarm a sensitive and stationary prejudice. Secondly she wished to demonstrate that the Indian woman is essentially conservative, in her impulse and inspiration, and so far from demanding an alien standard of emancipation, she desires that her evolution should be no more than an ample and authentic efflorescence of an age-long ideal of dedicated service whose roots are deep-rooted in the past.

Mrs. Naidu did not attempt to deny that the story of the Indian women's progressive development had suffered severe interruption and shared in that general decline that befalls a nation with so continuous a chronicle of subjection to foreign rule; but of recent years the woman of the Indian renaissance largely owing to the stimulus of invigorating western ideas and influences, had

once more vindicated herself as not wholly unworthy of her own high social and spiritual inheritance. Already she was beginning to recover her natural place and establish her prerogatives as an integral part of the national life.

It was, indeed, Mrs. Naidu said, a curious and startling irony of fate that the trend of a doubtless conscientious but over-cautious official decision was to refuse her a formal legislative sanction for a privilege which was already hers in spirit and in substance tacitly acknowledged and widely exercised; for the power of the Indian woman is supreme and her influence incalculable in the inner life of her own people. There was no summit to which she might not aspire or attain in any sphere of Indian national energy or enterprise, unhampered save by the limitations of her own personal ambition and ability.

Wherein, Mrs. Naidu asked, had her sex disqualified the Indian woman or disinherited her from the rich honours she had earned in equal emulation and comradeship with her brother, in every field of intellectual or political endeavour? In our old Universities she had won brilliant distinction in the Arts and Sciences, Medicine, Law, and Oriental learning. She held office in the Courts and Senates of our younger Universities, like the Hindu University of Benares and the Women's University of Poona, and the National University. She had evinced her creative talent in literature and music, and had proved her consummate tact and resource in administering vast properties and intricate affairs, and demonstrated beyond all question her marvellous capacity to organise and sustain great educational institutions and large philanthropic missions for social service. She had been pre-eminently associated with the political life of the country, uplifting the voice of her indignation against all measures of unjust and oppressive legislation, like the Partition of Bengal, the Press Act, and the Rowlatt Bill.

She had accorded her cordial support to all beneficent social and economic measures like Mr. Gokhale's bill for free and compulsory education, Mr. Basu's Civil Marriage Bill, Mr. Patel's Inter-caste Marriage Bill,

and the Swadeshi movement inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi; and all efforts to ameliorate the condition of the depressed and neglected members of our society.

Moreover, Mrs. Naidu continued, the Indian woman had not only participated in the programmes of our great periodic national assemblies like the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, and the Social Reform and Service Conferences, but had not unfrequently been called upon to guide their deliberations and to direct their policies, to harmonise their differences and unite their ideals towards a common goal of self-realisation. Where, then, had the logic of their refusal of the franchise to Pandita Ramabai or Swarna Kumari Ghosal, or to Ramabai Ranade or Kamala Sathianadhan, to Kamini Sen or Shirenbai Cursetji, to Nagutai Joshi or Anadhya Satabhai, to Abola Bose or Cornelia Sorabji, to Indira Devi or Sarala Devi, to Mrs. Chandrasekhari of Mysore or to Mrs. Sadashiv Iyer of Madras?

And what of that group of women in the seclusion of the purdah, whose culture and accomplishments reveal the golden age of the Saracens? There were Her Highness Nawab Sultan Johan Begum, of Bhopal, and Her Highness Nazli Raffia, Begum of Janjira, Abru Begum, Tyaba Begum, Khujista Sultana Begum, Abadi Begum, the lion-hearted mother of the Ali brothers, the courageous young wife of the Hasrat Mohani, the late Suhawardya Begum who, from her sequestered corner, set paper on Oriental Classics for the Calcutta University, and Amina Hydari, who won the Kaiser-i-Hind decoration for her selfless services in a time of tragic distress in the Hyderabad State.

But it is the Purdah that constitutes the chief weapon in the armoury of opposition against franchise for Indian women, Mrs. Naidu declared. She readily conceded that it might, in its initial stages, seriously inconvenience and complicate the electoral system, and perhaps might even be appended with temporary danger of fraudulent votes. But, she emphasised, she failed to understand, when the interests of small political minorities of men were

safeguarded, why it might not be possible, in course of time, to extend a similar chivalrous consideration to the Purdahnashin in those local and limited areas where that custom was rigidly enforced. She was certain that her vote would usually be exercised with intelligence and discretion and prove a valuable acquisition to India. She was convinced, moreover, that, like all time-honoured but already obsolete social observances and usages, the Purdah system could no longer remain immutable, but must readjust itself to the needs and demands of a widespread national re-awakening. After all, she remarked, the terrors of the polling booth would scarcely daunt the Purdahnashin who, in the course of her religious pilgrimages, habitually encounters immense multitudes, and becomes no more than a casual unit of a heterogeneous pilgrim democracy. Whether the franchise be one of literacy or property, Mrs. Naidu thought that the inclusion of the enlightened women of the Sikh, Parsi, and Christian communities, of the Arya Samaj of the Punjab and the Brahmo Samaj of Bengal, would in no wise disturb or deflect the normal electoral arrangements.

In a splendid peroration at the end of her statement, Mrs. Naidu made a special appeal to the statesmen "of a glorious country whose cherished freedom is broad-based upon a people's will. There is not one citadel of Hindu civilization," she declared, nor "one centre of Islamic culture" where she had not scattered broadcast her message of India's duty and destiny among the free nations of the world. She had spoken to the "youths in their academies, to the women in their walled gardens, to the merchants in the market-place, to the peasants in the shade of their fig and banyan trees." How, she asked, should her prophecy be realised, and how should her country take her predestined place worthily in the noble world-federation of liberated peoples until the women of India were themselves free and enfranchised, and stood as the guardians of her national honour and the symbols of her national righteousness?

Mrs. Naidu submitted the following

illuminating appendices along with her statement :

APPENDIX I.

WOMEN'S LITERACY IN BRITISH INDIA.

Community	Vernacular Proficiency	English Proficiency
Hindus	814,810	23,596
Muslims	135,867	3,940
Parsees	31,218	8,347
Christians	252,295	112,643
Jains	24,120	209
Sikhs	17,280	238
Aggregate Literacy	1,600,763	152,026
Standard of Education	Public Institutions	Private Institutions
Arts Colleges	469	1,873
Professional Colleges	131	.....
Secondary Schools	93,997	.....
Primary Schools	993,459	73,400
Special School instruction	2,405	.....

APPENDIX II.

WOMEN'S OCCUPATION IN BRITISH INDIA.

(Census Report 1911)

Women living on their own Income	62,614
Department of Medicine	11,298
Department of Instruction	25,745
Letters, Arts and Sciences	88,471
Aggregate of Women following Professions and Liberal Arts	402,586

APPENDIX III.

SOME LEADING NATIONAL MOVEMENTS IN WHICH INDIAN WOMEN HAVE TAKEN A PROMINENT PART.

All-India Movements.

Indian National Congress.
Social Conference.
Social Service League Conference.
Medical Conference.
Music Conference.
Industrial Conference.
Muslim League.
Home Rule League.
Mohamedan Educational Conference.
One-Language Conference.
Temperance Conference.
Humanitarian Conference.
Arya Samaj Conference.

Sikh Conference.
Ladies' Conference.
Muslim Ladies' Conference.
Hindu Sabha Conference.
Theistic Conference.

Provincial Movements.

Bombay
Madras
Sindh
United Provinces
Punjab
Bombay Educational Conference.
Madras Students' Convention.
Behar Students' Conference.
Bombay Students' Federation.
Depressed Classes Mission.
Andhra Library Movement.
Satyagraha Movement.
Swadeshi Movement.
Seva Sadan.
Bharat Stree Maha Mandal of Bengal, Malabar, United Provinces, and Punjab.

I must add that Mrs. Naidu has had the political tact to accomplish the hitherto impossible task of getting men belonging to the various Indian deputations to agree to take joint action. She persuaded two members of the Moderate Deputation, Mr. Kamat and Mr. Prithwis Chander Ray, to join with representatives of the Congress, the two Home Rule Deputations, and the Indian community settled in London, to go in a deputation to the Secretary of State for India to press for the enfranchisement of Indian women.

She herself headed the Deputation. Mrs. Annie Besant, the Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, Mrs. B. Bhola Nauth, Mrs. P. L. Roy, and Mrs. Kotwal, Mr. Patel, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Mr. Kamat, Mr. Prithwis Chander Ray and I supported her.

I felt that Mr. Montagu, while non-committal in his brief remarks, went away impressed with the fact that Indian opinion was united on the question, and that he must exert himself to get the Joint Select Committee to recognise at least the principle of women's suffrage.

THE EUGENICS OF HINDU MARRIAGE

I. INTRODUCTION.

WHAT constitutes national progress is more often asked than answered. Yet all of us have a more or less vague notion that everything with us is not right, and that something is needed to make the wheel of national fortune run smooth. Religionists and philanthropists, politicians and educationists, and a host of other wellwishers of society have each a programme in view which they think will supply the one thing needful. A little thought will, however, tell us that as a nation consists of peoples, and a people of races, national progress implies race progress, the fitness, spiritually, mentally and physically, of each man and woman of each race. That is the problem of Eugenics, which, in the words of Dr. Saleeby, one of the progressive eugenists of England, desires "the coming of nobler and finer men and women, the disappearance of disease and ugliness and stupidity and misery and vice, the making of a better world, the dawn of the Golden Age which poets fabled in the past, but towards which we know our feet are pressing." Eugenics is not yet fifteen years old but has come to possess a virility wielding potent influence on the thoughts of and ideas of civilised mankind. The gigantic war which has happily ended will undoubtedly direct the attention of the civilised nations of Europe not only towards national organisation as a necessity for existence, but also towards facing "the wider problem of how to obtain the highest type of citizen as material for organisation."

Eugenics has often been defined as the science of human breeding, of the production of fine people. This definition is obviously incorrect, like medicine it is more a practice than a science. Herein lies the difficulty inseparable from every practice, and more in the case of eugenics, since it may ask us to remodel our social customs and laws, to discard our cherished notions of love and marriage, and to view mankind as a breeder does his animals. We are asked the question: "What are the factors that make the individual noble or base, healthy or diseased, wise or foolish, clever or stupid, kind or cruel?" To the eugenists the answer is clear. They say that every attribute and character of every living being is the product of what is conveniently called 'Nature' or 'Nurture'. Nature includes everything given at the individual's beginning; nurture includes all nutrition from the moment of the formation of the new individual onwards—all environment, physical, social, spiritual.

The child is born at the moment of conception, when the germ cells of the parents, the sperm

and the ovum, fuse into one cell inheriting vast potentialities impossible to foresee. Then Nature, or, as the Hindus say, the Ordainer of Nature imprints what the new cell is destined to be. Hence genetics, the science of heredity, must take the first place. What the fusing cells bring is the Nature or heredity of the new individual. "All the influences which play upon, feed, mould, stimulate or otherwise affect the new individual from the moment of fusion" constitutes its Nurture including environment.

A question as important as intricate arises here: Which is more potent, heredity or environment, in shaping the individual, physically, mentally, and spiritually? The point has raised a storm of controversy not yet settled. For it has a most important bearing on practical politics. As Prof. Karl Pearson says, "Practically all social legislation has been based on the assumption that better environment meant race progress, whereas the link between the two is probably that a genuine race progress will result in a better environment. The views of philanthropists and of those who insist that the race can be substantially bettered by changed environment appeal to sympathies, but these reformers have yet to prove their creed. As far as our investigations have yet gone they show that improvement in social conditions will not compensate for a bad hereditary influence." So did Gallon, the father of eugenics, write that "when nature and nurture compete for supremacy on equal terms, the former proves the stronger. It is needless to insist that neither is self-sufficient: the highest natural endowment may be starved by defective nurture, while no carefulness of nurture can overcome the evil tendencies of an intrinsically bad physique, weak brains, or brutal disposition." This school of eugenists asserts that the influence of nature is on the average five to ten times as important as that of nurture. They prepare lists of questions to be answered by interested persons, and then submit to statistical analysis. They are known as biometricians.

There are people to whom Darwin's theory of 'natural selection' has a fascination too subtle to be evaded. This theory practically condemns charity and altruism in all their forms and asks us to be silent onlookers of the cruel operation of the law. Biologists of the Darwinian school have found a powerful advocate in Nietzsche and assert that we must not combat infant mortality or mortality from pestilence, famine and poverty as the victims are not worth saving, and that mankind is degenerating because the law of natural selection has been abolished.

But civilised man having got his mentality and spirituality through a long process of evolution cannot now go back to the state of savagery, far less to that of nature. It is seen that 'natural selection' eliminates those that are not fit to survive, but does not *produce* those that survive. It destroys, and never creates. Within the last few years a school of biologists has come to the front, and has challenged not only the statistical study of heredity but also shaken the very foundation of Darwin's theory. That evolution must proceed by insensible transformation of masses of individuals has almost lost its charm, and variation occurring as an individual and discontinuous phenomenon has taken its place. With the year 1900 a new era has begun. Mendel has compelled the biologists to revise their methods and to reconstruct their theories anew. Weismann asked for the proof that "acquired characters", those characters which are acquired during the lifetime of an individual, those which are "induced by peculiarities of habit, of use or disuse, or by some change in surroundings and nurture generally,"—more precisely, practical experience—can really be transmitted to the offspring. The majority of biologists are now obliged to admit the utter inadequacy of the evidence for the belief which seemed so natural to Darwin and his followers. De Vries pointed out the clear distinction between the impermanent and non-transmissible variations which he speaks of as *fluctuations*, and the permanent and transmissible variations which he calls *mutations*. He witnessed "the actual occurrence of sudden departures from type—not one but several—by which at one step in descent distinct and frequently purebreeding types," like the generation of new species, were produced. We are asked to view the bodies of animals and plants, at least of the higher types, not as single structures, but as double. There is the world of germ-cells, possessing characters among them according to definite systems. Each character—unit character or factor—has to be considered separately, and the development of characters in animals or plants depends on the presence of definite factors in their germ-cells. Purity of type has nothing to do with a prolonged course of selection, natural or artificial. It depends upon the meeting of two germ-cells bearing similar factors. In the course of the formation of the germs the characters, the factors, dissociate or segregate. The segregation of the factors is the essence of Mendelian heredity. The dominance of certain characters in a cross-bred to the exclusion of the opposite character, the recessive, is another feature of Mendelism.

The study of human genetics presents almost insurmountable difficulties. The statistical method has certainly its use in analysing complex phenomena in mass. But it is equally certain, the method of biometry which leaves individual analysis out of account will not

advance our knowledge. W. Bateson, an enthusiastic exponent of Mendelism in England, puts the case thus: "It is not in dispute that the appearance or non-appearance of a characteristic may be in part decided by environmental influences. Opportunity given may decide that a character manifests itself which without opportunity must have lain dormant." Again, "It may be anticipated that a general recognition of the chief results of Mendelian analysis will bring about a profound change in man's conceptions of his nature and in his outlook on the world..... It is likely that the science of sociology will pass into a new phase.....some serious physical and mental defects, almost certainly also some morbid diatheses, and some of the forms of vice and criminality could be eradicated if society so determined."

I cannot, however, pursue the fascinating subject further in this place, but shall follow Dr. Saleeby and state that the problems of practical eugenics are comprised under two groups,—natural eugenics and nurtural eugenics. Under natural eugenics arise the questions,—(1) how worthy parenthood may be encouraged, (2) how unworthy parenthood may be discouraged, and (3) how parenthood may be protected from racial poisons. Nurtural eugenics comprises the nurture and education of every individual from conception onwards.

II. EUGENICS AND HINDU MARRIAGE.

Let us now turn to the marriage institution of the ancient Hindus and endeavour to ascertain how far they recognised eugenics and tried to secure "the supreme end of all policy, the making and maintaining of the largest possible number of the finest people." "This," Dr. Saleeby asserts, "is the end of ends, by which all other ends, and all means whatsoever, all political parties, all institutions, old or new, all dogmas, all human practice, conduct, and belief, will in the last resort be judged: How much life, and of what quality, did they produce?" It will be seen that the Hindus did recognise eugenic marriage and embodied their ideals into the laws—the *Grihya Sutras* and *Smritis*—which all who claimed to live within their pale tried to obey. They are laws socio-religious in character and more binding than enactments of Parliaments, inasmuch as violation of any was regarded as a sin. It is, however, well to remember that the customs of a society dating back to at least four thousand years could not have always remained the same. There must have been stages of stability and of transformation as in other societies. Indeed it is possible to discern in many cases the evolutionary process of change which occurred with lapse of time and accumulation of experience. Nor could all the races which were derived from various sources and lived widely apart and gradually came under the influence of the Aryan civilisation follow strictly the ideals set forth by those intellects of the

time which regulated their own small society. Hinduism, as at present understood, is a social organisation recognising the caste system of varying degrees of rigidity, and believing in the transmigration of souls. Nevertheless there underlies a principle too subtle to be analysed, yet recognisable as a whole. It is the ideals of the upper classes of a society, not always the practices of individuals, by which it has to be appraised. For my present purpose I shall endeavour to look at the problem of practical eugenics from the point of view of the Brahmans who lived within the five centuries preceding the Christian era, the middle age of the Hindu civilisation.

(1) NATURAL EUGENICS.

(a) *You shall marry.*

The question at the outset therefore is : What was the fundamental idea about marriage ? In other words, why should men and women marry ? The answer is clear. You shall marry in order that you may have a *puttra*, a son. It is not for pleasure, the satisfaction of racial instinct, that you should marry. You may marry for pleasure, and such a marriage may be lawful ; but you shall marry that you may have a *puttra*, a son. The mating of men and women resulting in no son has always been regarded as ridiculous and has furnished a commonplace metaphor when an object is not gained in spite of the best preparations. The non-birth of a son is a calamity, the unfortunate couple is to be pitied. For a son is a blessing from Heaven, from *Prajapati*, the Lord of peoples. Therefore it is not *dharma*, if you lead a life of celibacy ; you violate His will, and go against His creative impulse. Celibacy is selfish ; it shirks parenthood.

Marriage is therefore obligatory. But the peculiarity of the obligations is that the penalty for non-performance is suffered not by the offending individual, but by his ancestors. The law-givers declared that a son is necessary in order that the ancestors may be pleased. They put it in a different way and said that the ancestors long for offerings from their descendants, and you should therefore leave a son behind. The Purans, which were composed for the masses, went further and said that the ancestors do not live in peace, indeed they live in a hell until they receive homage from their son.

This requires some explanation. The reference to ancestor worship and to hell-habitation is considered lightly by the modern. The fact appears to be that he has ceased to think in the way his ancestors did, and fails to realise the significance of the racial instinct. Etymologically the word 'son' is the same as the Sanskrit *sunu* or *suna*, an offspring. It is a bud ; a blossom produced by the meeting of the germ-cells. The Hindu idea is that the father is re-born in the mother in the form of a son to continue the current of life. The ancestors were the trustees of a life-

principle appointed by the creator for the fulfilment of His wishes. And is it not their duty to see that the life-current does not cease and is in no way vitiated ? This is Weismannism in a spiritual garb ; or as Bergson puts it, "life is like a current passing from germ to germ through the medium of a developed organism," only he forgets to add that it is a sin to stop the current. The human body is a tabernacle of God, and it is folly to be deprived of the highest privilege one may aspire to. Could a man be what he is without his ancestors ? If it is their *dharma* to feel filial affection, it is equally his *dharma* to reciprocate the feeling. Sociologically, a son is an asset to the society, for he forms one of the individuals. A sonless woman is *abira*, without a valiant protector, after the death of her husband.

But the word *puttra* implies more. It is usually derived from the Sanskrit root, *pu*, to make pure, to atone for ; and a *puttra* is one who atones for the omissions of duties of the father. A man makes various resolves, but cannot see them all realised during his lifetime. His resolutions prove false, and he commits sins. He is reborn as son and keeps on in the line until his sin is absolved. There is continuity not only of the physical body, but also of the mind and spirit in the work which was left undone. Hence every offspring is not the son for whom the ancestors pine. An offspring is merely a *tanaya*, a *santati*, an extension of the ancestral line. The son is the *atmaja*, born of Me, and of no one else. He alone can say that I and my father are one, none other. Verily, he is the father and son combined, and his worship of ancestor is no other than the worship of the universal soul present in the germ-cells. He inherits the ancestral property ; for he is the father, grandfathers and greatgrandfathers of the family, and the title to the property cannot disappear because of the transformations of the physical envelope. He is the true extension of the ancestor in body, mind, and spirit, and extension of the will of the Lord of peoples manifest in them. Therefore, he is the *puttra*, the darling of the parents.

(b) *Marry in your Class but outside your Family line.*

A word or two is necessary on the origin and significance of caste. Vedic scholars tell us that in the bulk of the Rigveda the Aryans seem to recognise two classes, a class to which they themselves belonged and a second class including the non-Aryans, the *dasas*. In a later portion of the book there is the mention of four *varnas*, the Aryans forming the first three, and the *dasas* the fourth. The primary meaning of *varna* is a covering, hence a dye, a colour, and hence a class. I suspect that the Aryans at first recognised only two *varnas*, the white-coloured and the black-coloured peoples. The colour of their skin was white, and they belonged to the *Arya-varna* ; while that of the other peoples, the

non-Aryans, was black, and these formed the *dasa-varna*. Certain Aryans performed the sacrifices, and became ultimately Brahmans, the priests; others fought the battles with the contending aborigines, the *dasyus*, and formed Kshatriyas, the military class; while the general mass of the Aryan population engaged in agriculture and pastoral pursuits, and was known as Vis or Vaisya, the people. It is likely the occupations favoured the development of shades of red and yellow in the skins of the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas respectively. In treatises on gems we find a classification, say, of diamonds, into four *varnas*; those of white colour were recognised as belonging to the Brahmana *varna*, those of red colour to the Kshatriya *varna*, those of yellow colour to the Vaisya *varna*, and those of black colour to the Dasa or Sudra *varna*. Manu and other law-givers speak of *varna*, and not of *jati*, the proper word for caste. *Varna* or colour does not refer to birth, as *jati* does. They declare that there is no fifth *varna* besides the four. The Aryans belonging to the first three *varnas* had a higher status than the Dasas or Sudras, because the latter belonged to the conquered race, and were illiterate and generally unclean. Any of the three higher classes would not as a rule eat with the Sudras. But those that were domestic servants could offer food cooked by them to their superior masters. The Sudras were the slaves of their masters and could be purchased and inherited like chattel.

When the Aryans consisted of one race, and were few, every one could marry whom he or she liked, and every one was equally likely to be the product of every possible male and female. But such a state could hardly have continued long. No two persons are born alike, and the differences of character and disposition led to differences of occupation. The enormous part played by environment helped in making certain characters more frequent and possibly dominant in the individuals of each occupational class. Nature could not but have asserted herself in selective mating, and then in assortative mating; and the foundation was laid of class heredity and the formation of classes. The non-Aryans coming into frequent contact and conflict accentuated the development of class feeling. We can imagine the repugnance of the Aryans to marry non-Aryan women and to give them a status similar to their own. Yet we may be sure, such matings were not infrequent, resulting in a race of cross-breeds. The transmissibility of skin-colour is still obscure. It seems racial colours blend in crosses, and though many intergrading colours exist, there is a tendency, often well-marked, to segregation. The intergrading colours are diluted colours, while the deeper colours are saturated colours of the same ingredient. Besides the colour there were certainly other characters which differentiated the non-Aryans from the Aryans. At least some

of these segregated, and by the Mendelian principle there were among the cross-bred an Aryan type, a non-Aryan type, and a mixed type. The 'dominants' and the 'recessives' could be easily assigned places; but what to do with the 'impure dominants' perplexed the Aryan sociologists. The purists were horrified at the uncertainty of blood caused by crossing, and vehemently condemned the creation of hybrids.

It was, however, too late in the day to retrace the steps. In spite of the denunciation the evil of fresh accession of hybrids to the society increased. When the number was small, the crosses did not attract much attention. Nor were they considered of much moment when an Aryan community came to a new place and remained in an unsettled state. With longer stay and growth of neighbourly feeling between the two races, an Aryan could persuade himself to accept a Sudra woman as his wife. Here was thus a fresh door opened for the formation of a race of half-breeds. At first these belonged to the fathers' family, and received their status. But, those who happened to resemble their non-Aryan mothers stood in the way of complete amalgamation. The idea of heredity took firm root, the importance of *gotra* or pedigree was recognised, and classes became castes of hereditary character.

A new custom arose. A man of a higher class was permitted to marry a woman of a lower class, even a Sudra woman, but not the reverse. The marriage of an Aryan male with a Sudra female was, however, discouraged. Some condemned their marriage, and the restriction reacted upon the three higher classes also. The result was that inter-class marriage became intra-class. There is some evidence to show that in spite of discouragement the regularity of the order was reversed and marriages between an inferior male and superior female used to take place, though not as frequently as marriages in the regular order. No case has yet been found in which the male was a Sudra, or even a Vaisya. There are many reasons to account for this remarkable state. The first is that the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas often competed for supremacy and became rivals. Marriage between equals takes place oftener than between unequals. As far as history goes, the Vaisyas, the mass of the Aryan population, never competed with the other Aryans for supremacy, but were contented with their occupation of traders and agriculturists. The Sudras were serfs and artisans and were never allowed to rise. The second reason is found in the pride of class, and the third in the theory of heredity to be explained later on.

Examples of marriages in the regular order are numerous, and such marriages are said to have occurred even as late as the 12th century A.D. But the status of the children was lowered from that of the father to that of the mother. The four classes were maintained. But those who were born of inferior male and superior

female could not be taken into the mothers' class. These were regarded as true hybrids and classed with the Sudras. The result of the union of a hybrid and a pure was regarded as worse. There would be only six classes of hybrids in the above sense; but the number of crosses between hybrids and pure and between hybrids and hybrids was large. In this way Manu explains the formation of various castes of various status. There is nothing improbable in the scheme which would apply only to the particular tracts known to him. As regards the people of other tracts he tells us to determine their caste by their occupation. On the whole it will be seen that rightly or wrongly the theory of heredity maintained by the law-givers was at the bottom of the caste system.

In the early period the castes were occupational; and none could marry within the *gotra*, one of the same lineage, but not without the caste. In later period the Hindu society was divided into *varnas* and castes, and the latter into various sections and sub-sections, based on occupation, geographical situation, and also on custom and forms of rituals accepted by them. The circle of choice of matches has thus been narrowed almost to a point undreamt of before. There has always been a third restriction common to all societies in varying degrees. The bride must not be within five degrees on the mother's and seven degrees on the father's side. This prohibition varied to some extent in different times and places. Thus in the Vedic age marriage was allowed between members of the third or fourth generation. Probably the effects of consanguineous marriages were perceived, and rigorous action was taken to prevent them. What is noticeable is the line drawn between the degrees on the mother's and the father's side, five on the former and seven on the latter. The male germ-cell is throughout supposed to be more potent than the female. Broadly speaking the Hindu society is divided into four *varnas* or classes, each *varna* into *jatis* or castes, each *jati* into *gotras* or lines, each *gotra* into *kulas* or families, etc., etc. Sudras have of course no *gotras* of their own, forming as they do a mixed population. Latterly they have claimed to belong to the *gotras* of their priests, forgetting the obvious anomaly of the scheme and proclaiming their own descent. Once, however, a *gotra* is acknowledged, there is no possibility of consanguineous marriage which might occur without it.

Having regard to the circumstances in which the Aryans found themselves, the division into classes, and classes into castes, was inevitable. We are apt to compare the past with the present, and to judge old customs and usages in the light of the present. But consider for a moment the long interval and the long distance the old Hindu society traversed,

the natural desire of consolidating the various element on the one hand and of freedom on the other, the undoubted spiritual and intellectual superiority of the Brahmans and equally undoubted inferiority of the Sudras, who could by their mere numerical strength swamp the Aryans, the ever-increasing mixed population and the Mendelian inheritance. No intellect can frame laws to suit all times. The caste system has defects, but none can be blind to its merits. The cult of each caste raised the people immensely in moral conscience, and turned the society into a confederacy of republics. The ancient law-givers framed laws to suit their society, and it is not their fault if their descendants choose to forget the altered circumstances and ignore the principle running through the institutions. These descendants have rather altered them by following some injunctions and discarding others. Take the case of intra-caste marriage. It is a form of inter-breeding, only on a large scale. It is doubtful if it secures the desired purity of line; but it tends undoubtedly to weaken the constitution, and, if long continued, to partial sterility. The Census Reports appear to confirm this physiological fact. It is said that Hinduization, which implies imitation of the practices of the higher castes, is accompanied by a reduction of fecundity and by an increase of longevity. This is, however, not peculiar to the Hindu Society. "It is a recognised fact that in most civilised societies of Europe the rate of increase is greater in the lower grades than in the higher. As a result the net fertility of the undesirables is greater than the net fertility of the normal types of the more capable classes." Take the Brahman population of Bengal. According to the last census it is about twelve lacs and a half only. It is easy to see that the rate of increase has been abnormally small or the Brahman population must have been a hundred only a thousand years ago, unless the population had swelled the ranks of non-Brahmans. Hindus instituted *Kulinism* in the belief that good qualities can be passed on. The belief is founded on fact. But there must be some means of stopping the flow of taints. *Kulinism* is practically in-breeding of selected types. But it is forgotten that this is successful up to a certain limit and soon reaches a uniform dead level from which descent is rapid unless rigorous selection is continually maintained. Mendelians tell us that the distinction of intra-racial and inter-racial heredity has no foundation in fact. What would they say to the supporters of the distinction of intra-caste and inter-caste heredity? The recognition of numerous subdivisions of a caste within which marriage is at present confined has also tended to the practice of inter-breeding to an extent undreamt of by the ancient law-givers. The loss of vigour and virility thus occasioned may be one of the important causes of the dying of the Hindus as a race.

(c) *Marry the fit.*

In the Vedic age marriage took place between persons of full development. There was then the free play of that human feeling which is called 'love', which guided the society in increasing its population. In the post-Vedic period we find mention of child marriage. But it is not to be supposed that this custom was universal. Manu describes eight different forms of marriage. Of these the *gandharva* and the *svayamvara* forms were true love-marriages. The marriage by capture was also not unknown. In his treatise on sex, Vatsayana expresses the opinion that for romantic love the bride should not be younger than the groom by more than three years. Eugenists believe that the most impulsive and instinctive unions, as often happen between degenerates and perverts, are most frequently the worst as regards progeny. Probably similar considerations led the Brahmans to make marriage more or less independent of the impulses of youth and to recognise the *prajapatya* form as most conducive to the well-being of the progeny. It is at present the only form of marriage in Hindu society; that based on a price for the bride being looked upon with discredit.

The so-called child-marriage was mainly confined to the Brahmans. The bride used to be a child of 8 to 12 years, but the groom a young man of 24 to 30. As a rule the age of the groom was three times the age of the bride. According to Susruta (*Sarira*, Chap. X.), an old medical writer of unbounded authority, a man on attaining the age of 24 years should marry a girl of 12. The elder Vagbhata (*Sarira*, Chap. I.) reduces the age of the youth to 21. Hence the so-called child-marriage is a half-truth. In the next place a girl wife did not necessarily mean a girl mother. Susruta (*Sutra*, Chap. XXXV.) tells us that a male attains manhood on reaching 25 years, and a female womanhood on reaching the age of 16 years, and a girl a mother before 15 brings death upon her (*Sarira*, Chap. X.). He adds that "if born a child does not live long, and if it lives, it remains a weakling." Some are of opinion that the age of puberty of girls was much higher than it is now. The fact seems to be that what goes by the name of marriage is really betrothal. The real marriage has lost its former importance, and the betrothal is mistaken for the marriage. It is to be noted that immature mothers and young mothers are not the same. Hindu society used to have young mothers, but not immature mothers. Whether young mothers are better for the race than old mothers is a question not yet studied by eugenists, though there appear to be some statistical data in favour of the former.

It is difficult to say what led the Brahmans to raise the marriageable age of young men.

I can put forward three hypotheses. The first is that the great disparity of age may have a biological significance in determining the sex and longevity of the offspring. Probably more male than female children are born, probably the family remains small. The second consideration depends on the period during which the parents remain fertile. According to Susruta (*Sutra*, Chap. XIV) the puberty of females commences after 12 and continues till 50. The child-bearing age of females may be taken to extend from the fifteenth to the fortyfifth year, i.e., for 30 years; while males remain virile up to a longer age, say, to sixty years. Therefore males marrying at 30 and females at 12, both the husband and the wife remain fruitful for the same period, they leading a life of continence afterwards. The third consideration depends upon the period of studentship. The young men if not of the Sudra caste, had to spend some years in the home of their preceptor or at a university, as there was at Taxila, for education. During the period they were not permitted to indulge in any form of sensual pleasure. The courses of study occupied some years, probably up to the ages 24 to 32, after which they returned home and married. The marriageable age could not therefore be less. It seems that this period for education was arrived at from a general plan of life. The duration of life was taken to be 100 years. Some, like Vatsayana, divides this into three equal portions, and assigns the first portion to the acquisition of knowledge, the second to that of wealth and to the gratification of desires, and the third to spiritual culture and virtuous acts. Manu and others divide the full space of five scores into four equal portions. There the period of studentship cannot be less than 25 years. The great disparity of age was probably meant only for the Brahmans. Thus we find in the Ramayana that Rama was married at 16, and his consort Sita being only 6 (Bala, Chap. 17 and Aranya, Chap. 47). Chanakya advises marriage of princes at 16. The Kshatriyas were allowed many licences which were denied to others, and the marriageable age varied in different times and in different circumstances.

The object of marrying a child-wife was to train her up in the family of the husband and to accustom her to the new environment. There is, however, a very important aspect of the child-marriage which has entirely escaped the attention of the critics. The marriage was not left to the whim of the children; their consent was never sought by their parents or other guardians, and these latter settled the match for them. There might occasionally have been marriages of convenience; but an examination of the details show that the society took upon itself the duty of finding suitable matches with the distinct object of producing fine people. Likes and dislikes, love at first sight and the hundred other impulses of youth had no

place. What can be stranger than crushing nature's youthful impulses? But it is a fact that the society did not countenance them but went forward to regulate marriage from the racial point of view. Marriage without fondness is of course a calamity; but the psychical aspect may prove stronger than the physical. There is selection, but no "sexual selection". Critics of eugenic marriage have said in the West that eugenisists wish them all to be "forcibly married by the police", and that they want to substitute for human marriage and parenthood "the methods of the stud farm." It seems the Hindus had long ago anticipated the modern eugenists and made a practical application of genetic principles to their own population. They adopted measures both for the extinction of the criminal and degenerate and for the persistence of strains regarded as desirable.

Let us hear what the *Grihya Sutras* say. "Let him first examine the family of the intended bride or bridegroom, those who are on the mother's and on the father's side. Let him give the girl to a young man endowed with intelligence. Let him marry a girl that shows the characteristics of intelligence, beauty and moral conduct, and who is free from disease." (*Asvalayana*). "Let him marry a girl of good family and character, with auspicious characteristics, and of good health. Good family, a good character, auspicious characteristics, learning and good health: these are the accomplishments of a bridegroom." (*Apastamba*). In every lawbook and in many Purans we are asked to select girls and youngmen of "auspicious characteristics" (*sulakshana*). In modern phraseology these are eugenic characteristics. Whether these were correctly ascertained or not is beside our purpose now. A vast literature appears to have been in existence, and Varaha (5th century) has long chapters which might be useful to the modern biometricians. For instance, he tells us to examine "the stature, weight, gait, joints, general physique, the colour of the eyes, palms, nails, &c., the brilliancy of the teeth and eyes, voice, the five characteristics, the shape of the face, the ten parts of the body, and clearness of complexion." Apparently there were experts in these matters of physical fitness, one of whom was Samudra, who had a school of his own. Similar directions are found in many Purans, as, for example, the *Garuda* and *Vishnu*, which served to disseminate the knowledge to the masses. The medical works of Charaka and Susruta have also many hints. Vatsayana treats of the subject from the sexual point of view.

Mankind was divided into various classes according to character. The well-known classification into three, known as the 'divine', the 'human' and the 'demonian' occurs in Charaka, Varaha, and others, though some have counted

four and others five classes. Varaha tells us that "persons of the 'divine' class are altruistic, mild, and affectionate; those of the 'human' class are always of good character, kind to their friends, and fond of music and ornaments (i.e., possess a fine æsthetic sense); and those of the 'demonian' class are ill-tempered, wicked, feeble-minded, degenerate, garrulous, dirty and fatty." It is said that when both the male and the female belong to the same class, the mating is the best; when the male belongs to the 'divine' class and the female to the 'human', the mating is second best; and that other combinations are incompatible. It appears that there were experts, probably like the present *ghatakas* or match-makers, who used to study family history and pedigree and advise people in the selection of suitable matches. It is no wonder that the aid of astrology was also invoked for the purpose. For mating, however carefully considered, is a leap into the unknown.

Manu declares that "a child may be given away in marriage before age if a youngman of excellent character, family and physique be found." On the other hand, "let the girl rather remain a maid all her life than be wedded to one devoid of good qualities." Manu enjoins the avoidance of the following kinds of families, even if they are great in other respects and wealthy, viz., those in which the usual good practices of life are conspicuous by their absence, in which no male children are born, in which the members are illiterate and do not study the Vedas, in which the members are very hairy, afflicted with hemorrhoids, tuberculosis, dyspepsia, epilepsy, white leprosy and leprosy. The commentator, Kulluka, adds that the diseases are transmitted and the progeny inherits the evils. Manu enjoins us to avoid the girls whose eyes are brown, hair tawny, body copiously hairy, who possess extra organs or other abnormalities, and who are invalids and rixens.

There may not be truth in the hereditary characters of the defects enumerated above, and some though heritable may not be ordinarily considered to be material to well-being. The intention was undoubtedly the improvement of the race by marriage between families inheriting good qualities and possessing good environment. The injunctions are stringent, and apparently many males and females had to remain single throughout their life. They lived in the society, yet were segregated for the purpose of population. It is likely that many swelled the ranks of the celebrities, the *sanyasis* and *yogis*.

III. HINDU THEORY OF HEREDITY.

A people who produced some of the master-minds of the world and were yet apparently fastidious even in the minor details of life could not but have speculated on the destiny of man. To the philosophers who maintained the thesis that whatever exists will exist, and whatever does not will not, the answer

was simple. A man is what he is, because he is born with certain potentialities which become manifest in the environment in which he lives. To be more precise, he is what he is on account of two factors, viz., (1) *daiva* or *karmasaya*, a natural tendency acquired by previous actions, and (2) *purushakara*, his present efforts. The first determines his birth, his individuality, his longevity and his ability, the qualities inherent in the germ-cells, and the second the environment. In other words, he is what he is because of heredity and environment. The Hindu philosophers maintain that both are essential for every work done by him. His effort is limited by his inherited capacity.

Manu (Chap. IX) as an ecclesiastic doctor has something to say in support of his laws. He compares the wife to soil and the husband to seed and maintains that all organisms are the product of the union of the two. When both are good, the product is the best. "Of the two," Manu tells us, "the seed appears to be more potent, since no organisms deviate from the character of the seeds. It is also seen that plant seeds sown in the same soil in the right seasons do not fail to grow up into plants resembling those which bore the seeds, but do not inherit the qualities of the soil. Like begets like, paddy begets paddy and never an oilseed like sesamum."

From this illustration it appears that Manu regarded the female germ as complementary to the male, the functions of the former being mainly nutritional and that of the latter of the nature of a determiner. He appears to have anticipated the modern view that the sluggish ovum is a store of nutritive material, and the active sperm cell is its antithesis. This doctrine, however, explains why Manu preferred intra-class marriage, and why, according to him, regular inter-class marriage is more desirable than marriage in the reverse order. Intra-class marriage is based on the general rule of marriage of equals. The consequence is more far-reaching than we commonly imagine. The rule goes against the mating of unequals, the fit and the unfit. It encourages the mating of two fit, and also even that of two unfit and leaves the consequence to the law of 'natural selection.' We are here not called upon to justify Manu's view of class or caste-heredity or to consider whether this has a foundation in fact. As regards inter-class or inter-caste marriage he probably argued that it is an abuse of national asset if the determiner is of inferior quality. None of the ancient writers were in favour of crosses between inferior, male and superior female.

It was, however, considered possible to make up for the undesirable strain of the female by successive addition of the desirable strain in the progeny. Thus Manu tells us that if a Brahman marries a Sudra wife and gets a daughter, and if the daughter marries a

Brahman and so on for six generations, the seventh in the line becomes a Brahman on account of the continued increase of excellence of the seed. Conversely, the offspring of a Brahman husband and a Sudra wife becomes a Sudra in the seventh generation if the successive descendants marry Sudra women. In the case of a Brahman marrying a Vaisya woman it takes five, and marrying a Kshatriya woman three generations either for a rise to the Brahman quality or a fall to the Vaisya and Kshatriya quality, respectively. In other words, the four classes of people represented four classes of characteristics in the order of 64, 16, 4, 1 from the highest to the lowest. If this be admitted and heredity of the class characters be true, Manu followed the advice of modern eugenicists and the practice of animal breeders, weakness in one being mated with strength in the other.

As regards the question of relative strength of nature and nurture the ancients were unanimous in the view that nature is more powerful. Manu tells us to marry in the best families in order that the progeny may grow better. But a girl born in an ignoble family but excellent in every respect may be married. In other words, the qualities of an individual are more essential than environment. Nature is supreme, like the natural colour of charcoal which cannot be changed by washing a hundred times. The imbecile will remain imbecile in spite of good home and education, and the incurable incurable in spite of asylums and hospitals. The view has so permeated the Hindu mind that notwithstanding its feeling of compassion for all creatures it regards charity to lepers as a sin, since there is no help and the sooner they disappear the better for them as well as for society.

But what led the Hindus to marry child wives? Not merely Manu and other socio-religious lawgivers, and politicians like Chanakya but medical authorities also have prescribed child marriage, limiting the age of the intended wife to 12. The reasons I have suggested before appear to me inadequate to explain the universality of the custom. We should therefore seek further explanation. Hindu parents have certainly preferred male to female children. The reason is obvious. Male children are useful to the parents. To the Hindus they are useful in this world as well as in the next, in the latter because they continue the race. Female children are useful only in the next world. Hindu parents literally give away their daughters as the highest gift that lies in them to make. It is a gift for the purpose of creation in the name of Prajapati, the Lord of peoples; and an eugenicist would say, a gift to the race. Such a gift must be spotless, or it becomes a sin. The girl must therefore be a virgin. The minimum age of puberty was found to be 12, which became the maximum

limit of the marriageable age. Some were not so sure, and reduced it to 10.

But this sanctity of gift could not have weighed heavily with the general population. We can understand the abhorrence one feels at the birth of an illegitimate child, and the solicitude of parents to preserve the natural spotlessness of their daughters. We can also understand how a fastidious race like the Hindus could be hypercritical in these matters of purity. But when we remember that the same race enjoined and gave religious sanction to a wife to get a son by a brother or a kinsman of the husband when the latter was either dead or incurably diseased, we pause and wonder and ask whether the explanation is correct. There must have been felt dire necessity for maintaining the population, if not for increasing it, and the loss of a single possible male was a matter of immense concern to the community. But the male to be born must be of the approved quality. The Levirate law ensured the procreation of the desirable. I wonder if the eugenic idea could go further. Stripped of religious ceremonies and consequent sanctity, Hindu marriage was in its essence purely eugenic, and savoured more of the methods of animal breeders than those of human beings. I think the Hindu ecclesiastical and medical doctors believed in telegony, "the supposed influence on the progeny of a female of a sire with which she had previously been mated. If, for instance, a pure-bred bitch is accidentally mated with a mongrel, it is said that she is spoiled for further breeding. That is, her future offspring by a male of her breed will tend to partake of the mongrel character." This belief is said to be widespread among practical breeders, though careful experiments have failed to substantiate it. Manu (Chap. IX) condemns adultery on various grounds, one of which is that the offspring of the union belongs to the husband and not to the adulterer, just as a deer shot by one belongs to him and not to another who may shoot the animal again. For according to Manu, the husband and the wife are one and the same. I think these and similar other statements imply more than what is on the surface, and possibly a belief in telegony.

While Manu gave a bare outline of the inheritance of specific characters and left the heredity of individual characters obscure, Hindu medical writers, as expected, elaborated a theory from their point of view. Thus, Charaka (*Sarira*, Chap. III), like the philosophers, maintain that birth is no other than unfolding of what already exists. The embryo may be said to be born as well as not-born. It is the result of the union of male and female seeds and of soul. Any one of the three is ineffectual. The male seed contains the essence of the whole body, each organ furnishing its quota (Chap. IV). Susruta (*Sarira*, Chap. IV) is more explicit, and states that the parental seed pervades the entire body just as fat does fresh mills

and sugar the juice of the sugarcane. It exists in the body in a subtle state just as the smell of a flower exists in its bud though it is not perceived (*Sutra*, Chap. XIV). The embryo just formed possesses all the organs; they are invisible on account of their minuteness, just as the fibres, pulp, stone and kernel of the ripe mango are not seen when the fruit is very young (*Sarira*, Chap. III). From these it is clear that, according to these authors, the parental seed is a complete whole, a man in miniature. As Charaka (*Sarira*, Chap. III) puts it, as the model of a man is obtained by casting molten metals in mould, the original being made of bees' wax, the future man is likewise present in the sperm cast in the mould of the ovum. So is the case with all animals.

But how to account for individual characters? And a question is asked in Charaka (*Sarira*, Chap. III), viz., How is it that the progeny of those who are stupid, blind, hump-backed, dumb, dwarf, deformed or crippled, insane, leprous, and of those who speak indistinctly through the nose and who are afflicted with white spots on the skin not always inherit these characters? The reply is that, though the seed contains all the organs potentially, none of the characters can appear in the children unless it is afflicted. The particular character must be present in the seed before it can be transmitted. The presence or absence of any of these is determined by "destiny". The physical body is not the only thing to be considered. There is soul regulating the sense organs and the mind, and there are actions of previous births which are unknown.

Leaving aside for the present the spiritual aspect of the question, the Hindu theory goes far beyond Weismann's theory of the continuity of the germplasm, and reads almost like the theory of unit characters. It was not worked up in detail; but there was the basis in the axiom that nothing can either be created or destroyed. The medical men did not deny the inheritance of certain diseases and deformities. Susruta (*Sutra*, Chap. XXIV), for instance, mentions leprosy, hemorrhoids, &c., as hereditary, but not invariably. That part of the seed—shall we say that factor?—which is diseased or abnormal produces a similar state in the offspring in its corresponding part (Charaka, *Sarira*, Chap. IV). It is, however, noticeable that the medical writers gave a subordinate place to the ovum, and that they did not absolutely deny the inheritance of "acquired characters".

The Hindus went further and held a theory on the sex-determination of the fertilised ovum. They attacked the problem from three different sides. Firstly, the ovum is supposed to remain in unstable equilibrium, alternately tending to the male and female side until the sperm acts as a stimulus which sets the ovum dividing and determines the sex of the offspring. In modern phraseology, there is the rhythm of metabolism

even in the ovum as in the sex differences between males and females. It is said that the tendency to the male takes place on every alternate day. Susruta adds that ripeness of the ovum is beneficial to the offspring. The second theory states that the dominant character of the germ-cells determines sex. Charaka explains this by saying that it means the relative condition of the parents, general mildness favouring the birth of a daughter and the opposite a son. Unfortunately the genetics of sex is still surrounded with mystery, and it is not for us possible either to deny or to accept the hypothesis. It means, however, that the female contains a factor which makes her female and the male another factor which makes him male, and that the distribution of character is influenced by these unlike factors. In other words, maleness or femaleness is associated with particular physical and mental characters. The latter are not as permanently stable as the former. They vary, and the variations indicate corresponding variations in the germ-cells or the male and female factors. If this interpretation be correct, Charaka seems to hold that the dominance of either of the factors influences the sex of the offspring. This view, though conjectural, may not be incorrect. As far as investigations have gone the evidence of biology is conflicting, Charaka has, however, no doubt regarding his theory. He says that the dominance of sex elements determines sex, and that the sex elements are to some extent modifiable. The third theory is based on a belief that desire or willforce and proper nutrition of the mother can stimulate the fertilized ovum either to maleness or to femaleness. There was a similar belief among other old nations that the imaginations of a pregnant mother may have a visible effect on the body and mind of the offspring. While Mendelians leave to the view that sex like any other character is due to a definite unit or determiner, Hindu physiologists were of opinion that the view is partially true. European physiology regards an individual as a machine worked by chemico-physical forces only. Hindu physiology is not merely vitalistic but invokes spirit to explain the genesis of higher faculties, the behaviour of life as a complex. Hindus can never understand the machine theory without a machinist working through every part of the machine. Charaka maintains that the uniting cells are part causes of the origin of an individual. The other causes are a particular state of the parents' body, proper nutrition to develop the embryo, mind to correlate the physical body of the embryo with the psyche, and soul which imparts life and a latent consciousness which develops with the age of the individual. Once these are admitted, a belief in the possibility of modifying the character of the embryo according to our desire is merely a corollary. Indeed there are reasons to believe that in some animals at least nutrition and sex are correlated. Charaka and other Hindu writers

believed that the quality or nature of food can influence some of the tissues of the body. There is a general dictum that the effect is similar to the cause. Besides the effect of nutrition of the mother and other causes, Charaka was of opinion that there are sex-dominants. For example, hair, nail, bone, teeth, blood vessels and ligaments and sperm are inherited from the male; and skin, muscles, blood, fat and certain internal organs from the female. Susruta (*Sutra*, Chap. XXIV) states that a child becomes crippled, blind, deaf, dumb, dwarf, &c., on account of injurious nurture of the pregnant mother. The diet, conduct and movements not only of the mother but of the father also during the time preceding conception materially influence the child. As a plant grows healthy and strong when a fully developed seed is sown in the proper season in a soil supplied with nutrients, the same four factors make a boy handsome, strong and long-lived, and worthy of the parents.

The Hindus believed in the transmigration of souls and therefore found no difficulty in explaining the inequality of birth, the different stations occupied by individuals in life, the instinct of self-preservation and fear of death common to all, the instinct of animals and even of just born babies, the appearance of genius and a host of similar problems which Neo-Darwinians and Mendelians leave untouched.

IV. NURTURAL EUGENICS.

The Hindu physiologists did not leave the growth of the embryo to chance. Physicians prescribed post-embryonic rules of hygiene and religious lawgivers elaborated them in rituals. The birth of an individual, the first quickening of a new life, is an event of supreme moment calling forth an amount of preparation on the part of the parents which it is difficult for us now to conceive. The making of a new life is not less tremendous than the taking of one. The sanctity of birth is not due to its mystery. It is due to something divine in it. The series of ten ceremonies commencing with the expectation of motherhood and ending with the preparation for fatherhood plainly show the depth of anxious care Hindu parents took on the line of nurtural eugenics. Here is first the ceremony of *garbhadhana*, for securing a conception, or receiving an embryo. After due performance of certain rites, the husband says to the wife: "Given birth to a male child: may after him another male be born; their mother shalt thou be, of the born, and to others mayst thou give birth." (*Sankhayana Grihya Sutra*). The Hindu physicians insisted on a course of preparation by the parents and laid down rules for their guidance. In the third month after conception, on the first signs of vitality in the embryo, there is the ceremony of *pumsavana* for the production of a male child as desired by the parents. In the fourth month there is the ceremony of *garbha-rakshana*, for the protec-

tion of the embryo. A month or two after, there is the ceremony of *simantonnayana*, literally, the parting of the hair of the pregnant woman. The character of the ceremony is better understood by the Bengali name *sadh-bhakshana*, the gratification of the desires of the expectant mother. After the husband has cooked a mess of sacrificial food containing sesamum and *mudga* beans and sacrificed to Prajapati, the Lord of peoples, he says to her: "What dost thou see?" She answers: "Offspring." She eats the food herself and Brahman women sitting by her side pronounce, "A mother of valiant sons." Nowadays an equally nutritious food known as *panchamrita*, the five divine foods, is offered to her. It is a mixture of milk, *dahi*, butter, honey and sugar. From Susruta it appears that the five foods should be taken in the first five months, one in each month. The husband says: "May the Ordainer give to His worshipper further life and safety: may we obtain His favour whose laws are truthful." The modern Hindus have mostly forgotten the significance of these ceremonies as well as the hygienic rules which were prescribed by their physicians in order to secure the well-being of the mother and the child and to impart to it vigour, intelligence, health, fine taste, and so on, by a systematic course of treatment. But nurture is not yet over with the birth of the child; there are other ceremonies until the child reaches the age of studentship. This for a Brahman was the 8th year, for a Kshatriya the 10th, and for a Vaisya the 12th. Education was compulsory for the three *varnas*. The boy must be led to a teacher, and until the sixteenth year the time has not passed for a Brahman, until the twenty-second for a Kshatriya, and until the twenty-fourth for a Vaisya. If the youngman is so unfortunate as not to sit at the feet of a preceptor, he becomes an outcast. If he is fortunate, he returns home after completing a course of studies and of self-denying practices and becomes the house-holder and father in his turn. For a man is born with three kinds of obligations, *viz.*, to his Gods, to his ancestors and to his fellow-beings. He discharges his obligation to Gods by worship and meditation, his obligation to ancestors by begetting a son and educating him, and his obligation to fellow-beings by performing acts of charity and hospitality. None can escape the three-fold obligations. As a householder he is the *pati*—the lord of the house, and his wife, the *patni*—the lady. She is the mistress in her husband's home and partakes in his religious duties. She is half the husband and completes him. It is seen that, though polygamy was

allowed, monogamy was approved. Even the polygamous King was obliged to recognise the first married wife as the queen. It is also seen that, though violent invectives have been hurled against the frailties of women, the family in which they are not honoured is deserted by the Gods and goes to ruin. So says Manu.

V. CONCLUSION.

Such was, in brief, the general trend of Hindu eugenics as adopted in practice two thousand years ago. It encouraged parenthood, nay, made it obligatory on pain of incurring the displeasure of ancestors, but checked unfit parenthood by means of religious and ecclesiastical laws and by the creation of public opinion against it. The marriage of a girl was a sacred gift made by the parents to a man worthy to receive it, and if it were a religious gift, it must have been faultless. Adolescence is preparation for parenthood. It is the period when youths must learn and exercise self-control. He was, therefore, compelled to live in the family of his preceptor where racial poison such as alcoholism and sex-disease could find no entrance. So much for natural eugenics. The Hindus, like many other ancient people, seem to have excelled in nurtural eugenics. The special ceremonies connected with the advent of the unborn and the subsequent nurture both of the born and the mother raise their part of eugenics to the plane of religion. The parents are made to feel at every step their responsibility in rearing with anxious care the man who is to continue the race. The injunctions are sacred; sacred in the belief that every baby is not merely human, but divine also.

It is not my purpose to pass judgment, even if I were competent, on the time-honoured practices collected in this paper. I cannot, however, resist the temptation of asking: How is it that the Brahmans, who had thought out an admirable scheme of life and put it into practice, degenerated and brought upon themselves the miseries of the *Kali* era, the Iron age, which they themselves portrayed in sombre colours? The tree is judged by its fruit. There must have been a screw loose somewhere in the social economy. The other question which strikes me is: Is the marriage as it takes place at present eugenic? Can there be any realisation of the objects of eugenics when the choice of young men is determined by money? It is well to remember that the inexorable law of 'natural selection' has not ceased to operate.

J. C. RAY.

RAKSHA BANDHAN

A piece of silken tassel tipped with gold,
 Tied round the wrist by loving sister's hands
 A sacred day in *Sravan*, when the lands
 Are bathed in welcome rain, is said to hold
 A potent charm for good. From days of old
 This pretty faith has come and happy bands
 Of brothers still pay heed to its commands
 One day each year. Who will be rashly bold
 And flout this festival as void of worth,
 An ancient mummery to which man shows
 His slavish piety? Let him, who knows
 Of beings more devoted than the fair,
 Of wishes purer than a sister's care
 And stronger powers than woman's love on earth.

Benares. P. SESHADRI.

THE LAST HINDU KING OF SYLHET

LONG after the fall of the valiant Chauhan, ages after the dismemberment of the Empire of the proud Gahadavala, centuries after the fall of the degenerate Pala and the Southern Sena, the little Hindu kingdom of Sylhet continued to preserve its independence in the extreme east of Northern India. Very little is known about its rulers and the story of its fall is equally shrouded in mystery.

So long as the later Senas continued in Eastern Bengal, the kingdom of Sylhet was safe from the attacks of the Mussulman rulers of Bengal. The Sena dynasty came to an end in the second decade of the fourteenth century of the Christian era, during the reign of Sultan Shamsuddin Firoz Shah of Bengal, who was a grandson of the Emperor Ghiyas-uddin Balban of Delhi. Secure in the possession of the whole of Bengal the independent Sultans of Bengal turned their attention to the

kingdoms of the east of the Brahmaputra. In the north, the Hindu kingdom of Assam had fallen, in the thirteenth century, an easy prey to the barbarian Shan tribes. To the south, Chittagong had fallen before the semi-civilized barbarians of Rakaing or Arakan, both of whom had repelled Muhammadan inroads with great vigour. The little Hindu principality of Sylhet lay isolated and seemed to be an easy prey. But the men of the valley of the Surama resisted the advance of the conquerors of India with great vigour and succeeded in maintaining their independence till the eighth decade of the fifteenth century.

The History of the downfall of the great Northern kingdoms is still but imperfectly known. Hitherto, Historians of India had relied entirely on the statements of Muhammadan Historians which are very meagre, full of the grossest exaggerations and, like the historical

narratives of all conquering nations, full of bias. The result was that the earlier histories of the Muhammadan conquest are one-sided and therefore incomplete. Want of corroborative evidence has made it difficult to ascertain the proper value of the evidence of Muhammadan historians. This data is being recovered very slowly from a tangled mass of Epigraphical and Numismatical evidence. This period of transition, that of the fall of the great Northern monarchies of India, is full of pitfalls for the historian. The incautious and the unwary have been caught in them as the historical works of an earlier generation prove. The necessity of corroborative evidence has been felt of late. Such evidence existed in the country side by side with the great store of historical works produced by Indian Muhammadans. As most of this evidence is contemporary in nature with the political events which they prove or signify, they are not open to the charge of being interpolations or modern fabrications.

In the present case the sole evidence consists of a little silver coin which had existed in the cabinet of a learned Society, perhaps for over a century and in that of the Imperial Museum of the country for over a decade, without its proper value being recognised. It has been catalogued and described by a renowned historian and numismatist whose ignorance of the ancient alphabet of North-Eastern India led him astray and induced him to describe it as a coin of the Kadamba princes of Goa. Before this coin is described the data about the conquest of the Hindu kingdom of Sylhet should be analysed. Sometime ago a Musalman Munsiff of Sylhet summarised the evidence in a little book called the *Suhail-i-Yaman*. It was based on two earlier works : The *Risalat* of Muhaiuddin Khadim and the *Rauzat-us-Salatin* or "the tombs of kings" and was composed in 1859.

Munsiff Nasiruddin's work confines itself mostly to the life and miracles of Shah Jalal, the patron saint of Sylhet. The information about the Muhammadan conquest of Sylhet can be gleaned from its pages as

the saint himself was concerned personally with the fall of this last stronghold of Hindu kings in Northern India. A summary of the *Suhail-i-Yaman* was published about half a century ago by Dr. James Wise of Dacca in the pages of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XLII, pt. I, 1873, pp. 278-81). The information which can be gathered from Dr. Wise's summary has been used in all historical accounts about the conquest of Sylhet by the Musalmans.

In a part of the city of Sylhet, called Muhallah Toltakar, lived a Muhammadan named Burhanuddin. How a Muhammadan came to be allowed to live in the city of Sylhet in that age, when the borderland between a Hindu and a Muhammadan Kingdom used to be a sort of no man's land and when there was not much toleration among the votaries of either faith, is very difficult to understand. It also puzzled the historian Muhaiuddin at the unknown age when he composed his *Risalat*. Muhaiuddin tries to explain this difficulty by stating that this solitary believer in the Muhammadan faith must have been the member of some Hindu family, a statement which is exceedingly difficult to believe, because, so far as the progress of Muhammadanism in India is known, very few Indians voluntarily embraced the Musalman faith before the final conquest of any part of the country. But whatever be the value of this tradition in the eye of the critical scholar, we have to take it as we receive it. There was this Burhanuddin, a Musalman residing in the Hindu city of Sylhet, in the Hindu kingdom of Sylhet. Burhanuddin had made a vow that if he was blessed with a son he would sacrifice a cow. A son being born, he performed his vow, but as bad luck would have it, a kite carried off a portion of the flesh and dropped it in the house of a Brahman. The incensed Brahman went to Gaur Gobind, the king of Sylhet and complained. The king sent for Burhan and the child ; and on the former confessing that he had killed a cow, the child was ordered to be put to death, and the right hand of the father cut off.

So went the legend among Muhammadans when the otherwise unknown historian Muhaiuddin chronicled it faithfully. A very large portion of it appears to consist of later fabrication. In the first place it was impossible for a Muhammadan to live undisguised in an unconquered Hindu State (I mean a Hindu State which not having been defeated by any Muhammadan army treated Muhammadan subjects according to the Hindu Law of Crimes, as the king's judgment on Burhanuddin testifies) for any length of time. He would be regarded with suspicion and either killed by an infuriated people or as a spy. In the second place, I consider it almost impossible for a single man to slaughter a cow. A cow is not a goat. The killing is attended with struggle and noise, which is likely to attract a good deal of attention in a Hindu city. In the third place it cannot be believed for a moment that a piece of beef carried by a kite and dropped in a Brahman's house could be recognised as beef by a Hindu in those days. I dare say it is impossible to regard a fifteenth century Brahman as a connoisseur of good beef. The tradition recorded at some unknown period by the historian Muhaiuddin, unless it is entirely a fabrication, suggests the following probabilities :

(1) That Burhanuddin was a Muhammadan spy residing in disguise in Sylhet.

(2) That he sacrificed a cow to provoke hostilities.

The vow and the punishment are either contemporary falsehoods or later fabrications.

The chronicler continues :

"Burhanuddin left Sylhet and proceeded to the court of Gaur. The king on hearing what had occurred ordered his nephew Sultan Sikandar to march at once towards the Brahmaputra and Sunargaon with an army.

"When news reached Sylhet that an army was approaching, Gaur Gobind, who was a powerful magician, assembled a host of devils and sent them against the invaders. In the battle that ensued the Muhammadans were routed and Sultan Sikandar with Burhanuddin fled. The prince wrote to his uncle informing him of the defeat and of the difficulties met with in waging war with such foes. The monarch on receiving the news gathered together the astro-

logers and conjurers and ordered them to prophesy what success would attend a new campaign. Their reply was encouraging and Nasiruddin Sipahsalar was directed to march with a force to the assistance of Sultan Sikandar. The reinforcement however did not restore courage to the Muhammadan soldiery and it was decided to consult with Shah Jalal who with 360 Darweshes was waging war on his own account with the infidels. The Sultan and Nasiruddin proceeded to the camp of the saints where the Shah encouraged them by repeating a certain prayer and promised to join their army and annihilate the hitherto victorious army of devils."

The advance of this army of saints was irresistible. The devils could not prevail against them and Gaur Gobind driven from one position to another at last sought refuge in a seven-storied temple in Sylhet which had been built by magic. The invaders encompassed this temple and Shah Jalal prayed all day long. His prayers were so effective that each day one of the stories fell in and on the fourth day Gaur Gobind yielded on the promise of being allowed to leave the country.

"The terms agreed to, Gaur Gobind retired to the mountains (Kohistan)."

So runs the chronicle. Modern analysis of this story yielded the following facts :

(1) At the time of the conquest of Sylhet by the Muhammadans, Shah Jalal, the patron saint of Sylhet, was waging a religious war (*Jihad*) on his own account against the infidels of the country. This helps us to clear the mystery connected with Burhanuddin's residence in the Hindu town of Sylhet. Burhanuddin was the spy engaged by the holy Darweshes to reside in the Hindu capital and to report on the state of the country, its defences, etc. He was most probably a Hindu renegade who spoke the dialect of the district. The cow-slaughter was a deliberate act to provoke war. Even now the sacrifice of cows is prohibited by many Hindu States in India. The holy darweshes seem to have found it difficult to prosecute the religious war against the infidels of Sylhet and to have resorted to this little stratagem to enlist the sympathies of the Sultan of Bengal whose capital was at Gaur.

The admitted defeat of Sultan Sikandar,

the nephew of the Sultan of Bengal, shows that the Darweshes had found no mean foe in king Gaur Gobind, as Muhaiuddin spells his name. Whenever and wherever a Muhammadan army has been crushingly defeated by an enemy of another faith the charge of witchcraft and devil-worship has been brought against him by all historians of the Muhammadan faith. So the charge of witchcraft against the last Hindu king of Sylhet is not to be wondered at. The Sylhet army defeated the first Musalman army from Gaur as it had repulsed the attacks of the fanatical Darweshes and their retinue of the East Bengal plains. One should not pin his faith on Muhaiuddin's statement that the Pir Shah Jalal waged *Jihad* against the Kafirs of Sylhet with three hundred and sixty Darweshes. Along with these Darweshes was an entire army of renegades and free lances which was commanded by these religious zealots. Neither the expeditionary force from Gaur nor the holy army was by itself capable of making any headway against that redoubtable infidel king Gaur Gobind of Sylhet. Shah Jalal of Yaman was possessed of an acuteness rare among religious zealots. By a little stratagem he united the armies and thus conquered Sylhet. The Hindu army had been worn out by constant fighting and when the second expeditionary force from Gaur united with the holy army led by Shah Jalal and the Faquirs, it failed to withstand their onslaught. On all sides they were surrounded by uncouth Barbarians who would not stir to help them but would be glad to see them extirpated. I mean the Burmese tribes of the east, the Shans of Assam and most probably the Tipras of the south-east. So they shut themselves up in their stronghold which contained a steep temple. Here also the acute Shah Jalal came to the aid of the besieging Muhammadans. By the same stratagem he worked upon the imagination of his army, viz., witchcraft, and then he found the antidote for it and immersed himself for a whole day in prayers. The result was favourable for the besiegers. They were able to press the besieged very hard. Some cause, want of men, or

scarcity of food or drink, compelled the last Hindu king of Sylhet to capitulate. He was allowed to march out and proceed unmolested to the hills. This act of clemency was a notable act on the part of a Muhammadan army in the fifteenth century in a case where the vanquished were unbelievers. The statement bears the stamp of truth and proves the stoutness of the defence as well as the inability of the invaders to visit the vanquished with their usual clemency. Thenceforth Gaur Gobind passes out of vision.

Munsiff Nasiruddin fails to supply us with two important details, viz., the name of the Sultan of Bengal who sent two expeditions to conquer the distant land of Sylhet and the date of its conquest. At the end of his summary, Dr. James Wise tries to supply these details. He states :

"Again according to the legends still preserved in Sylhet the district was wrested from Gour Gobind, the last king of Sylhet, by king Shamsuddin in 1384 A.D. or 786 A.H. during the reign of Sikandar Shah, whilst King Shamsuddin can only refer to Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah, Sikandar's father." (J.A.S.B., old series, Vol. LXII, 1873, pt. I, p. 281)

Sikandar was the name of the son of Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah and not that of his nephew. Again, if Sylhet was conquered during the reign of Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah, it becomes impossible to place that event in 786 A.H.=1384 A.D., which year fell within the reign of his son Sikandar. Therefore the date of the conquest of Sylhet according to the legends of that country is not reliable. More than one independent Sultan of Bengal bore the *Kunya* of Shamsuddin.

(1) Shamsuddin Firoz Shah, grandson of the emperor Balban—702-22 A.H.—1302-22 A.D.

(2) Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah, founder of the two dynasties called Ilyas-Shahi—740-59 A.H.—1339-58 A.D.

(3) Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah, grandson of Raja Kans and the last king of his dynasty—835-46 A.H.—1431-42 A.D.

(4) Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah of the second Ilyas Shah dynasty—879-87 A.H.—1474-82 A.D.

(5) Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah, one of the Abyssinian impostors who was

called Sidi Bader Diwana—896-899 A.H.—1490-93 A.D.

The oldest Muhammadan inscription discovered in Sylhet is to be found on one of the Masjids built on four sides of the tomb of Pir Shah Jalal at Sylhet. The inscribed surface is partly concealed in the masonry. It was deciphered and published by Blochman, according to whom it records the erection of a *Masjid* by a noble whose titles only are given and who appears to have been one of the ministers (*dastur*) during the reign of King Yusuf Shah, son of Barbak Shah, son of Mahmud Shah. We know from the *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* that this Yusuf Shah had the *Kunya* of Shamsuddin and was the son of Rukn-uddin Barbak Shah, who again was the son of Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah of the Second Ilyas Shahi dynasty of Bengal. Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah reigned from 1474-1482 A.D. As he was the first independent Sultan of Bengal whose inscription has been found in the district of Sylhet and as he bore the *Kunya* of Shamsuddin, I was led to believe that the conquest of the Hindu kingdom of Sylhet was achieved during his reign. The discovery of the coin in question has provided the corroborative evidence which was needed to prove my tentative theory to be a historical fact. (*History of Bengal*, vol. II.)

The coin in question is a small round silver coin weighing 37·8 grains and measuring 68 of an inch in diameter. It belongs to the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. As the published catalogue of the coins of the Indian Museum, with which the coin collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was amalgamated some time ago, does not give any information about the find-spots of coins, it is needless to worry about that. It must have been added to the cabinet of the Asiatic Society some time before 1903 when the collections of coins were amalgamated. In the first volume of the catalogue of coins of the Calcutta Museum compiled by Mr. V. A. Smith, this coin has been described as an issue of Vishnuchittadeva of the Kadamba dynasty of Goa. In a footnote Mr. Smith records

that both of the coins assigned to this prince in the catalogue had been examined by Dr. E. Hultzsch, formerly Government Epigraphist, but that the king's name has not been deciphered fully on either (*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, Vol. I, p. 314, Section III, the Kadamba Chiefs of Goa, no. 2, pl. XXX, 6).

My friend and former colleague Pandit Binod Bihari Bidyabinod drew my attention to the discrepancy between the description given in the catalogue and the actual specimen. There was very little doubt about the fact that one and the same coin had been examined and described by Messrs. Hultzsch and Smith as the coin itself had been figured (Pl. XXX, 6). Pandit Binod Bihari Bidyabinod told me that his attention was drawn specially to this coin because the legend on it was entirely in ancient Bengali characters. In the same volume of the catalogue Mr. V. A. Smith has described large numbers of coins of the North-Eastern Frontier of India, the legends on which are in ancient Bengali characters, e. g., the Ahom dynasty of Assam, the kings of Tippera, etc. The coin in question is allied to the only coin of the Hindu kings of Tippera that has been published in that catalogue, viz., that of Ramagangamanikya, which however has been read as Ramsimhamanikya. (I. M. cat. I, p. 308, pl. XXIX, 16.) In fact when the discrepancy between the description in the catalogue and the original specimen was pointed out to me, I took the coin to be a coin of Tippera. The obverse has a lion walking and the date below its feet, while the reverse bears the name of the king in ancient Bengali characters arranged in three lines.*

Obverse.

1. Sri-Sri-Gu-
2. rugovi
- nda-devah

Reverse

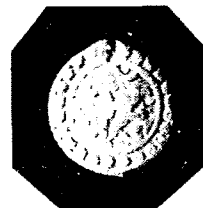
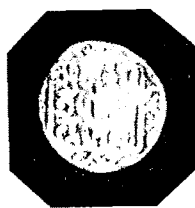
Saka 1402

* I am indebted to Pandit B. B. Bidyabinod for the correct reading of the second syllable of the king's name. I had read it as Guna Govinda but he corrected me and pointed out the syllable was *ru* and not *na*.

So far as is known about the kings of Tippera there was no Gurugovindadeva in Saka 1402=1480 A. D. No other Gurugovinda is known in the North-Eastern-Provinces of India in the fifteenth century A. D. Then it struck me that the form Gaur-govind may be a Muhammadan distortion of the correct name Gurugovinda. In Persian transliteration Guru is written as G(*Gaf*) u(*waw*) r(*re*) u(*waw*) – Guru. The Perso-Arabic letter *waw* denotes o, u and au in Sanskrit transliteration. Most probably the last *waw* of Guru was dropped in some manuscript and the rest of the name has since been spelt as Gaur instead of Guru. This identification of Gaur Gobind of the legend and of Munsif Nasiruddin's Suhail-i-Yaman and the Guru Govinda of the coin is further supported by the date on the coin and the Sylhet inscription of the time of Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah. The date on the coin Saka 1402=1480 A. D. =884-85 *Anno Hijri* falls within the reign of Sultan Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah, son of Sultan Ruknuddin Barbak Shah of the second Ilyas-Shahi dynasty of Bengal. The latest Epigraphic date of this Sultan is 885 A. H. (Ravenshaw's *Gaur, its ruins and inscriptions*, p. 55, note).

According to Ferishta, Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah died in 887 A. H. =1482 A.D.

As at least one inscription of Yusuf has been discovered in Sylhet, it is certain that Sylhet was added to the kingdom of Bengal sometime before 1482 A.D. On this basis I had stated in my *History of*



A Coin of the Last Hindu King of Sylhet.

Bengal before the *rediscovery* of this coin that Sylhet was conquered during the reign of Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah. The date on the coin proves that Guru Govinda was a contemporary of Sultan Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah. Therefore, very little doubt remains about the identity of Gurugovindadeva of the coin and Gaur Govinda of the legend and the Suhail-i-Yaman. As the coin proves that Gurugovinda was alive and reigning in Saka 1402=1480 A.D., therefore the conquest of the independent kingdom of Sylhet or Srihatta was achieved sometime between 1480 and 1482 A.D.

R. D. BANERJI,

THE AMERICAN FARMER AND THE GOVERNMENT

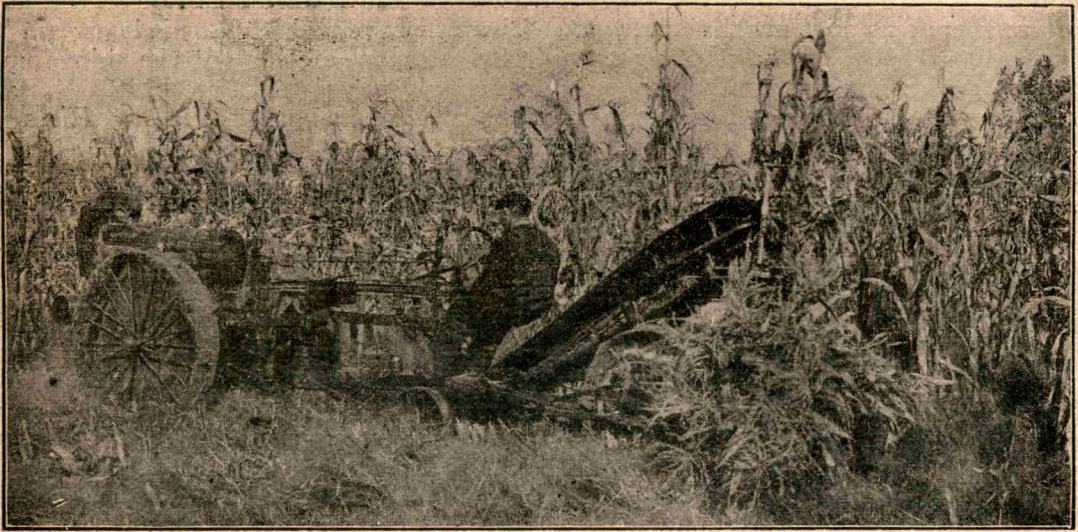
BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph.D.

Lecturer in Political Science, State University of Iowa.

ONCE more the thrice-welcome summer is here. The click of the reaping and the hum of the harvesting machines resound through the countryside. Everywhere in agricultural America there are convincing signs of great progress and prosperity.

"How do American farmers become so prosperous?" you ask an average citizen of the United States, and he will give, nine

times out of ten, just one answer. He will say that the simple secret of their prosperity is their willingness to employ approved labor-saving methods of agriculture, their ability to use modern farm machinery. That the American farming is thoroughly mechanized is well-known in India; but the fact that is not always fully appreciated is the government co-operation with the farmer at every step. Let me therefore

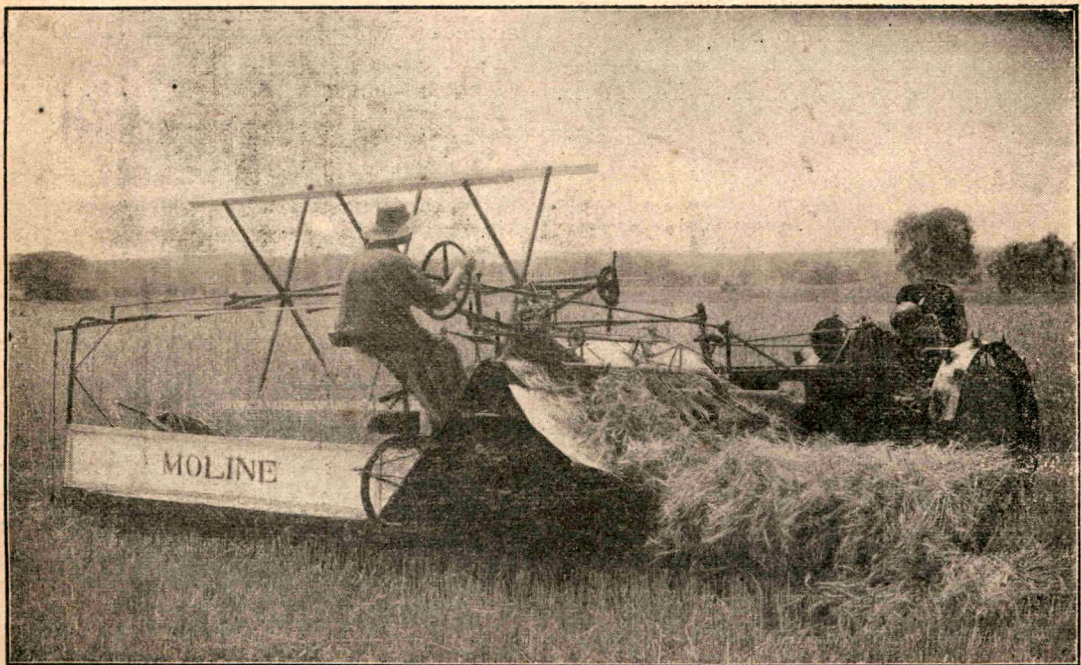


Harvesting Corn with the Moline Tractor and Moline Corn Binder.
The Moline tractors are manufactured in Moline, Illinois, U. S. A.

give a brief sketch of some of the most important phases of this government activity.

In order to offer most substantial en-

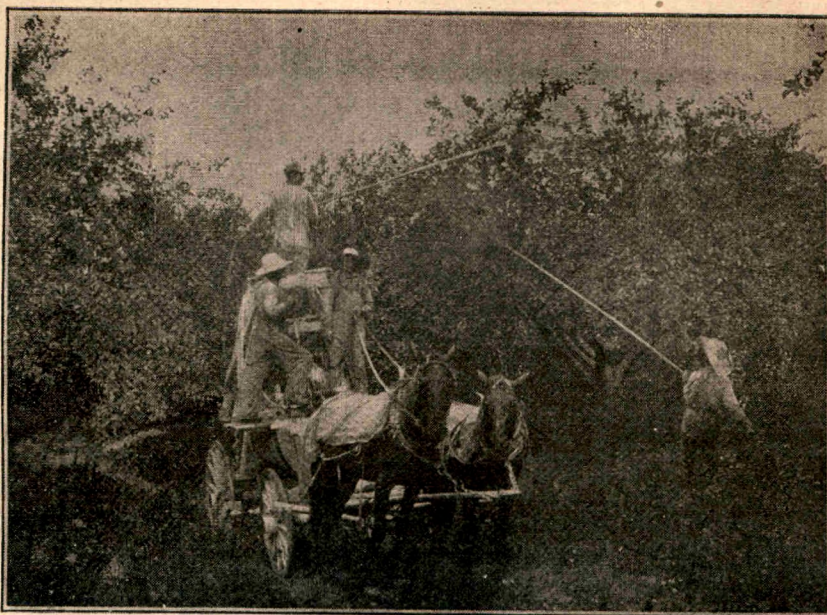
couragement to agricultural pursuits, the Federal Government has established the Department of Agriculture. It is manned by an enormous staff of about twenty-



Moline Grain Binder harvesting thirty acres in 10 hours.
One man handles the entire machine much easier than horses.

thousand people, and its expenses run well over twenty-one million rupees a year. But how does the Department help the farmer? It tries to aid him by "making research into all the sciences of production" and by spreading the "gospel of good farming." Statisticians tell us that every year twenty-five million copies of bulletins, circulars, and reports on agriculture are distributed gratis.

Moreover, there are over sixty agricultural experiment stations in America which are engaged in co-operating with the Department of Agriculture in propagating agricultural instruction. The work of these experiment



Hand Power Tank Outfit Used in Spraying Experiments and Demonstrations by Bureau of Entomology in Virginia.

The diseases to which they are severally subject, with remedies for the same ;

The chemical composition of useful plants at their different stages of growth ;

The comparative advantages of rotative cropping as pursued under a varying series of crops ;

The capacity of new plants or trees for acclimatisation ;

The analysis of soils and water ;

The chemical composition of manures, natural or artificial, with experiments designed to test their comparative effects on crops of different kinds ;

The adaptation and value of grasses and forage plants ;

The composition and digestibility of the different kinds of food for domestic animals ;

The scientific and economic questions involved in the production of butter and cheese ;

And as far as practicable, all such stations are required to devote a portion of their work to the examination and classification of the soils of the various states with a view to securing more extended knowledge and better development of their agricultural possibilities.



Illustrating the artificial propagation of certain parasitic insects, at Glendale, Cal., for distribution to and colonization at distant points.

stations, as summarized by H. C. Gauss in *The American Government*, is as follows :

To conduct original researches or verify experiments on the physiology of plants and animals ;

The work of the Department of Agriculture is divided into a number of bureaus. One of the most interesting bureaus of this Department is the Bureau of Plant Industry. It is constantly on the look-out for new crops. Its scientific agents are carefully combing the world for new and improved varieties of fruits, vegetables, grains, trees



Liberating the imported parasites of alfalfa weevil in the alfalfa fields in Utah.

and shrubs which are suitable to different locations in this country. Not many years ago America had to buy rice from abroad; but with the creation of the Bureau of Plant Industry, the situation changed. Its agents secured oriental types of rice better suited to the sub-tropical climate of the southern states of Texas and Louisiana. At present America raises enough rice not only for her home consumption, but for sale to other rice-growing countries.

Another great service of the bureau has been the introduction of dumrum wheat from Siberia. And thereby hangs a tale. For years the wheat crop in the great plains of America had suffered from the lack of sufficient rain. The problem then was to search out a species of hardier wheat

that would grow in this region of light rainfall. American scientific agents went all over the world. At last one of them was able to find the dumrum wheat growing in the great steppes of Siberia, where the rainfall was no more than in the American great plains. Considerable quantities of the seed were exported to the United States, and presently the Siberian wheat was growing lustily in Montana, Colorado, Dakota, Nebraska, and other States. It has now become a great American crop. Today the cultivation of dumrum brings American farmers over ninety million rupees a year.

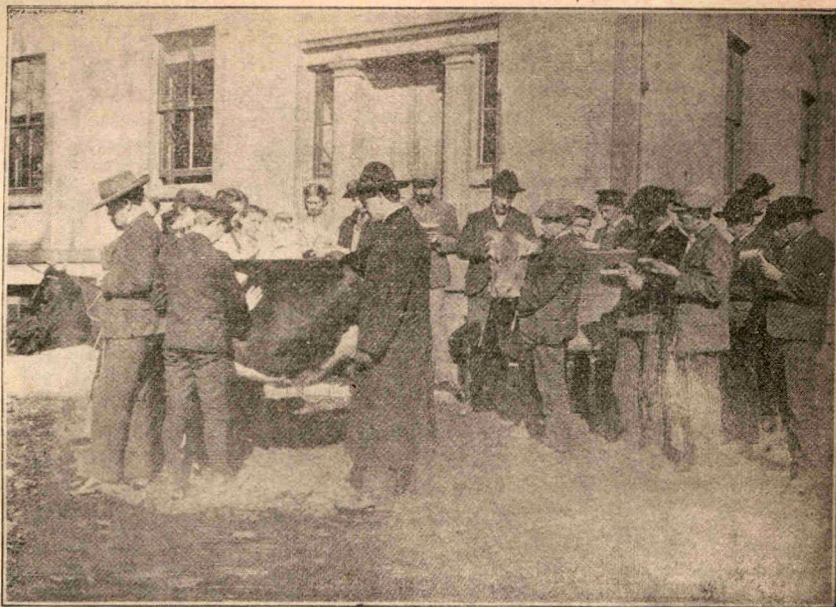
The Bureau of Plant Industry is not only ransacking the whole world for new crops, but it is making as diligent and careful a study of the diseases of plants as physicians do the diseases of men. The bureau in its highly equipped laboratories is making constant researches to discover specific remedies for plant diseases. "The farmer is encouraged to write to the Bureau, giving description of the conditions of disease he is attempting to cure, and if possible, he is asked to send in specimens of diseased plants or vegetables." Advice for the treatment of plant diseases—advice based upon the fire-test of real experience is furnished to American agriculturalists free of charge.

The task of fighting injurious insects belongs to the Bureau of Entomology. Should a new insect be found which is



An American Milkmaid in Sanitary Costume.

destructive to crops, the bureau experts will discover the natural enemies of the pernicious insects, and set them out to devour the offending intruders. A parasitic fly introduced from South Africa has exterminated the black scale, considered the worst pest of the orange and lemon industry in the State of California. "The fertilizing insect imported from Turkey has helped to establish an industry in California," recorded the late ex-President Roosevelt in one of his Messages to Congress, "that amounts to from fifty to one hundred tons



Class in Live-Stock, Judging Dairy Cows at the Waterford, Pa., High School.

of dried figs, and is extending over the Pacific coast."

The live-stock industry of the country is fostered by the Bureau of Animal Industry. It takes up the questions of breeding, feeding and management of sheep, goats, horses, cattle, and poultry. The bureau is very efficient in the work of stamping out epidemic or infectious diseases among domestic animals. When the live-stock of the farmers is threatened with destructive diseases, the bureau furnishes them with the needed help through its publications and correspondence, or sends out its own extension specialist who



Waterford High School Class in Live-Stock, Examining a Hambletonian Mare.



Class in Live-Stock, Studying Sheep on a Farm Near Waterford, Pa.

aids in checking and eliminating such ailments.

The Bureau of Animal Industry has a division which is given over to dairy farming exclusively. Its work consists, among other things, of instructing farmers in the best way to feed, house, breed, and take care of dairy cattle. Experts connected with the bureau frequently go to the country and assist those who need in the building of creameries and cheese factories.

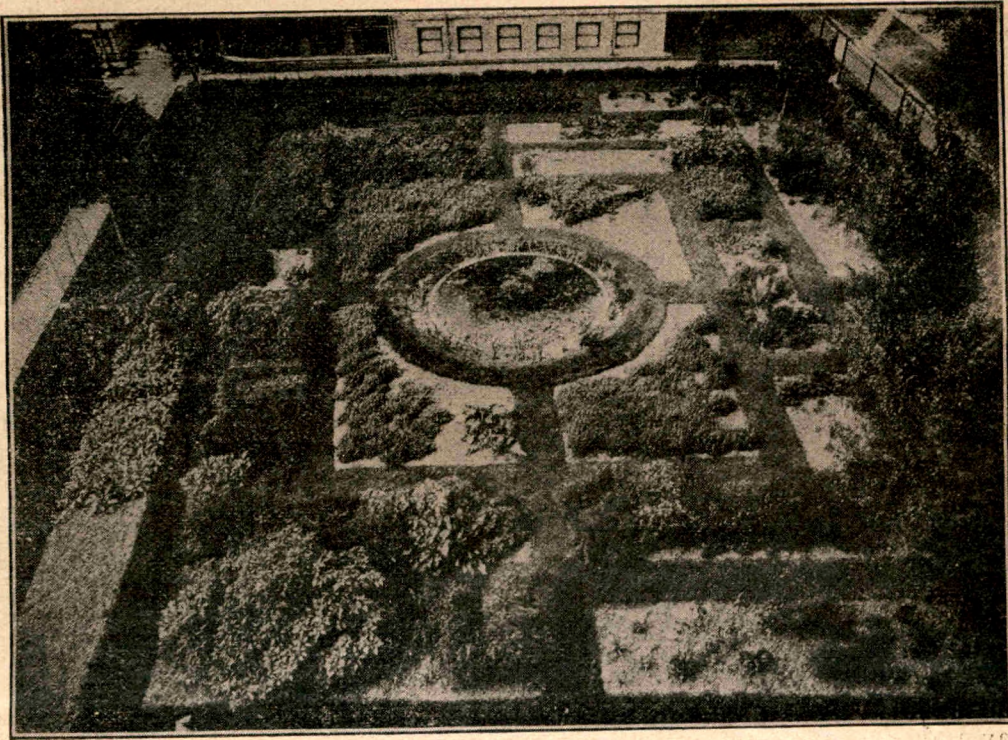
All these various bureaus, and others which are not even mentioned here, are connected with the Department of Agriculture, which is an integral part of the Federal Government.

Suppose a farmer needs money to purchase fertilizers, more lands, motorized implements, or horses and cattle, and he finds it difficult to secure loans on reasonable terms, what will he do? The American genius for organization has solved such difficulties for the American farmers through the enactment of the Federal Farm Loan Act. Without going into its long weary details, it may be said that the Act has established twelve Federal Land Banks at twelve important agricultural centers to lend financial aid to farmers. No matter

how high the local rate of interest, the Land Banks cannot charge more than six per cent. As a matter of fact, the actual interest charged the farmer for the first year is at a uniform rate of five per cent. "Under the law these loans are to be made," informs Allis a Franc in her book *Use Your Government*, "in periods of not less than five nor more than forty years. In actual practise this is usually thirty-six years." The Federal Farm Loan Act,

which was passed in 1916, has opened a new epoch in the history of American agriculture. It has lifted farming from the morass of individualistic effort, and placed it under the guiding hand of the benevolent government.

Science has become the servant of agriculture no less than that of the manufacturing industry. "Agriculture is a complete applied science," wrote the late President of the Wisconsin University, Dr. Charles R. Van Hise, in his valuable book, *The Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States*, "built upon a knowledge of pure biology, pure physics, and pure chemistry. The agriculturist must apply the principles of botany to his field crops and to his fruits; he must apply the principles of zoology in connection with his animals; he must apply the principles of physics and chemistry to the soil; he must be an engineer in the management of his machinery." In other words, modern agriculture is based upon exact scientific principles. And farmers must receive scientific training for their life vocation even as doctors, lawyers, and engineers do for theirs. In the United States the spread of scientific agricultural knowledge has be-



DRUG GARDEN FOR SCHOOL OF PHARMACY.

Drug gardens are now being maintained as a feature of the courses in pharmacy in a number of universities. This illustration shows a garden in which the cultures of medicinal plants furnish material of educational value for the pharmacy course and also serve as an ornamental addition to the grounds of the university.

come the object of serious concern on the part of both the Federal and State governments. Agricultural education is imparted to American youths by hundreds and hundreds of agricultural teachers in universities, colleges, and sometimes even in secondary and rural schools. It has been recently estimated that there are now over 90,000 students in agricultural colleges and high schools in all parts of the Republic. And every four years, this large army of trained and aggressive young people will become the potential farmers of the nation.

To conclude, American farmers with their continued application and improvement of farm machinery are so far ahead of the rest of the world that they have no near rival in sight. Farming with the horse is becoming a thing of the past, and farming with the tractor that operates on gasoline or

inexpensive kerosene is rapidly taking its place. I have seen it stated in one of the agricultural journals that there will be in a few months half a million American-built farm tractors, where there were practically none five years ago! Doubtless American farmers deserve great credit for accepting all important advances in farm mechanics which have helped them to increase the net output of their lands a hundredfold or more. At the same time, one must not forget the important part that is played by the American government in promoting efficiency on the American farm. For certain it is that the government has made the work of "the tiller of the soil" more elevating, more pleasant, more attractive, and more profitable. From the long talks I have had with the wise men in the American government service I am convinced that but for efficient government help,



Plant-life Class at the Waterford, Pa, High School.

American farmers would not be where they are today. Indeed, the sole end of the American government is and always has been to assist wholeheartedly in accomplishing

State exists for the sake of society, not society for the sake of the State." Is this also the criterion of the English government in India?

every fundamental object of society. True to this tradition, observed President Woodrow Wilson in his excellent volume *The State*: "Society is vastly bigger and more important than its instrument, Government. Government should serve society, by no means rule or dominate it. Government should not be made an end in itself; it is means only,—a means to be freely adopted to advance the best interests of social organism. The

HELLENISM IN ANCIENT INDIA*—A REVIEW

WE cannot but congratulate the author of this "Thesis" for selecting the most fascinating subject from Ancient Indian History. The subject has attracted generation's of scholars, each of whom by contributing his views on the various aspects of the subject has helped to complicate an already knotty problem and the legacy that has been left by them to the modern and future Indian scholar is the most difficult to handle and in the shape that it has taken, it must necessarily baffle another generation of students, although the clue to its solution has been indi-

cated recently in sure and infallible affirmations. That the problem can only yield its solution to an Indian scholar, with the necessary qualification and preparation to approach it, explains the persistence with which it has hitherto refused to unlock its secret. It was therefore with a mingled feeling of hope and pride that we began to take protracted plunges into Dr. Banerjee's octavo volume of 371 pages—with the hope of finding an adequate attempt to study the question from an unbiased, critical and independent point of view,—with pride in finding that an Indian scholar has at last asserted his right to study the subject.

The work is divided into five sections called 'Books.' The first Book contains the introduction ending with a succinct *resume* which gives us a foretaste of the author's conclusions and a bibliography. The second Book treats, under the four sub-sections of Architecture, Sculpture, Pain-

**Hellenism in Ancient India* by Gauranga Nath Banerjee, M. A., F. R. S. A. Lecturer on Ancient History in the University of Calcutta, Premchand Raychand Scholar, Member of the Egyptian Association and Oriental Society, Manchester. Calcutta, Butterworth & Co. 1919. Price Rs. 7-8.

ting and Coinage, the Hellenistic influence on the Art of India. The third Book deals with the evolution of scientific and literary culture in India and Hellenism. The last book enunciates the independent evolution of Religion, Philosophy, Mythology and Fables in India and in Greece. Each sub-section is furnished with a bibliography. The author has therefore covered every nook and corner of his subject. Undoubtedly the most important portion of the work is that dealing with the question of the Hellenistic influence on the Art of India. The subject has passed through a new phase since 1908 when Dr. Coomaraswamy first read his paper at Oriental Congress at Copenhagen. Before this paper was read all archaeologists, slavishly following Fergusson, Foucher and others, were pledged to the most grievously erroneous opinion that Indian Art was the pupil of and was indebted to Greek Art, and the little value that it possesses is derived from foreign influences; that India had no art of its own and the best period of its art ended with the decline of Gandhara sculpture; that the ideal type of Buddha was created for Buddhist Art by foreigners and the type thus evolved was the foundation of all later representations of Buddha; that after A. D. 300 Indian sculpture properly so called hardly deserves to be reckoned as art.

[Imperial Gazetteer of India, II, Chapter III.]

These were the view of official archaeologists who have dominated and still continue to dominate the valuation of Indian Art and for the matter of that, of Indian civilization generally. Soon after Dr. Coomaraswamy's paper was read Vincent Smith & Co. roused from their nightmare, suddenly discovered that India had a school of indigenous Painting and Sculpture.

Every student who desires to approach this study with an open and unbiased mind has to appraise critically the opinions of the so-called authorities whose works by lapse of time, rather than by the weight of their arguments, or by the value of their insight, have assumed a seat of false respect, to contest which means not only an act of sacrilege but an exhibition of one's so-called 'national bias.' It was not till the discovery of the art of the Far East that the Western connoisseurs have been in a position to take a critical estimate of the value of Greek Art, its character and ideals, both of technique and contents, and to evaluate its different phases. Greek art had for centuries exercised a charm over European critics which disqualified them from offering any but the most fulsome praise upon the products of the Hellenic genius. In the matter of appreciation of the history of the evolution of Hellenic art, the Western critics had lost their balance which they are now on the point of recovering. It is only recently that critics have been able to gather courage to say that the zenith of Greek Art was reached long before Phidias, and what has passed in Greek art as primitive should be classed really as 'classic'. When

Fergusson (1876), Burgess (1882), Grunwedel (1893), and Vincent Smith recorded their views on Indian Art and on the debt that it is supposed to have owed to Greek Art, the critical study of Greek Art had not been initiated. These antiquarians had no artistic training for passing judgment on any works of art much less on a foreign art, the key of which they were unable to find. Their so-called knowledge of Greek Art itself was of the most rudimentary and of a second-hand character. The slightest record of any echo or reminiscence of any kind of travesty of Greek Art upset them and their critical judgment. They were absolutely incapable of appraising the difference between Hellenic and Hellenistic Art and indiscriminately praised anything that had any kind of shadow or colour of Greek civilization. They were constitutionally incapable of critically examining the aesthetic values offered by the Gandharan monuments and were unable to get over the first shocks of the discovery of a so-called Greek school of sculpture in the distant soil of the Punjab. They failed to realise that before Alexander's conquest, the Greek had already shot its bolt. The archaic and classic Art of Greece had closed its pages. The beginnings of the Hellenistic epoch, represented, from the Greek point of view, a decadent and a downward course and marked the end of Greek classic Art, as such, the best phases of which were long past. The praise that is due to the earlier epochs cannot be usurped by later decadence which flooded the eastern colonies. Greece herself would have been shocked to see and would have indignantly repudiated the miserable works by which the Greek colonists in Bactria and Gandhara sought to degrade the old Attic standard. The chief quality and value of Hellenistic Art lay in its neglect of the characteristic Greek standard. In Hellenistic Art, the ancient Hellenic tradition was drained of the all vitality. To quote one critic: "The two of sculptors (Lysippus, Scopas and the Pergamene school) who served as the models of early Hellenistic Art were *themselves in process of abandoning the ancient ideals of the Greek race*. The Macedonian imperialism opened to the Greek a new world of idea. The view of life which he now found himself in contact with was precisely the view which the Classic Age had so consistently discountenanced and the classic intellect had so severely held in check. Already disenchanted, however, with his own ideas, he proceeded to assimilate eastern ones and he thirstily quaffed at the spring of mystical thought of which the East is the abounding and perennial source. The ideal of Lysippus (B. C. 366-316) and his contemporaries suggests the beginning of a search, a quest, a groping in the void. What is vital and distinctive in the Hellenistic movement is not so much the imitative traits in it and its clinging to precedent examples as the fact that it exhibits a growing impatience of the classical tradition and an increasing endeavour to reach out into hitherto unexplored regions of thought and emotion." By

its attitude and character the Hellenistic movement was incapable of representing the ideals of the old classic tradition of Hellas. And the miserable Eurasian colony in the Punjab frontier, cut off by long distance of time and space, from the source of Greek civilization represented the worst phase of the Hellenistic epoch. As we have seen, the Hellenistic movement, professedly, set out not to teach Greek ideals but to imbibe oriental ones. It came unfortunately equipped with a set of worn-out formulas and canons which were ill-suited to express the mysticism and the ideals of the East. In fact, if the Greeks had sent out the geniuses of their best epoch, they would have equally failed in the task as did their unworthy descendants in the Punjab colony. For, in the whole gamut of Greek sculptors' formulas, there did not exist a single apparatus by which the eastern conception of the Buddha could be rendered in plastic form. The readiness with which the Baktrian artisans were disposed to carry out the commissions of their Buddhist clients, demonstrates the influence of Indian thought on Greek craftsmen and *not* the influence of Greece on Indian Art. The conversion of Heliodorus to Vaishnavism attested by the erection of the *Garuda stambha* at Besnagar and the sacrifices performed by Demetrius, according to an inscription at the same place, demonstrate the same fact, viz., the dominance of Indian civilization on the Baktrians and *not* vice versa. The Baktrians were more interested in Indian thought than Indians in Greek Art.

At the risk of making our review a little tiresome, we have been at some pains to analyse the character of the Hellenistic epoch—the provincial phase of which the Baktrians brought to India,—as Dr. Bannerjee himself has not been good enough to give us his own analysis of it. As the pivot of the whole question rests on this analysis, we think we are justified in indicating the centre of gravity of the study of Hellenism in India which is very often lost sight of by writers on the subject. It has now become fashionable to characterize the critics who try to appraise the exact values of the products of the Baktrian artisans in the Punjab, as “ante-Hellenists”. The epithet would appropriately apply to the archaeologists who gravely characterize the Eurasian art of Gandhara by the appellations of “Hellenic” “classical” or “Greek.” It is height of ante-Hellenism and an insult to the Greek genius in art to label the products of Baktrian Greeks as anything characteristically Hellenic, as Dr. Bannerjee suggests at several places. In Gandhara sculpture all the qualities of Greek Art have been deliberately flouted. The utter incapacity for invention, want of proportions, lack of restraint and a deliberate neglect of classic purity, symmetry and harmony label the works of the Baktrian artisans as bastards which could never claim to be the legitimate descendants of Classic tradition of any manner or kind. The presence of a few Ionic or Corinthian columns in the most crudest possible

forms, a string of ugly Atalantis, some cupid and garland devices and other mechanical makeshifts more Western Asiatic than Hellenistic—are the discarded formulas of Greek artisans from which it is impossible to trace the shadow of a Greek tradition. These coarse pseudo-classical decorative elements have been accepted by the archaeologists as the worthy representatives of Hellenism in Indian Art. Dr. Bannerjee's judgment seems to have been overshadowed by the cloud of his archaeological authorities, but still he seems to feebly hit at the right point without allowing himself to develop and substantiate his judgment: “The Gandhara sculptures moreover are not very artistic either from the Greek or Indian point of view, though they are of immense interest to the students of Buddhism.” He seems however to abandon this position and to relapse to the perverted views of his authorities when he answers the criticism of Havell and Coomaraswamy at p. 120 by borrowing the words of Smith and Spooner without acknowledgment. And it appears to us that he has done an injustice to himself and his subject by too much reliance on the infallibility of his authorities. That he is well posted in all the literature on the subject (the greater portion of which he has not critically examined) is well advertized in his pages by aggressive quotations from French and German authors, possibly to answer the recent imputation that the Post-graduate scholars have no *entree* into continental authorities. But Dr. Bannerjee's thesis demands as its critical apparatus, not only a close study of what has been written in the past, but also a first-hand knowledge and an independent examination of the monuments of the Hellenistic epoch and of the grounds on which the authorities have expressed their views. And we would have much preferred his studying the objects and monuments first, before he read the books and authorities about them. If he had done so, he could not have accepted without demur, the theory of the foreign origin of the Buddha image on an *argumentum ex silentio*. The coins of Kanishka and the innumerable Gandharan images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas themselves constitute indisputable evidence of the fact that these coins appear in an already stereotyped form and that the first image of Buddha dates long before the era of Kanishka and the rise of the Gandhara School and the latter only represents the first attempts of Baktrian Greeks to picture Indian coins. The Baktrian image of Lakshmi from Kashmir and a few other non-Buddhistic images are additional documents which disprove the Greek origin of the Buddha image and which Dr. Bannerjee could have studied with advantage. Dr. Bannerjee's bibliography though quite formidable in appearance and gives one the impression of having been compiled with German thoroughness is full of important omissions. He omits to

notice Dr. Coomaraswamy's paper on *Buddhist Primitives* which contain many pertinent matters, as also Sister Nivedita's contributions in these columns since reprinted in the *Footfalls of Indian History*. But the omissions to references to M. Foucher's paper in *Monuments Piot* and *L'Origin Grec du Image de Buddha* since published in English in the *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, Dr. Vogel's paper on 'Greek Influence on Ancient Indian Civilization' (East & West, January 1912) and Prof. H. G. Rowlinson's admirable paper on foreign influences in India in his *Indian Historical Studies 1913*, are difficult to explain. In the section devoted to Astronomy Dr. Bannerjee has overlooked important materials furnished by M. M. Haraprasad Sastri's paper on "Yavana-Jataka" in the J A S B. The chapter on Literature and Drama forms, in our opinion, the best

written part of the work. We have been inclined to judge Dr. Bannerjee's production by a very high standard. The Post-Graduate courses at the Calcutta University are on their trial and the public have a right to demand the production of thesis in which ripe scholarship should help to make original contributions to our knowledge. We wish Dr. Bannerjee had realised our hopes. We have no doubt that the industry with which he has studied the existing authorities if directed to the original materials would have placed him in the forefronts of the authorities who have stood between him and his subject. Dr. Bannerjee has all the accomplishments of a sound scholar but in the present instance, we think, he has not given us all that he is capable of giving.

AGASTYA.

ESPERANTO VERSUS ENGLISH INTERNATIONALIZED

MANY languages are spoken in the world, some over large areas and some over small ones. There is facility of intercourse between people speaking the same language, and difficulty of intercourse between people speaking different languages. This difficulty can be overcome only if individuals learn one or more languages other than their own. The difficulty could be greatly reduced if some one language were recognized as the common medium of intercourse for speakers of all languages. Latin came thus to be used among the learned in Europe as the common language for communication and for the writing of works of international importance. Bacon wrote his *Novum Organum*, and Newton his *Principia* in Latin. Milton was Latin Secretary to Cromwell; but for diplomatic intercourse French came to be ultimately adopted as the common medium in Europe, a position which it still retains, though in a diminished measure. Eminent foreigners—Leibniz, Frederick the Great, and Humboldt, Germans all of them—also wrote in French. The French people no longer possess the political and intellectual ascendancy they once had in Europe, and this, together with their present numerical inferiority to the English-speaking and German-speaking peoples, has been bringing about a diminishing use of French even in diplomacy, which has been its special province so long. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878 Prince Bismarck spoke in English, and at the Peace Conference lately held at Versailles French and English were both used. Representations from Germany were received in German, and translations here were of help.

The English-speaking area is now the most extensive language-area in the world; and not only the comparatively small German-speaking and French-speaking areas taken together fall far short of it, but the very extensive language-areas—Russian, Spanish, Portuguese and Chinese—are also each a long way behind the English. English is now decidedly the dominant language of the world. The area of the British Empire, as given in the *Statesman's Year-Book* for 1913, p. lxxvi, is 10,814,433 square miles. To this area has to be added an area of some 800,000 square miles, which, as Mr. Lloyd George said the other day in the House of Commons, has come over to Britain and British Dominions under the mandatory system, the total area of the British Empire coming up thus to 11,600,000 square miles, in round numbers. The area of the United States, as in the *Statesman's Year-Book*, 1913, p. 383, is 3,571, 223 square miles. The entire dominion of the English race comes up thus, in round numbers, to 15,200,000 square miles, out of the entire land surface of the world, which in Whitaker's *Almanack* for 1919, p. 99, is given as 55,500,000 square miles including the almost uninhabitable polar regions, which are put at the enormous figure of 5,000,000 square miles. Over the whole of the English area, English is not and cannot be the vernacular tongue. In Asia and in Africa very large areas, and in America a considerable area, viz., the Canadian French-speaking province of Quebec, can never in all human probability be English-speaking lands. But over the whole dominion of the English race English must have a dominant position; where it is not the mother language

it must be the "second language." The late eminent statesman, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, born French-Canadian, was as much at home in English as in his mother-tongue, French. General Smuts, Dutch Afrikaner as he is, has shown himself a capital master of English. In India there have been many Indians whose mastery of English has been complete. But in addition to these, thousands of undergraduates and graduates are thrown out every year by our schools and colleges, whose knowledge of English is of various grades. English is now the dominant foreign language in the important independent countries of China and Japan. In China it has even given rise to a jargon called pigeon or pidgin English, which really means business English, and is used between Chinese and Europeans. In Lady Brassey's *Voyage in the 'Sunbeam'* (1908, p. 294), is given "Take piecisy one piecisy bag topside" as pidgin English for "Take the lady's bag upstairs." From this it appears that pidgin English is not a very simple affair.

In science for sometime past German has held the first place, French the second, and English the third. But politically and commercially, English has had an overwhelming superiority over both German and French. It has also an inherent superiority over both French and German. Its grammar is simpler than that of French and much simpler than that of German. Why then does not English come to be spontaneously adopted as the common medium of international intercourse? Why, with such a language ready to hand, have attempts been made to invent an artificial language for purposes of international communication? Volapuk (world-speech) was the artificial language put before the world as a world-language about the year 1879 by its German originator, Schleyer. It had not much success. About eight years later a far cleverer artificial international language, now widely known as Esperanto, was put before the world by the late Lithuanian savant, Dr. Zamenhof. A later international language, called Ido, has come into the field. I know only of its being mentioned as an improvement upon Esperanto.

In constructing his vocabulary Dr. Zamenhof had particularly his eye on words which are similar in the principal European languages, as, for instance, *chamber*, *fish* and *nose*, which in Esperanto appear as *cambro*, *fisho*,* and *naso*. The Esperanto vocabulary has been constructed with wonderful ingenuity. It is based mainly on Latin stems, but not exclusively; for instance, *fisho* with the final *o* removed, is the same as the English *fish* and the German *fisch*, but is a little different from the Latin *piscis*. As regards his grammar Dr. Zamenhof told the late

Mr. W. T. Stead* that he drew his first inspiration from the simple grammatical structure of the English language, and that it was from Russian that he got the idea that by means of suffixes he "might make an endless number of words out of one root." All nouns in Esperanto end in *o*, all adjectives in *a*, and all adverbs in *e*. Males and females are distinguished by the insertion of *in* before the *o* of the noun; as *patro* (father), *patrino* (mother). English grammar is simple enough, but it is less simple than that of Esperanto, which is however less simple in certain respects than that of the Asiatic languages, Persian, Hindustani, and Bengali, which Dr. Zamenhof apparently had no knowledge of. These three languages have no distinction of *he*, *she* and *it*, as Esperanto, like English, has. Nor has Bengali, like English and Esperanto, a distinction of number in verbs. Esperanto is thus not as simple in its grammatical structure as it is possible for a language to be. Nevertheless, in its grammatical structure as well as in its vocabularies, it has a clear advantage over English. It has already acquired a large currency, and this currency is on the increase. If English is to be set up as a world-language in competition with Esperanto, it requires to be divested of certain drawbacks that now attend it. This divestment should be restricted to English as it may be fitted out for use as an international language and not be sought to be at once imposed on English as spoken and written in all English-speaking lands. The simplifications made for internationalizing English may be left to work their way, from their own merit, into current English everywhere.

Standardization of pronunciation and phonetic spelling are essential requisites of internationalized English, and these may, with advantage, be at once applied to the current English of the present day. Sir Harry Johnston in England and Prof. Brander Mathew in America are strong advocates of standardization of English pronunciation, a difficult process indeed, and in need of revision after long intervals to suit changed pronunciations. But it is a necessary preliminary to phonetic writing. Phonetic writing hardly needs any justification, non-phonetic writing being simply irrational, though, being of long standing, it has necessarily a host of supporters. Sir Harry Johnston is a powerful champion of phonetic spelling being applied to English, French, and other transgressors of phoneticism. The British and American public have now to some extent come to see their English language spelt phonetically in the International Phonetic Script. This has been a good step towards disposing English-speaking peoples to give up their bad conventional method of spelling for a phonetic one. The International Phonetic Script is admittedly

* Here *sh* is used for the Esperanto symbol for the English *sh* sound, *s* with an angular mark over it.

* The *Review of Reviews*, September 1905, p. 217.

imperfect, and needs improvement, which indeed it seeks. I criticised this script in the last May number of *The Modern Review*, and showed that some of its letters were bad. It has discarded capital letters, but retains the Roman blemish of script letters different in shape from printed letters. This blemish requires to be swept away.

In connection with application of phonetic spelling to English, it has to be noted that, though the general rule should be that the spelling should conform to the standard sound, it would be very desirable that in the two special cases mentioned below, a reverse process should be adopted.

(1) Proper names, like *Dante* and *Beatrice*, from Italian, and other proper names from any other phonetically written language should retain their present spelling in English, but their sounds should conform, as far as is possible, to their native sounds. While *Dante* and *Beatrice*, for instance, retain their present spelling in English, it would be best to pronounce them in the Italian way, barring of course the Italian sounds of the letters *d* and *t*, which English-speakers' organs of speech fail to pronounce.

(2) Learned words like *centigrade* and *oxygen*, drawn from Latin and Greek and spelt alike or very nearly alike in English and in the Latin family of languages, should retain their present English spelling and be pronounced, as far as possible, in accordance with the Latin and Greek sounds of letters, so that this class of words may have a uniformity of sounds all over the English and Latin worlds.

Slang terms are rightly considered inadmissible into serious writing, and so their use in English internationalized must be interdicted. Some slang terms have in the past acquired, by reason of their particular fitness, a recognised place in the language, and this process may go on in the future. All slang terms that win their way to recognition can properly be introduced into internationalized English.

With slang terms should also be banned all English idiomatic expressions of an arbitrary character. "As good a man as ever trod shoe-leather"* for "as good a man as ever lived" is quite an arbitrary English idiom, for no rational interpretation of the terms that make up the phrase can yield even in a figurative way the meaning intended to be conveyed. "Treading shoe-leather" may be interpreted as meaning "wearing shoes," but the wearing of shoes cannot be taken to constitute the essence of living or even a main function of it. No objection can be taken, be it understood, to figurative expressions like "was born with a silver spoon in his mouth," which involve no logical flaw. Banishment from English internationally employed of

expressions involving a logical flaw may reasonably be demanded. Their banishment from every kind of English would be a gain to the language.

In connection with the question of logical flaw may be considered the English puzzle of the use of *shall* and *will*. *Shall* and *will* are the two auxiliary verbs by means of which the future tense is formed in English, and about them Mr. Nesfield writes as follows†—"One of the puzzles in English is to know when to use "shall" and when to use "will." With a view to clearing up this matter it should be understood that there are *three* senses in which the future tense can be used:—

(a) To express *merely future time* and nothing more.

(b) To combine future time with an implied *command*.

(c) To combine future time with an implied *intention*."

But what admits of no clearing up is why *shall* and *will* should bear different senses in different persons and also bear in assertive sentences senses different from what they bear in interrogative ones. The present conventional uses of *shall* and *will* can claim no basis in reason, and it is exceedingly difficult to understand how they originated. Cutting the Gordian knot was found to be the best way of dealing with it. May not the present knot be cut too? It may be cut by laying down the rule that *shall* in all cases shall indicate what happens in the natural course of things (moral obligation being included in this, as in "Thou shalt not steal"), and that *will* in all cases *shall* indicate intention. The solution of the puzzle offered here is indeed a very bold one, particularly bold as coming from a foreigner. But the solution offered, if accepted, would be a boon to all foreigners learning English, and a boon also to future generations of native English-speaking people.

Languages have changed in the past, and the changes undergone have almost wholly been in the direction of increased simplicity. The printing press has now set up a barrier against changes and so given a certain fixity to languages. But as a stage of perfection has been reached yet by no language, it is desirable that a comparative study of languages should be made the means of deliberately effecting changes that would be improvements. An encumbrance that has disappeared from a closely related language or some dialect of the language itself which is wanted to be improved, is fit to be dropped from the language. Grammatical gender has to be admitted to be an encumbrance in a language. It does not exist in English, but exists in German (in three genders, masculine, feminine and neuter) and in French (in two

* Readers of Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar* have to put up with "As proper men as ever trod upon neat's leather."

† *Idiom, Grammar and Synthesis*, by J. C. Nesfield, M.A., 1911, p. 63.

genders, masculine and feminine). It does not exist in Bengali (borrowings from Sanskrit like *hitakari sabha* being excluded), but exists in two genders (masculine and feminine) in literary Hindustani (in both its Urdu and its Hindi phase). Hindustani (in its Urdu phase) as spoken in Bihar is however partially free from it. Many words that are feminine nouns in standard Hindustani, are ordinarily used as masculines in Bihar. Can it then be said that it is impossible to cast off grammatical gender altogether from Hindustani? If the idea spreads that grammatical gender is an unnecessary burden upon a language, that some speakers of Hindustani actually disregard it, and that what, according to the orthodox view, are grammatical mistakes and corruptions, are really in many cases but improvements in a language, then a disposition may grow up for the discarding of grammatical gender from Hindustani altogether. There are difficulties in the way, but they cannot be pronounced insurmountable. Great writers may be pioneers of the change.

The difficulty arising from the existence in English of what are called synonyms is one very hard to deal with. Words have come into the English language from two main sources, Teutonic and Latin, and this has caused in some cases a word of Teutonic origin and another of Latin origin meaning the same thing in English, as, *forgive* and *pardon*, and *freedom* and *liberty*. The synonymous words have come to be applied somewhat differently, however, in the language. "Beg your pardon" is good English, but "Beg your forgiveness" is not, though "begged to be forgiven" cannot be objected to. So "set free" is reckoned good English, but "set at freedom" is not, though "set at liberty" is. In these cases a reasonable solution of the difficulty would be to put *forgive* and *pardon*, and *freedom* and *liberty* on exactly the same footing in regard to their use. But there are numerous cases, where derivation from different sources is not a factor and where slight shades of difference of meaning have arisen from usage. About this class of words, the suggestion I have to offer is that a number of British and American experts, well-versed in philology and in the methods of science, should undertake to investigate the shades of difference of meaning between English synonyms in a rational and not a conventional spirit, and then lay the results of their labours before the world as a help alike to native and foreign students of English.

In spite of all the disadvantages of the English vocabulary as compared with that of Esperanto, it can emphatically be asserted in favour of the former that it has all the life and vigour which thinking and feeling in it by a vigorous race of men for generations have imparted to it. Do people think and feel in Esperanto, or do they translate into Esperanto what they think and feel in their respective mother tongues? Can

Esperanto or any other artificial language have such simple, vivid and happy combinations of words as are found in the following lines from English poetry?

1. Brevity is the soul of wit.
2. He jests at scars that never felt a wound.
3. Where more is meant than meets the ear.
4. To party gave up what was meant for
mankind.
5. 'T is the sunset of life gives me mystical
lore.
And coming events cast their shadows
before.
6. Eternal summer gilds them yet,
But all except their sun is set.
7. Our sweetest songs are those.
That tell of saddest thought.
8. 'T is only noble to be good.

Science is the common property of all the world, and it is most desirable that language barriers should part its votaries as little as possible. It would obviously be an advantage to scientific investigators all over the world if contributions to science in all its branches came before the world in some particular language and were thus easily accessible to all investigators. Patriotic impulse is here an opposing force. But there is a way in which a reconciliation may here be effected between patriotism and cosmopolitanism. There can be no obstacle in the way of the speaker of any language, however limited may be the area over which it is spoken, recording and publishing his researches in his own language for home consumption and publishing at the same time for world consumption a translation of the, original record into English or French or German at present, and in future into a universally recognized international language, if there is to be one such. I would here instance the fact of *The Mediterranean Race* of Prof. Sergi, which contains a very valuable contribution to the science of anthropology, being published first in the Professor's native language, Italian, and a little later in German and in English;* and also the announcements, facing the title-page of Prof. Seligman's *Principles of Economics*, of translations of the author's works into French, Italian, Spanish, Russian and Japanese. A scientific work is not like a poetical composition which must be without much of its native flavour, if brought out as a translation. It can lose nothing by translation.

* "When this little book was first published in an Italian edition in 1895, and in a German edition in 1897, I was still unable to obtain many anthropological data needed to complete the picture of the primitive inhabitants of Europe. In the English edition the book is less incomplete, richer in anthropological documents, and hence more conclusive;....." Preface to the English edition, 1901.

A discussion here of the contention of the patriotic school which stands up for scientific contributions being made in the contributor's vernacular tongue seems to be very necessary. Prof. Mendeleeff, the great Russian chemist, recorded his researches in his native Russian, and not in French or German. This gained him admirers at home and abroad. Among his foreign admirers is our widely renowned countryman, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, whose great all-round ability, untiring energy and culture, wide and deep, have made him a veritable power in the land. I append here an English translation of the extract given in the Bengali periodical Prabasi for Magh, 1323, B.S., first page of Number, of the address read by Sir Asutosh at the tenth meeting of the Bengali Sahitya-Sanmilani held at Bankipur about two years and a half ago :—

English Translation of Extract.

If Bengal's glories, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Professors Jagadish Chandra [and] Praphulla Chandra and other present intellectuals of Bengal embody the treasures of the weight of their knowledge in Bengali, and if those in whose hands will be placed in future the domain of knowledge go on recording in Bengali the final results of their knowledge, and if in this way for a long time the service done to Bengali literature continue uninterrupted, then a day will assuredly come when many among cultured foreigners must have eagerly to learn Bengali. If in Bengal those who attain eminence in any subject, become specialists in any subject, instead of making their discoveries, their waves of thought take shape in a foreign tongue, add to the greatness of their motherland and so of their mother-tongue, Bengali, by displaying them in their own mother-tongue, then other educated communities of the world will be obliged to study the Bengali language.

The editor of the Prabasi notes that in the address the example of Russia has been given and says that the Russian chemist Mendeleeff did indeed record his researches in Russian, but it is necessary to remember the difference between the condition of Russia and that of Bengal.

Patriotism obscures the mental vision not only of men of the ordinary stamp, but of men also of superior mental powers. In the present instance Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's superior intellect has not been able to screen him from the injurious influence of patriotic feeling. The prescription he lays down for cultivators of science in Bengal to follow to compel foreign cultivators of science to learn Bengali, widely interpreted, amounts to the imposition of a most intolerable burden on future cultivators of science all over the world. Bengali is not the only cultivated language in India, and Bengalis are not the only intellectual people in India. Leaving aside the cultivated Indian languages of the Dravidian family, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu,

Marathi and Gujarati are the Indo-Aryan languages that have a progressive literature each. Are foreign students of science in future to be under the necessity of learning all these languages? If so, they should also be under the necessity of learning the great Asiatic languages, Persian, Arabic, Chinese and Japanese, the people speaking them being of a high order of mentality and so capable of advancing knowledge in future. At present students of science who want to keep themselves abreast of the progress of science have to possess a knowledge, varying in degree, of the three great European languages, German, French and English, which are the chief media now for scientific contributions. Next after these comes Italian, and next after Italian, Russian. Leaving aside the minor languages of Europe, there remain Spanish and Portuguese, each spread over a vast area, which, though not now very active contributors to advancing knowledge, hold in them promise enough of a better career in future—a promise warranted by the past intellectual history of the Spanish and Portuguese races, and also by the large recruitments of Italian immigrants that these two races have been receiving in South America. According to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's prescription, taken in its widest range, all the above host of languages must have to be learnt by cultivators of science in future—a very dismal prospect indeed. But there is comfort in the thought that such a thing can never be, to hamper the advancement of science. As regards the value of translations from foreign languages into one's own, the passage quoted below from Emerson will bear ample testimony;

"I rarely read any Latin, Greek, German, Italian, sometimes not a French book in the original, which I can procure in a good version. I like to be beholden to the great metropolitan English speech, the sea which receives tributaries from every region."

As a matter of fact, it was not the chemical researches of Prof. Mendeleeff, recorded in Russian, which induced many persons in Western Europe and America to learn Russian, but the attractive literary works of Tolstoy, Turgenev and others. Bankimchandra's and Rabindranath's attractive literary works have won the regard of many Europeans for our noble mother-tongue, Bengali. It is best for us to employ it, ridding it of the baneful effects of Pandit influence that still continue to afflict it, in the cultivation of every branch of human knowledge, without any thought about foreigners learning it or not. Nor should we think of confining the splendid scientific discoveries of Sir Jagadishchandra Bose and Sir Praphullachandra Ray within the limited ring-fence of the Bengali language, but should be broad-minded enough to consider it a fortunate circumstance that the discoverers have

* *Selected Essays*, Nelson's 6d classics, p. 342.

English at their command to make known their discoveries to all civilised lands.

I have spoken of patriotic feeling as producing a narrowing effect on the mind. There is reason to fear that patriotic feeling, particularly in France and Germany, whose languages are the rivals of English in the world of knowledge, might stand up against internationalized English being adopted as the international language of the world. An artificial language like Esperanto or Ido can evoke no hostile feeling. There is

good reason, however, to hope that broad considerations of practical convenience and an increasing sense of human solidarity will induce Frenchmen, Germans, Italians and men of other nationalities to accept internationalized English as the most convenient means of international communication, just as they were induced to accept French as the common language of all diplomatic intercourse.

SYAMACHARAN GANGULI.

LORD BRYCE ON THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH

THE American Commonwealth' by James Bryce is a monumental and voluminous work by one of England's foremost men of letters and political thinkers. It has attained the rank of a classic. A new edition, completely revised throughout, has recently (1917) been brought out by the Macmillan Company of New York. The whole of the first volume and the first half of the second volume are taken up with political questions, and the second half of the latter is devoted to social matters. We make a selection of some topics from the second volume which are calculated to prove instructive and interesting to Indian readers.

I. OPINION THE ULTIMATE POWER IN THE EAST AND THE WEST ALIKE.

"Opinion has really been the chief and ultimate power in nearly all nations at nearly all times. I do not mean merely the opinion of the class to which the numbers belong. Obviously the small oligarchy of Venice was influenced by the opinion of the Venetian nobility, as an absolute Czar is influenced by the opinion of his court and his army. I mean the opinion, unspoken, unconscious, but not the less real and potent, of the masses of the people. Governments have always rested and, special cases apart, must rest, if not on the affection, then on the reverence or awe, if not on the active approval, then on the silent acquiescence, of the numerical majority. It is only by rare exception that a monarch or an oligarchy has maintained authority against the will of the people. The despotisms of the East, although they usually began in conquest, did not stand by military force but by popular assent. So did the feudal

kingdoms of mediæval Europe. So do the monarchies of the Sultan (so far, at least, as regards his Mussulman subjects), of the Shah, and of the Chinese Emperor."

II. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DESPOTICALLY GOVERNED AND FREE COUNTRIES.

"The difference, therefore, between despotically governed and free countries does not consist in the fact that the latter are ruled by opinion and the former by force, for both are generally ruled by opinion. It consists rather in this, that in the former the people instinctively obey a power which they do not know to be really of their own creation, and to stand by their own permission; whereas in the latter people feel their supremacy, and consciously treat their rulers as their agents, while the rulers obey a power which they admit to have made and to be able to unmake them,—the popular will. In both cases force is seldom necessary, or is needed only against small groups, because the habit of obedience replaces it. Conflicts and revolutions belong to the intermediate stage, when the people are awakening to the sense that they are truly the supreme power in the state, but when the rulers have not yet become aware that their authority is merely delegated. When superstition and the habit of submission have vanished from the whilom subjects, when the rulers, recognising that they are no more than agents for the citizens, have in turn formed the habit of obedience, public opinion has become the active and controlling director of a business in which it was before the sleeping and generally forgotten partner."

III. PUBLIC OPINION DIFFICULT TO ASCERTAIN IN EAST AND WEST ALIKE.

"The obvious weakness of Government by opinion is the difficulty of ascertaining it. English administrators in India lament the impossibility of learning the sentiments of the natives, because in the East the populations, the true masses,

are dumb. The press is written by a handful of persons who, in becoming writers, have ceased to belong to the multitude, and the multitude does not read. The difficulties of Western statesmen are due to an opposite cause. The populations are highly articulate. Such is the din of voices that it is hard to say which cry prevails, which is swelled by many, which only by a few, throats. The organs of opinion seem almost as numerous as the people themselves, and they are all engaged in representing their own view as that of "the people." Like other valuable articles, genuine opinion is surrounded by counterfeits. The one positive test applicable is that of an election, and an election can at best do no more than test the division of opinion between two or three great parties, leaving subsidiary issues uncertain, while in many cases the result depends so much on the personal merits of the candidates as to render interpretation difficult."

IV. THE MASSES CANNOT BE PROPERLY REPRESENTED BY THEMSELVES.

"It is now, after long resistance by those who maintained that they knew better what was good for the people than the people knew themselves, at last agreed that as the masses are better judges of what will conduce to their own happiness than are the classes placed above them, they must be allowed to determine ends. This is in fact the essence of free or popular Government, and the justification for vesting power in numbers. But assuming the end to be given, who is best qualified to select the means for its accomplishment? To do so needs in many cases a knowledge of the facts, a skill in interpreting them, a power of forecasting the results of measures unattainable by the mass of mankind. Such knowledge is too high for them. It is attainable only by trained economists, legists, statesmen. If the masses attempt it they will commit mistakes not less serious than those which befall a litigant who insists on conducting a complicated case instead of leaving it to his attorney and counsel. But in popular governments this distinction between ends and means is apt to be forgotten."

V. IN EUROPE THE CLASSES REPRESENT THE MASSES.

"In Europe there has always been a governing class, a set of persons whom birth, or wealth, or education has raised above their fellows, and to whom has been left the making of public opinion together with the conduct of administration and the occupancy of places in the legislature. The public opinion of Germany, Italy, France, and England has been substantially the opinion of the class which wears black coats and lives in good houses, though in the two latter countries it has of late years been increasingly effected by the opinion of the classes socially lower. Although the members of the

British Parliament now obey the mass of their constituents when the latter express a distinct wish, still the influence which plays most steadily on them and permeates them is the opinion of a class or classes, and not of the whole nation. The class to which the great majority of members of both Houses belong (i. e. the landowners and the persons occupied in professions and in the higher walks of commerce) is the class which chiefly forms and expresses what is called public opinion. Even in these days of vigilant and exacting constituencies one sees many members of the House of Commons, the democratic robustness or provincial crudity of whose ideas melts like wax under the influence of fashionable dinner-parties and club smoking-rooms. Until a number of members entered the House who claimed to be the authorised representatives of the views of working men, the complaint used to be heard that it was hard to 'keep touch' with the opinion of the masses."

VI. PUBLIC SPIRIT NOT THE SOLE MOTIVE POWER IN POLITICS.

"To rely on public duty as the main motive power in politics is to assume a commonwealth of angels. Men such as we know them must have some other inducement." "It is much to be wished that in every country public spirit were the chief motive propelling men into public life. But is it so anywhere now? Has it been so at any time in a nation's history? Let anyone in England, dropping for the moment that self-righteous attitude of which Englishmen are commonly accused by foreigners, ask himself how many of those whom he knows as mixing in the public life of his own country have entered it from motives primarily patriotic, how many have been actuated by the love of fame or power, the hope of advancing their social pretensions or their business relations."

VII. THE GROWTH OF RACE-CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG THE NEGROES OF THE UNITED STATES.

"Among the small class of educated and reflective Negroes one may distinguish two tendencies. Reference has already been made to the opposite views of those who counsel acquiescence in, and of those who would agitate against, the restriction of the suffrage to a small section of their race. The divergence of views, however, goes further. There are those led by Dr. Booker Washington, who see no use in resisting potent facts, and therefore hold that all the negro can at present do, and the most effective thing that, with a view to the future, he could in any case do, is to raise himself in intelligence, knowledge, industry, thrift, and whatever else makes for self-help and self-respect. When he has gained these things, when he is felt to be a valuable part of the community, his colour will not exclude him from the opportunity of advancement which business presents, nor from the suffrage, nor

from a share in public office. Complaints of injustice, well-grounded as many of them may be, will profit little, and may even arouse further antagonism, but industrial capacity and the possession of property are sure to tell.

"Others there are, such as Professor Du Bois, who find it hard to practise this patience; and some are beginning to organise themselves in a more aggressive spirit for common help and protection.....

"One thing is now common to both these sections of the educated men of colour,—a growing sense of race solidarity and a perception that instead of seeking favours from the whites or trying to cling to their skirts, the negro must go his own way, make his own society, try to stand on his own feet, in the confidence that the more he succeeds in doing this, the more respected will he be. This race-consciousness finds expression in various organizations which have been formed among the negroes for helping themselves, as well as in appeals.....to give their patronage by preference to members of the race in business relations and in professional work.

"This feeling of Race Consciousness has in most cases included, and now more and more includes, the people of mixed blood.....that racial consciousness to which I have already referred has been drawing all sections of the African race together, disposing the lighter coloured, since they can get no nearer to the whites, to identify themselves with the mass of those who belong to their own stock."

VIII. THE WORKING MEN OF AMERICA.

"The native work-people [as opposed to recent immigrants] are of course fairly educated; they read the daily newspapers, while their women may take a weekly religious journal and a weekly or monthly magazine; many of them, specially in the smaller cities, belong to a congregation in whose concerns they are generally interested. Most are total abstainers. Their wives have probably had a longer schooling and read more widely than they do themselves. In the smaller towns both in New England and the West, and even in some of the large cities, such as Philadelphia and Chicago, the richer part of them own the houses they live in, wooden houses in the suburbs with a little Verandah and a bit of garden, and thus feel themselves to have a stake in the country. Their womankind dress with so much taste that on Sunday, or when you meet them in the steam cars, you would take them for persons in easy circumstances."

"Contrast anyone of these countries [of Europe] with the United States, where the working classes are as well-fed, clothed and lodged as the lower middle class in Europe, and the farmers who till their own land (as nearly all do) much better, or where a good education is within the reach of the poorest,

where the opportunities of getting on in one way or another are so abundant that no one need fear any physical ill but disease or the results of his own intemperance....The impression which this comfort and plenty makes is heightened by the brilliance and keenness of the air, by the look of freshness and cleanness which even the cities wear....It is impossible not to feel warmed, cheered, invigorated by the sense of such material well-being all around one, impossible not to be infected by the buoyancy and hopefulness of the people."

IX. THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES.

"This striking growth in the number of students seems due to two causes. One cause, operative all over the country,.....is the sense that a knowledge of applied science has great practical value for many occupations, and especially for agriculture and for the various branches of engineering, and that it is therefore worth while, "as a business proposition" to spend some years in acquiring that knowledge systematically than to begin practical life on leaving school at fifteen or sixteen years of age. The other cause is that University education has become fashionable, and is more and more coming to be considered not as a luxury for the few, nor a thing needed only by those who mean to enter one of the so-called "learned professions," but a preparation for life with which all those who can afford the money and the time ought to be furnished. Formerly young men intended for a business life seldom thought, except in two or three of the older states, of going to College. Now they are just as likely to go as any others. This is the most noteworthy new feature of the last thirty years, and is also the most striking educational difference between America and Europe. A university education has in the United States ceased to be the privilege of the few. It is for all the world.

"The change is itself largely due to two economic facts. One is the rapid increase in the number of persons with incomes large enough to make it easy for them to send sons and daughters to college. The other is the creation of State Universities, especially in the Western States, in which instruction is provided at a very low charge. These have so much popularised the higher education that through their example and influence the afflux of students to all colleges has increased. It may be added that charges are everywhere moderate.....Nor can it be denied that the rivalry, not only of denominations but of particular places, even comparatively small places, has borne a part in this immense multiplication of teaching institutions. Each little city or even rural area thinks it a feather in its cap to possess a college, and those who own real estate believe that it raises the value of the land they have to sell. Once the college is established, its staff as well as the

local people are concerned to "boom" and "boost" it.....

"This increase has tended to give the Universities, and especially the larger ones, a much more prominent place in the life of the country than they formerly had. They have become objects of general interest. Questions affecting them are more amply discussed in newspapers and magazines, and appear to lay more hold on the community at large than is the case in England or perhaps in any European country. The alumni of the greater universities form associations, some few of which have branches in the chief cities of the country, while others are locally established. They meet from time to time; and when their *Alma Mater* celebrates an anniversary or opens a new building or inaugurates a new President, they flock to her, and give importance to the festivity.....they respond generously when the University asks them to contribute to some new object: indeed, it is largely through them that extension funds are raised. In one university the custom has grown up that each "class" shall on the completion of the twentyfifth year from graduation offer not less than 100,000 dollars (£20,000) to the University treasury.

"With this rise in the importance of the American University its headship has come to be an office of enhanced dignity and influence. The man selected for it is usually a person of literary or scientific eminence, though he is expected to possess administrative talents..... he is often also a leading figure in the State, perhaps even in the Nation. No persons in the country, hardly even the greatest railway magnates, are better known, and certainly none are more respected, than the Presidents of the leading universities."

X. WANTED QUALITY, AS WELL AS QUANTITY.

"So far, then, as quantity goes, whether quantity and variety of attendance or quantity and variety of instruction, nearly all that the needs of the time and the country demand has been attained.

"Quality is of course another matter. In education, improvements in quality do not always keep pace with increase in quantity, and often follow with sadly lagging steps. Nevertheless, they do generally tend to follow. No doubt the first and easier thing for an ambitious institution is to devote itself to material improvements, to enlarge its buildings and its library, its scientific apparatus, even its gymnasium. When money is spent on these things the result can be seen, and even the least instructed visitors are impressed. To secure more able, more learned, more inspiring teachers, and by their help to improve the instruction given and the standard of attainment which a degree represents is a slower and more difficult task.....

"It is felt that there ought to be a stronger

pulse of intellectual life among the undergraduates in the "College" or Academic department.....those who are keenly interested either in their particular subjects or in the "things of the mind" in general are comparatively few in number. Athletic competitions and social pleasures claim the larger part of their thoughts, and the University does not seem to be giving them that taste for intellectual enjoyment which ought to be acquired early if it is to be acquired at all.

"The conception of a general liberal education, the ideal of such an education as something which it is the function of a University to give in order to prepare men for life as a whole, over and above the preparation required for any particular walk of life [vocational education], is described as being in some institutions insufficiently valued and imperfectly realised. Those whose views I am setting forth admit that professional and other special schools can give, and often do give, an effective training of the mental powers in the course of the special instruction they impart. What they miss is that largeness of view and philosophic habit of thought which the study of such subjects as literature, philosophy, and history is fitted to implant when these subjects are taught in a broad and stimulating way. In short, the pressure of the practical subjects and of the practical spirit in handling these subjects, is deemed to be unduly strong."

XI. THE INFLUENCE OF DEMOCRACY ON CREATIVE INTELLECTUAL POWER.

There are two opposite theories on the subject. Democratic institutions stimulate the mind of a people, not only sharpening men's wits by continual struggle and unrest, but giving to each citizen a sense of his own powers and duties in the world, which spurs him on to exertions in ever-widening fields. The other view is that the opinion of the greatest number being the universal standard, everything is reduced to the level of vulgar minds. Originality is stunted, variety disappears, no man thinks for himself, or, if he does, fears to express what he thinks. Lord Bryce says that 'both these theories will be found on examination to be baseless', but from his very instructive discourse it would appear that he rather leans to the second theory as containing more of the truth. He begins by saying that the absence of brilliant genius among the ninety millions in the United States should excite no surprise. 'The wind bloweth where it listeth'; the rarest gifts appear no one can tell why or

how. But America has also failed to produce its fair share of talents of the second rank. What is the cause of it? Here is Lord Bryce's answer :

"Those who have discussed the conditions of intellectual productivity have often remarked that epochs of stir and excitement are favourable because they stimulate men's minds, setting new ideas afloat, and awakening new ambitions. It is also true that vigorous unrelenting labour is, speaking generally, needed for the production of good work, and that one is therefore less entitled to expect it in an indolent time and from members of the luxurious classes. But it is not less true, though less frequently observed, that tranquillity and repose are necessary to men of the kind we are considering, and often helpful even to the highest geniuses, for the evolving of new thoughts and the creation of forms of finished and harmonious beauty. He who is to do such work must have time to meditate, and pause, and meditate again. He must be able to set his creation aside, and return to it after days and weeks to look at it with fresh eyes. He must be neither distracted from his main purpose, nor hurried in effecting it. He must be able to concentrate the whole force of his reason or imagination on one subject, to abstract himself when needful from the flitting sights and many-voiced clamour of the outer world..... Interrupted thought, trains of reflection or imaginative conceptions constantly broken by a variety of petty transient calls of business, claims of society, matters passing in the world to note and think of, not only tire the mind but destroy its chances of attaining just and deep views of life and nature, as a wind-ruffled pool ceases to reflect the rocks and woods around it. Mohammed falling into trances on the mountain above Mecca, Dante in the Sylvan solitudes of Fonte Avellana, Cervantes and Bunyan in the enforced seclusion of a prison, Hegel so wrapt and lost in his speculations that, taking his manuscript to the publisher in Jena on the day of the great battle, he was surprised to see French soldiers in the streets ; these are types of the men and conditions which give birth to thoughts that occupy succeeding generations : and what is true of these greatest men is perhaps even more true of men of the next rank....."

"In Europe men call this an age of unrest. But the United States is more unrestful than Europe, more unrestful than any country we know of has yet been. Nearly everyone is busy... The earning of one's living is not, indeed, incompatible with intellectually creative work, for many of those who have done such work best have done it in addition to their gainful occupation, or have earned their living by it. But in America it is unusually hard for any one to withdraw his mind from the endless variety of external impressions and interests which daily

life presents, and which impinge upon the mind, I will not say to vex it, but to keep it constantly vibrating to their touch..... In the United States the ceaseless stir and movement, the constant presence of newspapers..... chase away from it the opportunities for repose and meditation which art and philosophy need, as growing plants need the coolness and darkness of night no less than the blaze of day. The type of mind which American conditions have evolved is quick, practical, versatile, but it is unfavourable to the natural germination and slow ripening of large and luminous ideas; it wants the patience that will spend weeks or months on bringing details to an exquisite perfection....."

"It may be objected to this view that some of the great literary ages, such as the Periclean age at Athens, the Medicean age at Florence, the age of Elizabeth in England, have been ages full of movement and excitement. But the unrestfulness which prevails in America is altogether different from the large variety of life, the flow of stimulating ideas and impressions which marked those ages. Life is not as interesting in America, except as regards commercial speculation, as it is in Europe, because society and the environment of man are too uniform. It is hurried and bustling; it is filled with a multitude of duties and occupations and transient impressions. In the ages I have referred to, men had time enough for all there was to do, and the very scantiness of literature and rarity of news made that which was read and received tell more powerfully upon the imagination."

XII. THE MATERIALISTIC TENDENCY.

"Nor is it only the distractions of American life that clog the wings of invention. The atmosphere is over-full of all that pertains to material progress. Americans themselves say, when excusing the comparative poverty of learning and science, that their chief occupation at present is the subjugation of their continent, that it is an occupation large enough to demand most of the energy and ambition of the nation, but that presently, when this work is done, the same energy and ambition will win similar triumphs in the fields of abstract thought, while the gifts which now make them the first nation in the world for practical inventions, will then assure to them a like place in scientific discovery. There is evidently much truth in this..... But, besides this withdrawal of an unusually large part of the nation's force, the predominance of material and practical interests has turned men's thoughts and conversation into a channel unfavourable to the growth of the higher and more solid kinds of literature, perhaps still more unfavourable to art. Goethe said, "If a talent is to be speedily and happily developed the chief point is that a great deal of intellect and sound culture should be current in a nation." There is certainly a great deal of intellect current in the United States. But it is

chiefly directed to business, that is, to railways, to finance, to commerce, to inventions, to manufactures, (as well as to practical professions like the law), things which play a relatively larger part than in Europe, as subjects of universal attention and discussion. There is abundance of sound culture, but it is so scattered about in diverse places and among small groups which seldom meet one another, that no large cultured society has arisen similar to that of European capitals or to that which her universities have created for Germany.....A young talent gains less than it would gain in Europe from the surroundings into which it is born. The atmosphere is not charged with ideas as in Germany, nor with critical *finesse* as in France. Stimulative it is, but the stimulus drives eager youth away from the groves of the Muses into the struggling throng of the market-place.....In the city or State where he lives there is nothing to call him away from the present. All he sees is new, and he has no glories to set before him save those of accumulated wealth and industry skilfully applied to severely practical ends."

XIII. INFLUENCE OF CHEAP LITERATURE.

"It might have been thought that the profusion of cheap reprints would quicken thought and diffuse the higher kinds of knowledge among the masses. But by far the largest number of these reprints, and the part most extensively read, were novels, and among them many flimsy novels, which drove better books, including some of the best American fiction, out of the market, and tended to Europeanize the American mind in the worst way.....the habit of mind produced by a diet largely composed of newspapers is adverse to solid thinking and dulling to the sense of beauty. Scorched and stony is the soil which newspaper reading has prepared to receive the seeds of genius.

"Does the modern world really gain, so far as creative thought is concerned, by the profusion of cheap literature? It is a question one often asks in watching the passengers on an American Railway. A boy walks up and down the car scattering newspapers and books in paper covers right and left as he goes. The newspapers are glanced at, though probably most people have read several of the day's papers already. The books are nearly all novels. They are not bad in tone, and sometimes they give incidentally a superficial knowledge of things outside the personal experience of the reader; while from their newspapers the passengers draw a stock of information far beyond that of a European peasant, or even of an average European artisan. Yet one feels that this constant succession of transient ideas, none of them impressively though many of them startlingly stated, all of them flitting swiftly past the mental sight as the trees flit past the eyes when one looks out of the car window,

is no more favourable to the development of serious intellectual interests and creative intellectual power than is the limited knowledge of the European artisan or peasant.....Printing is by no means pure gain to the creative faculties, whatever it may be to the acquisitive; even as a great ancient thinker seems to have thought that the invention of writing in Egypt had weakened the reflective powers of man."

XIV. NEED OF THE CRITICAL FACULTY.

"Criticism is lenient, and for a time it could scarcely be said to exist, for the few journals which contained good reviews were little read except in four or five Northern Atlantic States, and several inland cities. A really active and searching criticism, which should appraise literary work on sound canons, not caring whether it has been produced in America, or in Europe, by a man or by a woman, in the East or in the West, is one of the things which America needed, and the rise of which is a thing to be welcomed. Among highly educated men this extravagant appreciation of native industry used to produce a disgust expressing itself sometimes in sarcasm, sometimes in despondency. Some still deem their home-grown literature trivial, and occupy themselves with European books, watching the presses of England, France and Germany more carefully than almost anyone does in England. Yet even these, I think, cherish silently the faith that when the West has been settled and the railways built, and possibilities of sudden leaps to wealth diminished, when culture has diffused itself among the classes whose education is now superficial, and their love of art extended itself from furniture to pictures and statuary, American literature will in due course flower out with a brilliance of bloom and a richness of fruit rivalling the Old World."

DEPRESSING EFFECT OF THE WANT OF AN INTELLECTUAL CAPITAL.

"The United States is the only great country in the world which has no capital.....By a capital I mean a city which is not only the seat of political government, but is also by the size, wealth and character of its population the head and centre of the country, a leading seat of commerce and industry, a reservoir of financial resources, the favoured residence of the great and powerful, the spot in which the chiefs of the learned professions are to be found, where the most potent and widely-read journals are published, whither men of literary and scientific capacity are drawn. The heaping together in such a place of these various elements of power, the conjunction of the forces of rank, wealth, knowledge, intellect, naturally makes such a city a sort of foundry in which opinion is melted and cast, where it receives that definite shape in which it can be easily propagated and diffused through the whole country, deriving not only

an authority from the position of those who form it but a momentum from the weight of numbers in the community whence it comes. The opinion of such a city becomes powerful politically because it is that of the persons who live at headquarters, who hold the strings of Government in their hands, who either themselves rule the state or are in close contact with those who do.....

"In the field of art and literature the influence of a great capital is no less marked. It gathers to a centre the creative power of the country, and subjects it to the criticism of the best instructed and most polished society. The constant action and reaction upon one another of groups of capable men in an atmosphere at once stimulative to invention and corrective of extravagance may give birth to works which isolated genius could hardly have produced. Goethe made this observation as regards Paris, contrasting the centralised society of France with the dispersion of the elements of culture over the wide area of his own Germany. "Now conceive a city like Paris, where the highest talents of a great kingdom are all assembled in a single spot, and by daily intercourse, strife, and emulation, mutually instruct and advance each other; where the best works, both of nature and art, from all kingdoms of the earth, are open to daily

inspection,—conceive this metropolis of the world, I say, where every walk across a bridge or across a square recalls some mighty past, and where some historical event is connected with every corner of a street. In addition to all this, conceive not the Paris of a dull spiritless time, but the Paris of the nineteenth century, in which, during three generations, such men as Moliere, Voltaire, Diderot, and the like, have kept up such a current of intellect as cannot be found twice in a single spot on the whole world, and you will comprehend that a man of talent like Ampere, who has grown up amid such abundance, can easily be something in his four-and-twentieth year" (*conversations with Eckermann*). The same idea of the power which a highly polished and strenuously active society has to educe and develop brilliant gifts underlies the memorable description which Pericles gives of Athens. And if it be suggested that the growth of such a centre may impoverish the rest of a country because the concentration of intellectual life tends to diminish the chances of variability, and establish too uniform a type, some compensation for any such loss may be found in the higher efficiency which such a society gives to the men of capacity whom it draws into its own orbit."

X.

SHIVANATH SHASTRI, M.A.

I.

THE life of Rammohan Roy (1773-1833) exactly bridges the Dark Age in the history of modern India, namely the period from Warren Hastings to Lord William Bentinck. At its commencement, the old order was dead, and decency and public health alike required its quick burial. In the late 18th century, Mughal civilisation (which had once worked wonders for us in the spheres of life and thought) was like a spent bullet. Its force was utterly exhausted; it could serve the nation no longer. Its representatives, both Hindus and Muhammadans, were (with a few exceptions) unworthy to conduct the administration, to give the law, or to lead thought. The disappearance of the good left only its evil elements free to flourish in society. Our record in that age is one of which no lover of India

can be proud; and the hope of India's future lay not in the hands of what was then known as Indian civilisation, but which was really the last stage of the moribund Mughal culture. The relentless law of evolution worked itself through the foreigners who hardly knew that they were entrusted with India's destiny. In the interests of efficiency and public good, the Indians were totally excluded from the public service, the command of the army and the control of education. The future seemed hopelessly dark to the great-grandsons of Aurangzib's generals and ministers, poets and scholars. They seemed to be doomed to live on as Pariahs or coolies (though unindentured) till the extinction of their race from the face of the globe.

Such was the outlook for India in the

infancy of Ram Mohan Roy. But when he closed his eyes in death, the Eastern horizon was suffused with the unmistakable crimson of a new dawn. Indians were again taking—or, rather, just beginning to take,—a legitimate share in the honourable and obligatory work of their country's government, the guidance of their country's thought, and the shaping of their countrymen's lives. But these were Indians of a new breed, the children of a culture other than that of Akbar and Shah Jahan. They drew their inspiration and their strength not from the East but from the West. They had acquired *English* learning and thus truly equipped themselves for the work of the modern age. They were the first fruits of the Indian Renaissance and their Prophet was Ram Mohan Roy.

But this Renaissance, as might have been expected from the nature of the case and the analogy of the European Renaissance, was at first purely intellectual and confined to the Upper Ten. It took time for the new spirit to filtrate down to the masses and to leaven our society, literature and daily life, as well as our thoughts. A number of black publicservants, doctors, teachers and journalists were produced who almost equalled the Europeans in efficiency and modern knowledge while doing the work at a quarter of the cost of white labour. The new learning, however, did not at first modify our social relations, our *general* outlook upon life, our literary ideals and methods, our religious doctrines and practices.

But as surely as the Renaissance in Europe was followed by a Reformation, such a modification of our life and faith was bound to come. The life of Shivanath Shastri (1847-1919) exactly spans the three score years and ten between Sir Henry Hardinge and Lord Chelmsford, between the first feeble, hesitating, and sometimes grotesque attempts to translate the new learning into our life and our society and the present day when the ultimate victory of Reform is a clear certainty (though not yet an accomplished fact), when the old order knows itself hopelessly beaten, and the cracks in—that grey Petrified

Cathedral (*Achal-avatan*) our Hindu society have dangerously widened and are threatening the loosening of stone from stone. But happily, the problem of the reconstruction of a New India has already been solved in the domains of literature, art, education, politics, thought,—and, in a less clear and less complete form, in society and religion too. The entire dissolution of the old order today will not leave us in anarchy, its successor is ready and partly trained to take the task of social progress from the hands of the dying past. Our work in the last 72 years has been constructive in a high degree and never wantonly destructive, for the old order has been dying a slow natural and almost imperceptible death. The life of Shivanath Shastri bridges this chasm, and in the construction of a newer and better India, which is the glorious achievement of these 72 years, he took a leading part.

He was born in 1847, at a time when not a single social reform like Widow remarriage, Enforced monogamy, Intercaste marriage, Adult marriage, &c. was even talked of,—when not a single newspaper influencing *political* opinion or educating the *people* was published by any Indian,—when not a single work was produced in that marvellous amalgam of the East and the West which is called modern Bengali literature,—when not a single religious sect was *organised* that translated the quintessence of Hinduism into *action* in its daily life and practice,—when the Indians had no political association of their own, no articulate voice, no clear or recognised aim even in the shaping of their country's destiny,—when University education was unknown in the land and original research not even dreamt of. And he lived to see them all and to contribute no mean share of his own to nearly all of them.

II.

Shivanath Bhattacharya came of a Vaidik Brahman family of a village 20 miles south-east of Calcutta. His ancestors had long maintained the tradition of honourable poverty and learning in their village, and his great-grand-father, Ramjay Nyayalankar, was one of the fore-

most Sanskrit theologians of his time. Young Shivanath (born on 31 January 1847), came to Calcutta and joined the school department of the Sanskrit College in 1856. The poverty and undesirable surroundings and company in the midst of which his boyhood and early youth were passed, have been graphically portrayed by him in his Autobiography and his novel *Yugantar*. They left deep scars on his mind and features to the end of his days. But the unquenchable love of truth and righteousness of this Brahman lad carried him to safety in the end, in spite of a fall here and there due to the utter ignorance of childhood. To the sufferings he underwent in his student days must be ascribed the early break-down of his health, which was but imperfectly counter-balanced by his "poor Brahman" hardiness and abstinence and his indefatigable energy laughing to scorn the weakness of the flesh. The memory of his unhappy student life was probably the most potent cause of his being a life-long active and successful advocate of the improvement of the physical and moral surroundings of Calcutta student life, the religious instruction of school boys, and the introduction of an element of kindness, personal magnetism, and domestic sweetness into the relations between pupil and teacher in the modern English schools and colleges of India. His exceptionally keen intelligence made him do well at examinations in spite of his privations and the acidity and dyspepsia which seized him in early life (as he told me) in consequence of his having to bolt a reeking dish of rice and *dal* early in the day, run to the bus-rendezvous at Kalighat, and again run from the bus-terminus at Bowbazar to the Sanskrit College. His hard-earned scholarship maintained during the strenuous struggle with poverty, when his father cut him off for having embraced Brahmoism. From 1862 Shivanath had begun to attend the lectures of Keshav Chandra Sen, the most powerful preacher of Brahmoism at the time, who had cast a spell over the hearts of our English-educated youth; in 1865 Shivanath began to find consolation, amidst his manifold woes

and anguish of heart, in communion with God in the privacy of sincere prayer, and in August 1869 he was publicly initiated as a Brahmo on the day of the opening of Keshav Chadra Sen's Church.

Young Shivanath flung himself heart and soul into all kinds of liberal movements—social, political, religious, educational, temperance &c.,—under the inspiring guidance of Keshav.

Bliss it was in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven !

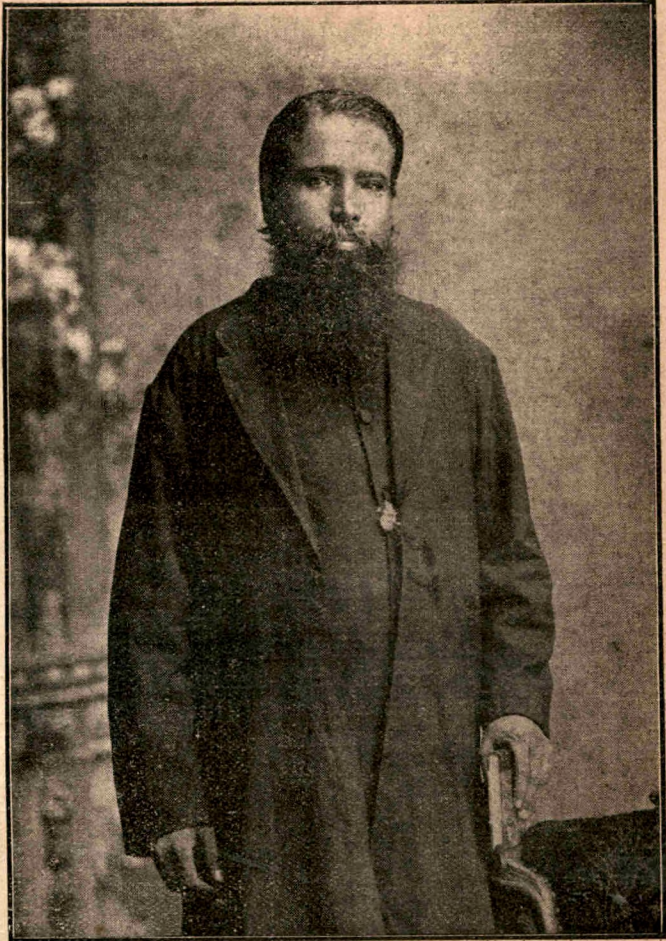
That was the true dawn of *our* Reformation: The number of the benevolent societies they started and their heavy "infant mortality," may raise a smile on the face of the modern reader. But they speak of the boundless energy and dauntless enthusiasm of Shivanath and his colleagues, no less than of their lack of common sense and ignorance of the character of their countrymen. But I am quite sure that Shivanath would have done it over again, even if he had possessed in his youth all the mature knowledge and sad experience of his manhood.

He took his M.A., degree in 1872 and served for some years as a very successful Head master in Government high schools. But in March 1878 he resigned, sacrificed his prospects, and devoted himself to a life of poverty to further the cause of Brahmoism and public improvement. Immediately afterwards came the Kuch Bihar marriage and the disruption of the Brahmo Samaj. Keshav was made an inspired Prophet by his zealous disciples and he did not reject their adoration. The "Left wing" of the Brahmo Samaj could not tolerate man-worship in the late 19th century; they separated from him. The split, inevitable in any case from Keshav's autocratic ways, was precipitated by the incursion of the Extreme Left of the Reformers,—the East Bengal Highlanders (if I may be pardoned this outrage on our country's geography) with their battle-cry of the liberty and equality of women. What a keen pang the separation from his Master must have caused to Shivanath we can easily imagine from his character and spirit of service.

But it was a stern necessity. In 1879 the foundation of the democratic *Sadharan Brahmo Samaj* was laid, and the building opened in January 1881. This Church is the creation of Anandamohan Bose, Durgamohan Das, and Shivanath Shastri, and its history during the next quarter century is the fittest biography of Shivanath. Because, he was its intellectual exponent, its highest preacher and writer, its universally respected Minister (*acharya*) at home, and its representative and champion abroad.

His high scholarship, his saintly character, his tireless energy and unobtrusive self-effacement drew round him a band of the most promising young workers,—men like Promoda Charan Sen and Satish Chandra Chakravarti,—who adored him even as he had adored Keshav in his youth. In the perennial supply of such worthy recruits lies the future growth and even life of the Brahmo Samaj.

To the outer public, Shivanath Shastri's greatness lay in his work as teacher, writer, and preacher. His literary and educational achievements are his richest contributions to the life of New India. The City School, in its best days, was the embodiment of his spirit and represents the first successful attempt to transplant modern English educational ideals to the Indian soil. How hard, how lovingly, how efficiently he worked as Secretary of this school in its infancy is known only to its earliest pupils, among whom the present writer was one. As a writer, Shivanath's sermons created a new style of pulpit oratory in Bengali,—simple but dignified, closely reasoned but not dry, fervent but not unrestrained, moral but not goody-goody. His novels are a source of pure delight and the only ones that father and daughter can read together, and yet they have high value as



Pandit Sivanath Sastri, M.A. (In his youth).

art (though falling short of perfection), and they never degenerate into sermons. As a journalist he did yeoman's service to the Brahmo Church for many long years, editing both the Bengali and English organs of his brethren, while his charming character-sketches of the great men he had known are familiar to the readers of this *Review*. His *Ramtanu Lahiri and His Times* is a store-house of historic information which no student of our Renaissance can afford to ignore.

III.

Why was Shivanath Shastri never a "national leader" or "All-India something"? The reason is partly personal and partly general. He was too modest,

too retiring; he shunned the drawing-room and the political platform alike; he loved to wrestle, not with a political opponent in the *pandal* or the press, but with "the world, the flesh and the Devil" in the solitude of prayer. He kept no private secretary, inspired no personal paragraphs in the daily papers; never even became director of a Swadeshi Joint-stock Bank or Factory. A potential great man with such antiquated prejudices cannot be labelled as a twentieth century "Indian Nation-builder."

Within the Brahmo Samaj itself he was a power only by reason of his character and intellect, and not by reason of his status or following. This was the consequence of the evolution through which the Samaj is passing. The fiery unkempt John Knox type of Brahmo preacher, which was so much to the front in the eighties of the last century, has disappeared. Even the sons of the "East Bengal Highlanders" have become city-bred, toned down, respectable house-owners, not lacking the sense of humour. The smooth-shaven, smug "Clapham suburban villa" type of Non-conformist of the mid-Victorian era, now seems to rule the Samaj. The society which congregates in the church now demands a high standard of living, and that means the possession of wealth. Shivanath never sought wealth.

With another class of our people, the successful preacher is the facile rhetorician

who can appeal to the emotions, raise a mist of tears of *bhakti* among his audience and (metaphorically) drown reason and individual judgment in the roar of a Vaishnav *kirtan*. This type was affected by the Keshavites in their latter days. But Shivanath would neither dance the ecstatic dance in the street, nor foam in the mouth and prophesy. The saintly character in India has a natural tendency to gravitate to the celibate *sanyasi* type (whether living in his own house or under the banyan tree, is immaterial). Shivanath, however, was a man of action and the father of a family. He, therefore, could not satisfy the adorers of the Bijaykrishna Gosvami or Ramkrishna Paramhansa type.

But the disappearance of such a fearless lover of truth and righteousness, such a sincere believer and devout leader in prayer is specially to be regretted at the present day. The third generation from converts becomes atheists. The spring-tide of theistic enthusiasm which marked the seventies and eighties of the last century has already begun to ebb.

"The Sea of faith

Was once, too, at the full, and round earth's

Lay like the folds of a bright girdle furl'd. ^{shore}

But now I only hear

Its melancholy, long, withdrawing roar,

Retreating to the breath

Of the night-wind, down the vast edges drear
And naked shingles of the world."

JADUNATH SARKAR.

WAR WORK OF INDIANS IN BRITAIN

II

THE MILITARY EFFORT.

By MRS. ST. NIHAL SINGH.

IN spite of their pretensions to know India even better than Indians themselves, retired Anglo-Indians, who are ubiquitous in Britain, felt exceedingly nervous about the attitude that Indians

in Britain, and, for that matter in India, would assume towards the war. Immediately after the hostilities commenced I heard many of them asking questions to ascertain what Indians in the United



Pandit Sivanath Sastri, M.A. (in his old age).



B. Bonnerjee, B.A., who served with the
Y. M. C. A. in France.

Kingdom thought of the German attempt to dominate the world. The casual manner in which they made these enquiries did not conceal their anxiety.

Indians in Britain, as in India, did not keep the Anglo-Indians on the *qui vive* very long. Almost without thinking, certainly without demanding any *quid pro quo*, they decided to do all in their power to strengthen the British hand in the prosecution of the struggle.

India's determination made the British people at large almost delirious with joy. But there were Anglo-Indians in Britain, as there were no doubt in India, who were aghast at the prospect of members of a subject-race, heathen to boot, being transported to Europe to fight against Christian Europeans, and even more so at the idea of Indians serving on terms of equality with the British rank and file.

These, they felt, were dangerous precedents, and might gravely interfere with the privileges and monopolies that they enjoyed as "superior beings."

Indians at British Universities and Inns of Court found that, war or no war, they could not enter the Officers' Training Corps, though their British fellow-students, no better than they, were being freely admitted to obtain training to qualify as commissioned officers in the new small armies, and if perchance they were able to secure the requisite training, it was unlikely that in the end they would be given commissions.

Even medical commissions were not easy to obtain, and many qualified Indians sought them in vain. After the tragic breakdown in Mesopotamia, the



Jemadar Arjun Singh, who journeyed to England from Argentine to serve in France. He was attached to the Lahore General Hospital in Rouen, and at other Military Hospitals for Indians.



Poresh Lal Roy who served as a private in the Honourable Artillery Company, and was in France almost from the beginning of the war.

situation somewhat improved in regard to medical commissions. But even towards the end of the war when the shortage of medical men had become most acute, Indian medical men and medical students in this country were not taken in the Royal Army Medical Corps, though they found it easy to obtain positions as House Surgeons in hospitals, and as *locum tenens* for British doctors who had gone into the army.

PRIVATES AND N. C. O.'S.

Any Indian in the United Kingdom could, of course, volunteer. But so far as I could see, no one in authority showed any particular enthusiasm at their joining

the British army even as privates. Some Indian young men were actually refused admission into British Regiments. I am told, for instance, by Mr. Poresh Lal Roy (the eldest son of the Public Prosecutor of Calcutta) that 2nd Sportsman's Battalion and the Kensington Regiment, would not have him. And Poresh Lal had made a brilliant record as a sportsman while at a well-known public school in London, and at Cambridge!

How well I remember that in the early days of the war Indians keen upon fighting for the Empire were told that they could not expect to be admitted into the British Army, when there was a long line of Britons waiting to be enrolled as soon as there were vacancies in the Territorial establishment. It was pointed out to them, however, that, since the number of sick and wounded was bound to be very large, and the establishment for rendering medical relief was sure to prove inadequate, they would be able to render valuable service to their King and Empire by qualifying themselves as Red Cross workers.

Young Indians in Britain were, however, in no mood to be deflected from their purpose so easily. They felt that they were regarded as members of an inferior race—and even cowardly. Above all they desired equality of treatment—at any rate equality of opportunity to serve. In love for liberty and devotion to the common cause they yielded to none. In mental and moral qualities they certainly did not lag behind young Britons. Not a few of them had distinguished themselves on the cricket, hockey and football grounds and in golf and boxing, and had won many championships. What wonder that many of these young men felt that the suggestion that they should engage in medical relief instead of leading men in action, as British students no better fitted to do so than they were doing, was a reflection upon their mental, moral and physical qualities, and a veritable badge of racial and social inferiority!

Had not Indian leaders used all the persuasive powers that they possessed, it is quite possible that many of the Indian

students would have felt that if, even in war-time, they were not good enough to be treated on par with their British fellow-students at Universities and Inns of Court, they would simply stand aside and do nothing. Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and Mr. B. N. Basu were in Britain at the time, and reinforced the effort made by the Indians more or less permanently settled in the United Kingdom to convince the young Indians that when a conflict was raging they should not think of their own dignity, but should be willing to perform any service, no matter how lowly, that might be assigned to them. Their entreaties prevailed, and a considerable number of Indians residing in the United Kingdom at the time placed their services "unconditionally" at the disposal of the Government.

This attitude made it possible to organise, at the end of August, 1914, a group of Indians whom Dr. James Cantlie who befriended Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the Chinese



Private Arnold Nundy, who served almost from the commencement of the war in the R.A.M.C.



Lt. Indra Lal Roy, D.F.C., R.A.F., who was killed while flying in France.

partiot, undertook to train for medical relief work. Towards the end of September it was decided "to organise a Field Ambulance Training Corps in connection with the Red Cross Society," of which I gave an account in my last article on this subject.

Among the young Indians in the United Kingdom there were, however, some who, in spite of all obstacles, were determined to press for the opportunity to fight. Sooner or later some of them got their chance.

One of these pioneers was Mr. K. Bonarjee, a grandson, I believe, of the late Mr. Womesh Chunder Bonarjee. When hostilities commenced he was at Oxford and managed somehow to get into the Officers' Training Corps. In the course of time he got a commission. All sorts of yarns are spun, some plausible, some otherwise, to explain how this fair-skinned



Mr. G. V. Utam Singh, an Indian Barrister, who was a member of the Indian Volunteer Corps, and later served as a special constable in London.

young Indian succeeded where others of his race had failed. And many amusing tales are told about the anxiety that his success caused to the caste that monopolised commissions. Whatever the truth of these yarns may be, this much is certain, that Lieutenant Bonarjee was sent out to Egypt where, I believe, he remained till the end of the campaign.

Mr. Kershap Ardesir Dadabhai Naoroji, the grandson of India's Grand Old man, did not get a commission, but left Christ's College (Cambridge) to join the Middlesex Regiment in 1915. He went out to France early in 1916, as a Lance Corporal, and later became a Sergeant. He was the hero of several daring exploits. On one

occasion, for instance, he bayoneted a German officer who had shot a wounded British Tommy. He was wounded in a charge and sent to a hospital in Cheshire, England. Upon recovering he was honourably discharged. Quite recently he was recommended for a Commission and sent to a Cadet Camp. But of that later.

Another under-graduate of Cambridge who, shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, joined the Honourable Artillery Company—the oldest regiment in Britain—was Poresch Lal Roy, to whom I have already referred. He spent three years in France, part of the time doing duty in the trenches with his unit, where he received a wound in 1915, and part of the time doing regimental transport work on roads exposed to shell fire, as will be seen later, towards the end of the war he was recommended for a Commission.

Jogendra Sen, who, as a scholar of the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education for Indians, had taken the B. Sc., in Britain, joined the West Yorkshire Regiment as a private, and was killed while in action in France. He was given a military funeral and the officer of the Company in which he served wrote of him that he was one of the best in the Company, and "died like a soldier doing his duty and doing it well."

Another young Bengali who enlisted early in the war was Mr. A. K. Das Gupta, who was studying motor engineering in Britain when hostilities began. After a short training he was sent over to France, where he was attached to the transport section of the Army Service Corps, and rendered extremely useful service. A friend tells me that at present he is with the British Army of Occupation.

Mr. B. Muthu, the eldest son of Dr. Chowri Muthu, the great Indian tuberculosis specialist who maintains (for British patients) a large sanatorium at Wells, Somersetshire, and Mr. A. Nundy, the son of Dr. E. Nundy of Brixton, a suburb of London, gave up their medical studies in London and joined the British Army as Privates. Private Muthu, after serving in France for a time, was sent to Palestine, where he remained until

after the cessation of hostilities. Private Nundy served in the Royal Army Medical Corps in France, and was required to perform multifarious duties, including those of stretcher-bearer, ambulance driver and hospital worker.

Hardly had young J. Dalal reached military age, when he went to the recruiting office at Harrow, where, as a public school boy, he had greatly distinguished himself as a cricketer, and volunteered for active service. I do not think that his people knew of his intention of joining the army until after he had been accepted. In course of time he went out to France, and was in the last big "push."

Mr. D. L. Patwardhan, a young Maratha, who, through dint of self-exertion, had become qualified as a marine engineer, followed a different course from any of these young men. After serving for a time in the Sussex Yeomanry, he secured admission into a Yeomanry training camp and, in due course, was recommended by his Commanding Officer for a commission. But he found that the powers that be would not have him. Thereupon he undertook to repair British submarines, and later qualified as a machine gun expert, and taught Britons how to make effective use of that weapon. Early this year he was given a commission in the Royal Air Force.

Arjan Singh a young Sikh who, after serving in the Indian Army for several years, had gone to the Argentine, found on his arrival in England that not even a Viceroy's commission, let alone a King's commission, could be had. He thereupon went to France and stayed there for a few days, hoping to find better luck. Disappointed, he returned to England and began again to move Whitehall to find a place for him. After months of persistent effort, he finally was made a Jemadar and was sent to one of the hospitals in Britain set apart for the treatment of wounded Indians. Later he was sent to the hospital in France, where he remained almost to the end of the war.

Another young Indian, Kumar Rudra, son of the

Stephen's College, Delhi. At the outbreak of hostilities he was receiving education at Trinity College, Kandy. So fired was he with zeal that he managed to obtain funds for his passage, and, along with some Ceylonese young men, journeyed to Britain. He joined the Royal Fusiliers in 1916, and was wounded in the battle of the Somme. After his recovery, he returned to France and joined the band of Indians who, through the Y. M. C. A., were making life pleasant for the Indian soldiers by providing them with amusement, reading and writing their letters and petitions, and in other ways looking after their comfort. As will be noticed later he was recommended for a commission a few months before the armistice was signed.

Several Indians who had enlisted in the Canadian and Australian expeditionary forces stayed for a time in Britain, either to complete their training, or on their way to France. The only one among them whom I met was Gurbachan Singh. Years ago, after receiving his discharge from the Indian Army, he went to Australia, practically penniless, unable to speak English, but determined to succeed. A friendly Indian taught him the pedlar's trade and he went about the country hawking his wares until he had managed to save sufficient money to start a shop. When the war began he owned a large and prosperous store in New South Wales. But he was a Sikh, and fighting was in his blood. He determined to go to the Western front as a soldier. Leaving his store in charge of a manager, he succeeded, after considerable difficulty, in joining the Australian force. Even then he had to continue to bring pressure to bear to be sent abroad. While serving in France he got shell shock and had to be sent to Britain for treatment. Later he was discharged, and went back to Australia. On reaching there he immediately sold his store and is at present in India, having moved Punjab once more.

II. OUR AIRMEN.

of all the rebuffs that they met
ports to obtain commissions in
few young Indians refused to
they went patiently from the

India Office to the War Office and back again times without number, and sought to bring every possible influence to bear upon the authorities.

Their persistence finally broke down the barrier. Hardit Singh Malik, Jeejeebhoy, S. G. Welinkar, E. S. Sen, I. L. Roy, and others got commissions in the Royal Flying Corps.

Jeejeebhoy, I hear, was so keen upon getting into the Air Service, that he actually went, at his own expense, to the United States of America to learn flying at the Curtis School. When he returned to Britain with his pilot's certificate, the Royal Flying Corps could not refuse him admission.

Practically all the Indians who entered the Air Service have had more or less serious mishaps. Malik was wounded while flying in France, but only slightly. Jeejeebhoy had a nasty accident, which laid him up in hospital for months. S. G. Welinkar, a most promising young man, is officially reported as missing. E. S. Sen, after a long imprisonment in Germany, was recently repatriated. Indra Lal Roy (younger brother of Poresch Lal Roy) was killed while serving in France, and he was awarded a posthumous D. F. C. According to the official report, he "accounted for nine enemy machines" in 13 days, and in every engagement "displayed remarkable skill and daring, on more than one occasion accounting for two machines in one patrol."

III. COMMISSIONS IN FUTURE.

After the Secretary of State for India had announced in the House of Commons on August 20, 1917, that His Majesty's Government had removed the racial bar that prevented Indians from holding commissions, it was expected that commissions would be given with a liberal hand to Indians in Britain (and in India). At the time the issue of the war was in the air, indeed the collapse of Russia had made the military situation perilous, and after the announcement was made, it was found it necessary to raise the age, and men comparatively few in number, were at present undergoing

Prime minister called upon India to redouble her military efforts, and imposed upon her the duty of meeting the German menace to the East.

In spite of all the grave developments, the authorities let time pass without giving any tangible indication of throwing open the military rank to Indians. For months together they were content with merely transferring from the "Native Indian Land Forces" to the ordinary list the names of nine Indians who had passed through Lord Curzon's Imperial Cadet Corps. Some time ago the Right Honourable E. S. Montagu let the cat out of the bag when he broadly hinted that the War Office did not like the reform, and that progress was thereby obstructed.

Late last year I learned that three Indians had been selected on account of distinguished service in France for temporary commissions, which, if they did well, would be converted into permanent commissions later, and that selection was then being made from a number of applicants by the Government of India for vacancies for Indians to join the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. In January last I further learned that the Government was selecting promising Indians for a number of temporary commissions, and that the accepted candidates would be trained at a military college at Indore, those recommended at the end of the war as suited for permanent commissions being eligible for them.

No names were given, but I believe that Messrs. Naoroji, Poresch Lal Roy, and Rudra were the three Indians who, on account of distinguished service in France, were selected. They went to a cadet school for training, but soon after the armistice was signed Mr. Roy, together with British cadets in his particular camp, was discharged. The other two have quite recently been sent to Indore for the completion of their training. Mr. Patwardhan has been given a commission in the Royal Air Force. As far as my knowledge goes, only four or five Indians, out of hundreds of Indian students, are at present undergoing

officers. One of them, Mr. L. K. Roy (the youngest son of Mr. P. L. Roy of Calcutta) has been sent to Sandhurst to undergo training along with five Indians who recently arrived from India. The others, Bonarjee, Rudra, and Mr. V. N. Bhola Nauth, son of Colonel Bhola Nauth, until recently Assistant Director of Medical Service in Mesopotamia, were some time ago, sent to Indore for training.

From this survey it is clear that in spite of the most fervid Imperial patriotism and dogged determination shown by young

Indians in the United Kingdom, the powers that be have kept the door leading to military rank almost as tightly shut as when hostilities began. It matters little to Indians whether one department or another in Whitehall is to blame. What matters is that 19 months after His Majesty's Government announced, with a flourish of trumpets, that the colour-bar had been removed, less than a dozen Indians have been given the opportunity of obtaining training in Britain to qualify themselves to become military officers.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

THE HOME AND THE WORLD, by Rabindranath Tagore. Translated into English. (Macmillan) Pp. 294 + 10. One dollar 75 cents.

This novel of modern Indian life in the days of the great Swadeshi movement in Bengal is Rabindranath's reply to Arabindo Ghosh. And thereby hangs a tale.

Our wrestlers salam each other before they come to grips, and so do our poets. At the dawn of the present Nationalist agitation Tagore published a long poetical salutation to Arabindo in his best style: *Arabinda ! Rabindrer Laha Namaskar*. The inspired seer of Indian Nationalism was equally sweet on Rabindranath. And then they began to spar.

Tagore publicly denounced the cult of hatred, violence and political jugglery taught by some of our Nationalist leaders. This moral canker would, he argued, kill all our country's hopes; in God's world nothing immoral, nothing false, can triumph in the end. Arabindo (or more correctly his "pal") replied in the *Vande Mataram*, saying that such moral preaching was unpractical, that a great National regeneration can be effected only by rousing a whirlwind of passions, that in the great churning of the Indian mind which must precede the construction of our new heaven, poison and nectar alike must be expected to rise to the surface, that we must awaken the entire man in India in passionate insurrection against the existing order and then somehow in the end the good will triumph over the evil of the Revolution. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal also preached Rousseau's dangerous doctrine that the minority (here the East Bengal Muhammadans) must be compelled to be free, that

those people who through ignorance or self-interest cannot accept the Swadeshi cult, must be coerced to join the Nationalist ranks; in short, that Rabindranath, a dreamy poet living in an ethereal atmosphere far away from our real world, was a "preacher of love and sweetness" (as Arabindo styled him) but a child in politics; and our war with the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy cannot be conducted in kid gloves.

Rabindranath did not reply immediately. The moral shock that he had received forced him to leave the Swadeshi camp and seek to heal his stricken heart in the rural quiet of Shanti Niketan. But he

"In meditation dwelt,

And shaped his weapon with an edge severe."

That reply is no polemical tract or platform oration, but a novel—the *Home and the World* (*Ghare Baire*), the moral of which he who runs may read.

Here in the corner of Bengal selected as the scene, the fiery orator (Sandip, 'blazing') openly preaches that all the baser passions of man must be roused if we are to save our country, that copybook morality, a sober decorous conduct on the part of our people, will not serve this high purpose, that the moral and intellectual elevation of our countrymen for ensuring true national union and love of independence is too slow a process and will be thwarted by the alien bureaucracy, and that we have only to set fire to our house and the mysterious force of Goodness will somehow or other present us with a newer and better home as the result! He openly justifies force and fraud in the great cause of the Motherland. He would shut his eyes to the enormous drag of so many millions of ignorant Muhammadans and depressed Namiasudras, and instead of following the slow

but sure process of converting them, elevating them making friends with them,—he hoped to achieve a speedy success by hood-winking them, coercing them, riding roughshod over them, as negligible factors. The whole novel proves that these are *not* negligible factors and that a nationalist India when not based upon strength of character, hearty union and true obliteration of differences, is a house built on sand. The storm came, the rain descended, and the Nationalist "New Jerusalem" fell (in Barisal), and tragic was the fall of it. With this tragedy the novel ends.

But Ravindranath is too clever an artist to write a sermon and label it as a novel. *The Home and the World* is much more than a political parable. Indeed, readers ignorant of recent Bengal history will relish it none the less for altogether missing its political significance, for the abiding interest of the book lies in its unfolding a grave human problem with Jane Austen's delicacy of touch and subtle analysis of character. The problem is, how does the cloister virtue of the Hindu *home* fare in the wide *world* outside? Hitherto Hindu wives have led a sheltered life within the family circle; we have set up walls round them, not so much out of suspicion as from a desire to protect them. We have been giving our daughters in marriage before they could know what temptation is. And they have been models of virtue. But how would such virtue stand the strain of the world outside the harem walls where men and women move freely? Would not freedom under proper chaperoning in the early years have braced their characters and made them able to guard themselves like the free womanhood of the West or even of Maharashtra? The Irish girls carefully herded by Catholic priests in all their acts are models of virtue at *home*; but the same Irish girl breaks down hopelessly when thrown on her own guardianship as an emigrant in New York, because she has never been taught to take care of herself.

"Queen Bee" the heroine of our novel, at *home* is all that a wife should be. But as soon as she enters the *world*, her unformed character is imperceptibly driven by the irresistible force of environment and incident into a stage of development which ruins her home and appals her own self. Dr. Tagore's pitiless scalpel has dissected her heart at every step of this tragic change, and herein lies his literary craftsmanship. Oddly enough, some vernacular writers have denounced this novel as a plea for free love and the wrecking of wedded life!

Apart from its personal and deeper significances as described by me above, can we not detect in the novel, an ironical laughter of Tagore? Is not he here telling his opponents in the Swadeshi camp that he has renounced, "you justify force and fraud in imposing Swadeshi on the unwilling, ignorant minority. How would you like to see the same means

employed, for a personal purpose to win an ignorant woman living within the circle of the home? Can the rules of private morality be safely abjured in politics?"

JADUNATH SARKAR.

STUDIES IN MUGHAL INDIA, *Jadunath Sarkar, M. A. Pp. 313, M. C. Sircar & Sons, Calcutta. Rs. 2.*

Professor Sarkar needs no introduction to the public. The present volume is the second edition of his 'Historical Essays,' with no less than twelve new essays on various topics. Written in his usual simple and graceful style Professor Sarkar's essays are very charming indeed. He possesses that rare gift of making highly learned subjects easily intelligible, and productions of his mature scholarship as they are, these essays will be equally interesting to the serious student and lay readers. Here will they find, all that is known, about the daily life of two great Mughal Emperors, the revenue regulations of Aurangzebe, some account of Art and Education in Muhammadan India, the education of a Mughal prince and also learned treatises on various other historical topics. To these have also been added biographical sketches of two great Hindu Historians of Mediaeval India, Bhimsen and Ishwardas Nagar, William Guine, a European scholar, and Khuda Bakhsh, the Indian Bodley. Such a work would have gone through several editions in a single year in Europe, but here in India it will be considered a great thing that it has seen a second edition at all. Every student of Indian History should provide himself with a copy, as the price is within the means of almost all.

S. N. S.

GUJARATI.

SAKSHAR JIVAN (साक्षर जीवन), by the late Govardhanram Madhavram Tripathi, B.A., LL.B., printed at the Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay and published by his son, Ramanujaram G. Tripathi, Bombay. Cloth bound, with a coloured photo of the writer. Pp. 309. Price Rs. 2, (1919).

A melancholy interest attaches to this publication, as the writer died before he could complete it. It first appeared about eighteen years ago as a magazine article in the quarterly Samalochak, and at the time attracted the attention of several thinkers, by the philosophical aspect which was lent to it, owing to the writer's predilection for the subject. However, as it was essentially a theme for those who were learned and cultured, it lay in that shape till young Ramanujaram conceived the idea of bringing it out as a separate book. In addition to the deep learning displayed by the late Mr. Tripathi in elucidating the literary life lived by the Indians of old, specially such notable scholars as Vyas and Vashishtha, the present publication in the introduction contributed to it

by Prof. B. K. Thakore, of the Deccan College, Poona, displays an equally sound erudition in trying to facilitate the understanding of an essay which in several places is obscure and in many, above the head of the ordinary reader. The notes at the end, also written by the Professor, still further assist the student. Notwithstanding all these accompaniments the book, we are afraid, would be read by very few.

BALAK NI MAVJAT (बालकनी मावजत અને કેલવજ) by Purushottam Kahanji Gandhi, printed at the Jasvantsinh Steam Printing Press, Wadhwan Camp, Thick cardboard cover. Pp. 364. Price Re. 1-4-0 (1919).

Mr. Gandhi (now deceased) in this posthumous work has been able to put into simple language the duties of parents towards infants, that is their rearing and education. It does not differ in any special respect from the other ordinary treatises published on the subject, which, however, is so important that the greater the attention paid to it the better.

KETLAK SAMVADO (કેટલાક સંવાદો) by Champ-si Vithaldas Udeshi, printed at the Bombay Fine Art Printing Works, Calcutta. Cloth bound, with illustrations. Pp. 104. Price Re. 1, (1919).

Mr. Champ's excursions into prose have appeared in a collected form in this little book, under the name of "Some Dialogues." We congratulate him on his creditable performance. The dialogues are both informing and readable. Some of them like those between Pratapsinh and Mansinh of Ambar, between Maharaja Prithiraj and his consort are stirring, and reminiscent of Rajput nobility, courage and chivalry; the one between Bilva Mangal and the courtesan Chintamani is educative also, and its illustrations add to its interest.

GRAMYA GOWRI (ગ્રામ્ય ગૌરી, અથવા વર્તમાન સમયની વિલક્ષણતા) by Arvind, i.e., Shah Hirralal Ranchhodas, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, thick paper cover, Pp. 200. Price Rs. 2, (1919).

This is a novel, and the writer has meant in writing it to expose the headlongness of the rush which takes the fair sex in Presidency Towns away and away from their proper function. He illustrates his thesis by means of contrasting a pair of country girls (Gowri and Jyotsna) with a pair of town girls, and leaves the reader to draw the moral. He has succeeded in satisfying himself that he possesses the ability to present the plot and its denouement in a suitable setting of language and sequence of events. Of course, it is not first class work: it bears all the traces of a tiro's pen. The only redeeming feature is the sincerity of the writer and his genuine abhorrence of the plutocrat's profligate

life. The other redeeming feature is perhaps the pictures, which show up faithfully the present day Gujarati belles of Bombay in their artificial and ugly make-up. The sanskritized garb of the language is certainly inexcusable in a novel meant for the masses.

SWAMI VIVEKANAND, PART V, translated by Narmadashanker Balashanker Pandya, and Natwarlal Girdharlal Shah, printed at the Natwar Printing Press, Ahmedabad and published by the Society for the encouragement of cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, Pp. 360. Price Re. 1, (1919).

This is a further instalment of the lectures of the Swamiji, rendered into excellent Gujarati. The utility and popularity of the series of which this book is only a part is too well known to be repeated.

RAJA BHOJ ANE KAVI KALIDAS (રાજા મોજ અને કવિ કાલોદાસ), by Ambalal Bulakhiram Tani, B.A., printed at the Bombay Vaibhav Press and published by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Booksellers, Princess Street, Bombay. Cloth bound. With illustrations. Pp. 498. Price Rs. 4, (1919).

Neat printing, fine get-up, nice pictures, these are some features of the book. The stories of Kalidas and Raja Bhoj furnish an ever-entertaining theme of enlightenment and interest, and also of pride to every native of India, and hence they require to be told in a way which should reach men and women even with limited opportunities for education. Any attempt in that direction is commendable, and the present book is just such an attempt.

PATIVRATA SATIO (પતિવ્રતા સતીઓ) by Sastri Praujivan Harihar and Manilal Chhabaram Bhat, Printed at the Tattva-Vivechak Press, Bombay and published by Messrs. N. M. Tripathi & Co., Booksellers, Princess Street, Bombay. Cloth bound. With pictures. Pp. 346. Price Rs. 3, (1919).

The title of the book, which contains the lives of saintly, chaste and ever faithful model Indian wives like Savitri, Sita, and Mandodari, is rather tautological, because are not all સતી's faithful wives (પતિવ્રતા)? The lives of hundred and two ideal Hindu wives are told here in the most attractive way possible and the very fact that this edition—the third one—was called for in a short time bespeaks the popularity of the collection. We trust the popularity it has attained will continue undiminished.

We have received a copy of a diary called "National Diary" for samvat year 1976, from Mr. Chhotubhai Dajibhai Desai of Surat, containing choice excerpts for each day from the writings of Indian patriots like Gokhale, Gandhiji and others. We regret, we do not review diaries.

K. M. J.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Mr. Jayaswal's Discovery of two Saisunag statues.

Mr. Jayaswal claims to have discovered in the two statues, still in the Bharhut gallery of the Indian Museum, the portrait statues of two Saisunag Kings, Udayin and Nandivardhan. Mr. O. C. Gangoly has given a history of their discovery and a full summary of Mr. Jayaswal's arguments in the October number of this Review. Discovered by Buchanan in the second decade of the last century, these statues had hitherto attracted very little attention and been rightly or wrongly supposed to be the images of two Yakshas on the authority of the Late General Cunningham, who read the inscriptions on the scarfs as Yakhe Achu Sati (or ni) gika and Yakhe Sanatananda. Mr. Jayaswal, however, has rejected this reading and offered another. According to him, the inscriptions should be read as Bhage Acho Chhoni-dhise and Sapakhate Vata Nandi. He tells us that Acho and Vata are but variants of Aja and Varti; and from the Puranas as well as the Pradyota list of the Kings of Avanti it can be proved that these were but other names of Udayin and Nandi Vardhan respectively. From the Pratima Natakam of Bhasa it appears that in olden days custom demanded that portrait statues of departed kings should be installed in family temples. The script of the inscriptions was pre-Asokan, as the two strokes alphabets of the Asoka inscriptions were undoubtedly a decadent form and therefore a later evolution of the three strokes alphabets of the inscriptions in question. From purely art consideration, Mr. Arun Sen has (according to Mr. Jayaswal) arrived at the conclusion that these are specimens of pre-Mauryan sculpture. All these severally and collectively go to prove, according to Mr. Jayaswal, that these two statues represent the Saisunaga Kings Udayin and Nandi Vardhan.

Mr. R. D. Banerji accepts the identification, but he is of opinion that the inscription cannot be earlier than the first century B. C.

Mr. O. C. Gangoly, like a true art critic refrains from passing any opinion on the age of inscriptions, but by comparing the two statues in question with two other images of known date and character, he upholds the view of Cunningham. He is of opinion that these are by no means individual portrait statues, they represent two Yakshas and in support of his view quotes the authority of no other specialist but Mr. Arun Sen again.

In the meantime Mr. Jayaswal's reading

also has been challenged by two lecturers of the Calcutta University. Mr. Rama Prasad Chanda, and Dr. Ramesh C. Majumdar have offered different readings of these two inscriptions in the March number of the Indian Antiquary. While differing in their readings both Mr. Chanda and Dr. Majumdar agree about the age of the script, they are strongly of opinion that the characters of the epigraphs have striking resemblance with the Brahmi character of the Kushan Age. In support of their view the two scholars give many references to old inscriptions which however will not be intelligible to the ordinary reader.

The epigraphs according to Mr. Chanda, should be read as Bhaga Achachha Nivika and Yakha Sarvata Nandi. But Dr. Majumdar opines that they simply give the date of the Statues, and should be read as, Gate Lechchhai (vi) 40, 4 (the year 44 of the Lechchhavishaving expired) and Yakhe Sam Vajinam 70 (the figure of a Yaksha (made) in the year 70 of the Vajis).

Dr. Majumdar further argues that even if Mr. Jayaswal's reading is correct, his identification cannot be accepted. His interpretation of the Puranas for example is untenable as Ajayah Smritah in the Bhagavata Purana means, 'remembered as Ajayah' (invincible) and not known as Aja. Consequently Udayin should not be identified with Aja. As for the identification of Nandi Vardhan with Varit Varta or Vata, Dr. Majumdar says—"There are no doubt historical instances of kings possessing double names. Thus Chandragupta II was also known as Deva Gupta, and Vignahapala had a second name Surapala. But who has ever heard of compound names like Chandra Deva or Deva Chandra and Suravignraha or Vignraha Sura."

Mr. Jayaswal therefore stands alone in his double contention that the statues are portrait statues and the epigraphs are pre-Mauryan. Mr. R. D. Banerji concedes that the identification is correct but he is not ready to assign to the epigraphs an earlier date than the first century B. C. Mr. Chanda and Dr. Majumdar reject the pre-Mauryan date and the identification altogether. Mr. O. C. Gangoly is convinced that the statues are but icons and apparently Mr. Arun Sen has also changed his opinion. It is therefore high time for Mr. Jayaswal to come forward to defend his reading and theory. Ancient Indian History is daily becoming more and more popular at Calcutta, and I think everyone interested in the subject is eagerly awaiting Mr. Jayaswal's reply.

SURENDRANATH SEN.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Science of Politics in the Matsya Purana.

Mr. Jnan Chandra Banerji, M.A., B.L., has contributed to the *Hindustan Review* six very learned and discriminating articles on "Social Life in the Pauranic Age." In the last of these he says that the science of politics has engaged the attention of some of the Puranas, and that in the Matsya Purana some chapters are devoted to the subject. He then summarises some of the teachings and maxims contained therein.

There are two paths of knowledge—the straight and the crooked. The crooked path should be learnt, but should never be put in use, except when it is resorted to by others, when crookedness should be met by crookedness. One should not confide too much even in a trustworthy person. Tried servants should be disguised as Sannyasins for gathering secret information. Spies should assume the disguise of merchants, ministers, fortune-tellers, physicians, and sannyasins. After making a careful study of the acts which either please or offend the people, a king should eschew such acts as are repugnant to them. Kings become prosperous through the affection of the people, and hence virtuous kings should act in such a way as to enhance their popularity. A prince must be taught to tell pleasant lies, instead of being a stickler for veracity. Even Indra cannot bear the brunt of a united attack, unless there is division in the camp; hence politicians praise a policy of divide and rule. Even a King as powerful as Indra is ruined by internal dissensions. One should reside in a country where the king is powerful and virtuous, and the citizens are united and walk in the path of justice. A king who exacts more than one-sixth as revenue from his subjects partakes of the character of a thief. A tribute of the sixth part of the produce has been fixed as the salary of the king for protecting his subjects. If the king, after taking this tribute, does not protect his subjects properly, he is guilty of theft. The seven deadly sins of a king are—passion for hunting, gambling, excessive sexual indulgence, drinking, financial extravagance, habitual use of harsh language, and fondness for severe punishments. A strict system of espionage should be maintained by the king, even over his own sons, ministers, the harem and the kitchen. Agents provocateurs should be employed to betray unfaithful ladies in the zenana. The ministers should be learned Brahmins. The king should build six kinds of

fortification, *i. e.* fortresses guarded by water, by earth, by trees, by forests, by desert, and by mountains.

Fatalism and Manly Endeavour.

In the same article Mr. J. C. Banerji writes :—

Discussions on the relative merits of Daiva (fate, destiny) and Purushakara (human initiative and enterprise) occur here and there in the Puranas. Those who are devoid of manly enterprise, look up only to destiny, with the result that in the fulness of time it is fate alone that triumphs in their case. Though rainfall depends upon destiny, there can be no cultivation without human effort; so man must put forth his energies in all cases. Not to make the attempt under the belief that achievement is beyond reach, leads in itself to the greatest loss. Instead of allowing his energy to run to waste, man should always take the initiative, for success depends both upon fate and one's own efforts.

A New Plan of Scholarships.

From *Indian Education* we learn that the city of Wakefield has lately introduced a new method of awarding scholarships to promising pupils.

Instead of holding a competitive examination every year and giving a limited number of scholarships to those who came out at the head of the list, the Education Committee has decided that the number of scholarships shall not be limited save by the number of pupils who are seen to be fit to receive further education. It has often happened that a pupil's chance of gaining a scholarship has depended unduly upon the chance of a strong field of competitors. The new scheme will remove this hazard and as the result of each examination those who have acquitted themselves well will have the opportunity of going on to a secondary school from the elementary school. At the age of 16 those who are showing continued promise will receive a maintenance grant to compensate their parents for the loss of their children's earnings and at the age of 18 those who are found to be fit to undertake a university course with profit will receive a further and larger grant enabling them to enter a university. This method of awarding scholarships is expected to cost the city at least

five hundred thousand a year when it is in full working order. The scheme is in strict accord with the desire so frequently expressed at meetings of working class organisations to the effect that our educational system shall provide a broad road for all children who show themselves to have ability. The only present drawback to the scheme is that it does not provide for cases of late development. It often happens that a boy who has reached the leaving age at an elementary school has not yet shown the power which is latent within him and it is to be hoped that all future schemes of scholarships will provide a means of ready access to the universities for able students from our new continuation schools. These institutions still linger but when they are established, it will be of the greatest possible importance to prevent them from becoming so narrowly vocational that they afford no outlet for ability which is not strictly technical.

The spirit underlying this new method is opposite to that of the bureaucratic method prevalent in India. Here the officially approved idea is to raise the tuition fees higher and higher and then to pretend that poor boys of ability have been given sufficient opportunity and opening by the grant of a very small and limited number of scholarships.

America's Fight Against Venereal Disease.

Young Men of India quotes an article from the *New Republic* of New York on "The Fight Against Venereal Disease," which observes :—

When the history of America's participation in the great war comes to be written, no finer achievement will be recorded to her credit than the unending battle against sex indulgence and venereal disease in the Army. The success of the efforts to repress prostitution on this side of the Atlantic are already fairly well known. Now that peace has come, some account can be given of the measures taken by General Pershing to protect the American Expeditionary Forces from this menace.

"The Federal Government has pledged its word that, as far as care and vigilance can accomplish the result, the men committed to its charge will be returned to the homes and communities that so generously gave them with no scars except those won in honourable conflict." These were the words of President Wilson in April, 1918. Through the Surgeon-general of the Army and the War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities, the Government has carried out a programme for combating prostitu-

tion and venereal diseases without parallel in any other country. It was founded on the proved principle that sexual continence was not only possible for soldiers, but was also highly desirable from the standpoint of physical efficiency, morals and *morale*. Its chief features were education of the men; repression of disorderly resorts; provision of healthful, interesting and constructive recreation; prophylaxis, or early treatment, for men who had exposed themselves; punishment for those exposed who failed to take prophylaxis; and, finally, expert treatment for those who either came into the army already infected or broke through all the barriers set up by the military authorities.

Venereal Disease in India.

In India the subject of venereal disease has not yet received the attention which, from the physical and moral havoc caused by it, it deserves. But it has begun to receive attention. Prof. K. T. Shah of Mysore contributes a very plain-spoken article on the subject to the *Social Service Quarterly* of Bombay. He very rightly condemns the iniquitous practice of parents getting their profligate sons married to pure girls, in the hope that thereby the young men may be cured of their profligacy. What is even worse, the parents, sometimes even educated parents of high character, of these girls agree to such marriages. Professor Shah suggests the passing of a law allowing of divorce on the ground of infection from venereal disease. The suggestion would certainly deserve the serious consideration of legislators as soon as a practical means were pointed out for the honourable support of the wife and her children, if any.

Diminishing Number of Hindus.

In the course of a well-informed statistical article on "Infant Mortality in India" contributed to the *Vedic Magazine*, an Indian publicist shows by the following table how Hindus and Jains have decreased and Musalmans, Sikhs and Christians have increased in three decades :—

NUMBER PER 10,000 OF POPULATION.				
	1881	1891	1901	1911
Hindus	...7432	7231	7034	6931
Sikhs	... 73	67	75	96

Jains	... 48	49	45	40
Mohammedans...	1974	1996	2122	2126
Christians	... 73	79	99	124

Franchise for Indian Women.

The Indian Review prints the memorandum submitted to the joint parliamentary committee by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in support of franchise for Indian women. Therein she eloquently and rightly pleads,

I do not exaggerate when I assert that there is no summit to which she might not aspire or attain in any sphere of our National energy or enterprise unhampered save by the limitations of her own personal ambition and ability.

Wherein has her sex disqualified the Indian woman, or disinherited her, from the rich honours she has earned in equal emulation and comradeship with her brother in every field of intellectual or patriotic endeavour?

In our universities she has won brilliant distinction in the arts and sciences, medicine, law, and oriental learning. She holds office in the Courts and Senates of Universities, like Bombay University, the Hindu University of Benares and the Women's University of Poona and the National University.

She has evinced her creative talent in literature and music, she has proved her consummate tact and resource in administering vast properties and intricate affairs, and demonstrated beyond all question her marvellous capacity to organise and sustain great educational institutions and large philanthropic missions for social service. She has been pre-eminently associated with the political life of the country, uplifting the voice of her indignation against all measures of unjust and oppressive legislation, like the Partition of Bengal, the Press Act, the Defence of India Bill and the Rowlatt Bill, she has accorded her cordial support to all beneficent social and economic measures, like Gokhale's Bill for free and compulsory education, the Civil Marriage Bill of Mr. Basu, the Inter-Caste Marriage Bill of Mr. Patel and the Swadeshi Movement inaugurated by my friend and leader, Mahatma Gandhi, and all efforts to ameliorate the condition of the depressed and afflicted members of our Society.

Moreover, not only has she participated in the programmes of our great periodic National Assemblies, like the National Congress, the Muslim League, the Social Reform and Social Service Conferences but has not infrequently been called upon to guide their deliberations, direct their policies, harmonise their differences, and unite their ideals towards a common goal of self-realisation.

She knows and says that "it is the

purdah which constitutes the chief weapon in the armoury of opposition against franchise for Indian women. But she is ready with her own defensive weapons, too.

I readily concede that it might in its initial stages seriously inconvenience and complicate the electoral system, and perhaps even be attended with temporary danger of fraudulent votes.

Although it is no part of either my mandate or my mission to ask for any concession or preferential treatment for women, I am still constrained to say that I fail to understand, when the interests of small political minorities of men are safeguarded with a scrupulous care, why it might not be possible in course of time to extend a similar chivalrous consideration to the *Purdahnashin* in those local and limited areas where this custom is rigidly enforced, for I am sure that her vote would usually be exercised with intelligence and discretion and prove a valuable acquisition to the country.

Without discussing the merits or demerits of this old social custom, I am convinced that like the other all time-honoured but already obsolete social observances and usages, the *Purdah* system can no longer remain immutable, but must readjust itself to the needs and demands of a widespread national re-awakening. And after all, the terrors of the polling booth would scarcely daunt the *Purdah-nashin* who in the course of her religious pilgrimages habitually encounters immense multitudes and becomes no more than a casual unit of a heterogeneous pilgrim democracy.

What however, of the unquestered women of Malabar, and Madras, the Maharashtra and Gujrat and the Central Province? Of the enlightened women of the Parsi, Sikh and Christian Communities, of the Arya Samaj of Punjab and the Brahmo Samaj of Bengal? Whether the franchise be one of literacy or of property their inclusion would in no wise disturb or deflect the normal electoral arrangements.

Indian Cottage Industries and London Stores.

Mr. H. W. Wolff, author of "Co-operation in India," points out in the course of an article in the *Wealth of India* how the products of Indian cottage industries may have a market in England. He says that the great London stores now have as a standing feature a "Japanese Department" in which goods of Japanese make, mostly hand-made products of cottage industries, are offered for sale and sell well. Mr. Wolff asked the manager of

one of these London stores, why there should not be also a corresponding "Indian Department" in his giant establishment.

The British public are at present distinctly under the influence of a patriotic sentiment which makes them purchase, zealously by preference, articles made under the shadow of the Union Jack. And encouragement of Indian cottage-industries, so I added, would be a work of laudable patriotism. The manager's reply was this, that, in the first place, Indian Cottage Industries are not organised, as Japanese are. There appears to be no cohesion, no co-ordination among them, there are no offers—at any rate in a collective shape. In the second place, the Japanese goods offered are goods of established utility which are in demand and are accordingly readily bought up. Indian Cottage-made goods offered are not of the same useful description. But the gentleman offered to meet me to this extent. Supposing that an offer were made to him of useful Indian Cottage-made goods, not mere knickknacks, on sale or return, he would be ready, as an experiment, to make a good show of them to see how such business would answer. If it did answer, it stands to reason, that he would gladly make a standing feature of it. And if he were to do this, quite evidently, his competitors in the large store line would be compelled to follow suit. In this way, a market in this country would come to be established. Now the question is, in the first place, whether Indian cottage Industries can be so handled as to make them produce articles of the kind required, offered through one agency in sufficient bulk, and in the second, whether persons capacitated by their means to stand the racket could be found to shoulder the risk of the venture. Seeing how great would be the benefit to India if the venture were to succeed, one would think that there must be a sufficient number of such both in India and in this country to give their guarantee. It is for India to begin. If a good start is made there, we shall be able to bestir ourselves here.

There is in Calcutta a society for the encouragement of home industries, and probably there are similar societies in other cities. They should take up Mr. Wolff's suggestion.

Captain D. L. Richardson on the Hindu's Receptiveness.

Mr. Gokulnath Dhar quotes in his fourth article in the *Educational Review* (Madras) on "Some Indian Educationists: Bengal," the following tribute which Captain D. L. Richardson paid to the receptiveness of the Hindu mind:

"A teacher of Hindu youth has a singularly easy task to perform. It is impossible to be extravagant in an estimate of the young Hindu intellect. He must be a dull teacher, indeed, from whom a Hindu student would learn nothing. If I had had my own countrymen to teach, instead of young Hindus, I certainly never should have been half so successful an instructor as you are pleased to regard me. It was my extreme good fortune to have to deal with pupils whom almost any grown Englishman of ordinary education could teach the literature of the West—in fact, they almost taught themselves. They are not like the waggoner in Æsop's Fables who implored Jupiter to help him to get his waggon out of the deep rut. "Oh no, my man," said the god, "you must put your own shoulder to the wheel." The native student is always ready to put his own shoulder to the wheel, and save his teacher all unnecessary labour."

A fair-minded teacher would now admit that the Indian student has originality as well as receptiveness.

Hospitals in Medieval South India.

In an article in *Everyman's Review* on "Educational Foundations in Medieval South India," Rao Sahib Prof. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, M.A., says that an inscription of Rajendra Chola, of 11th century A.D., from a village in the South Arcot District called Ennayiram, makes provision for an educational institution attached to the temple in the locality.

"This record makes further provision for a free-school (*Dharmapalli*). It also provides for three water-sheds.

"This gives us clearly to understand that institutions whose object was education—such as education was understood to be about eight hundred years from our date—did exist and something like even free schools were known in those days. It may be noted that Rajendra Chola's reign extended from A. D. 1011 to A. D. 1042, and possibly A. D. 1044."

A MEDIEVAL HOSPITAL.

"Another interesting record referring to the reign of another of the great Chola rulers of the eleventh century, Vira Rajendra Deva, gives the details of the provision made for a hospital, a school and a hostel from the funds assigned to a temple in the first instance."

"Among the structures added to the temple by this *Vaisya Madhava* was the *Jagannath Mandapa* in which was located the school for the study of the Vedas, the Sastras, Grammar, Rupavatara, &c., and a hostel for students and a hospital. The students were provided with

food, with oil for bathing on Saturdays, and with oil for lamps. The hospital was named *Vira Solan* apparently in the name of the king and was provided with fifteen beds for sick people. Among the staff of the hospital, provision is made for one Doctor 'in whose family the privilege of administering medicines was hereditary.' One surgeon, two servants to fetch drugs, supply fuel and attend to other menial duties. Two maid-servants for nursing the patients and a general servant, who attended the hospital, school and hostel. Provision was also made for the supply of a regular quantity of rice and supply of medicine laid in stock for a year, of which as many as eighteen items are given, composed of drugs, and prepared medicine under the ordinary Indian pharmacopœia. A regular supply of cow's ghee was assured, and provision was made for burning one lamp throughout the night. The inmates of this hospital were to be supplied with water brought from *Parambalur* 'scented with cardamoms and *Khas-khas* roots.'

"This eleventh century organisation for a hospital is illuminating, as it gives us, however imperfectly, a little more of insight into the actual administration of the funds which were in the first instance, ostensibly made over for the benefit of a temple. That educational institutions required to be provided with a hospital as well as an attached hostel would at first sight, seem quite a modern idea. That the need was felt in the eleventh century and some kind of provision was made for it so early, is to the credit of the organisers of these institutions in that comparatively early period."

In our own day, the rich Hindu temples in various parts of India ought to maintain free educational institutions, hostels and hospitals.

A Blind Leader of the Blind.

Under the heading "The Blind Leading the Blind," Mr. St. Nihal Singh gives in *East and West* an interesting and instructive account of what Sir Arthur Pearson has done for the blind. As Mr. Cyril Arthur Pearson, he came to London about a quarter of a century ago with little money, and much ambition. "When approaching blindness made him withdraw from Fleet Street about ten years ago, he owned and edited several daily newspapers, weeklies, and monthlies, and had he not been handicapped by Fate there is no telling what he may not have accomplished."

When Sir Arthur Pearson lost his sight, he

decided to devote what remained of his life and vigour to the cause of the blind. To do that to the best advantage, and also in his own interest, he decided "to learn to be blind"—as he facetiously, but none the less significantly, puts it. For years past he had a valet who helped him to dress and looked after him generally. He began to "learn to be blind" by dismissing him. He desired to show—to himself quite as much as to others—that he could dress without any aid, and that he was not dependent for such a service upon others.

For years past Sir Arthur Pearson had written practically no letters himself, but had kept many secretaries busy, attending to his correspondence. He had dictated even the articles that he contributed to his own papers. After becoming blind, he felt that he must learn to type-write for himself. And he did. Therein lies the measure of the man, and the secret of his ability to help the blind.

As soon as he had adjusted himself to a world of darkness, Sir Arthur Pearson joined the National Institute of the Blind, and with that business ability and vigour that had enabled him to become a dominating figure in the newspaper world of Britain in so short a time, he found ways and means to increase the usefulness of that Institution. He began a campaign that resulted in bringing in a large sum of money (£250,000).

One of the improvements effected with this sum was that in a comparatively short time he made the library for the blind, printed in Braille, the largest and the best library of its kind in the world.

Braille is an embossed alphabet which was invented in 1829 by Louis Braille, a blind Frenchman. The characters are formed by means of six dots arranged in an oblong, three dots deep and two dots wide. All the signs and contractions are made by combining these dots in different designs. The blind man passes the fingertips over the lines of embossed characters and is thus able to "read."

Sir Arthur founded a Home—"St. Dunstan's"—for blind soldiers where he was caring for over 1500 blinded fighters at the end of last year. He arranged that all the men who had lost their sight should go to a certain hospital.

When he visited the hospital Sir Arthur took with him watches specially made for the use of the blind, with dots to indicate the places of the ordinary numerals, and hands slightly raised, and so strong that their position could be safely felt with the fingers. He gave one of these watches to each sightless fighter that he met. As the blind man let his fingers pass over the face of the watch and thereby "saw" the time, his face

would light up with joy. The fact that he had been unable to tell the time had been one of the most depressing circumstances which sightlessness had forced upon him, and the timepiece that enabled him to check the fleeting hours made him feel more like the sighted persons about him. Usually the watch given a blinded soldier by Sir Arthur proved the means of making him realise that he could, to a large extent, make his fingertips take the place of his eyes.

At the Home the blind learn not only to read Braille but also a system of Braille shorthand and typing, and situations are secured for them in offices as

secretaries and typists. They also become telephone operators and masseurs. They learn and take to poultry farming, rabbit breeding and keeping, gardening, basket-making, mat-making, netting, boot repairing and joinery. Every man leaving St. Dunstan's is provided with a complete set of the tools and apparatus of his trade or profession. The blinded soldier's life is not all work and no play. He spends hours every day at swimming, rowing, engaging in tugs of war, wrestling, boxing or cycling.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Ideal of Bookselling.

Calcutta book-shops, whether owned and managed by Europeans or Indians, are unsatisfactory as regards their capacity to supply both the latest publications and books of permanent worth. Probably Bombay and Madras book-shops are better. In Calcutta European booksellers sometimes advertise books which they have not yet stocked, and if you ask them to send you any such book, they write to enquire whether they will order out a copy for you from London! It would appear that even in England and in the metropolis of the British Empire, booksellers are unable to wholly satisfy the enlightened book-buying public. *The Athenæum* has been writing on "Our Inaccessible Heritage," meaning good old books which are either difficult to obtain or are quite unobtainable. In its second article on the subject it exclaims:

How seldom can one find a bookseller who makes any continuous effort to stock or to sell books of permanent worth! It will be said that bookselling is a trade like any other. A similar thing has been said about journalism, and by virtue of much repetition it has come to be almost true. The emphasis needs to be shifted. The bookseller, like the journalist, should be told again and again that his trade is different from any other; that he has responsibilities and potentialities that are given to few; that in any provincial town he has the opportunity to be the

centre of an influence equal to that of the school-master or the parson. He has to resist the tendency that would make of him merely a clog in the machine for distributing a commodity.

From the experience of our own younger days we can testify that

After all, a good bookshop is a more thrilling place than any library, however admirable, can be. In it the man with but little spare cash makes his decision for better or worse. We do not envy the man who cannot look back to at least one moment, if only in boyhood, in a bookshop when he became as pure an idealist as any saint—when he gave all that he had, and sacrificed the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, for a book that should be a spiritual possession. No library can afford the occasion for struggles of soul so tense as these; and the bookseller is richer than the librarian by the nature of his opportunity.

Of course, like any other ideal, the ideal laid down for the bookseller is difficult of realisation, but that is no reason why he should not strive to aim high.

Doubtless, it is as hard for the bookseller to live up to his ideal as it is for any other man. He cannot interfere with the demand for the best-sellers; his business is to supply it. But the majority of people go to a bookshop as they do to a circulating library, not knowing what they want. That is the good bookseller's chance. He has to be something of a psychologist, something of a scholar, and wholly an enthusiast. He has to gauge the limits of his customers, and to persuade them to take the best that it is possible for them to take. If best-sellers are necessary, then he can urge them

to the best of the best-sellers; after all, probably half the good books will be found among them. This is his active part: on the other side, he is bound by the honour of his craft to stock all the classics that he can. If only this passive part were more generally performed, we imagine from what they have told us that the publishers would not be backward in making the heritage accessible.

In India it is not only non-official booksellers who are still far from the ideal; the bookselling members of the bureaucracy would seem to be more inefficient than the former. The editor of the *Modern Review* sometime ago ordered a few back numbers of the *Agricultural Ledger*, which he found catalogued in the latest Catalogue of official publications issued by the Superintendent of Government Printing, through a bookselling firm which is one of the agents for the sale of Government publications. This firm wrote first to the Superintendent of Government Printing, who after some delay vouchsafed the information that the publications required could be had of the Economic Botanist. A man was sent to the office of the latter, resulting in getting the information that probably the publications could be had at Pusa. The firm then promised to write to Pusa; but the editor has not got the back numbers of the *Agricultural Ledger* yet, though months have passed since the date of the order!

Modern Indian Artists.

There is an article in the *Arts Gazette* of London of 13th September, 1919, on "Modern Indian Artists," which begins by reminding its readers that

A few years before the war an intensely interesting exhibition of paintings and drawings by modern Indian artists was held in South Kensington. It was not very long ago really, yet so much has happened since that many people may have forgotten it—though it made a considerable impression at the time—while others may have missed it altogether. Now, however, thanks to the enterprise of a Calcutta publisher, lapses of memory may be repaired and missed opportunities to some extent recaptured by glancing through the pages of a series of albums* which reproduce the works of

these artists, reproduce them in their original colours and do it very well.

The origin of this school of modern Indian artists is thus described:

The art of the East has always had a fascination for Western eyes and the best of the contemporary artists in our great Dependency are essentially Eastern in their technique and outlook. There was a time when a mistaken policy of art education very nearly killed the indigenous art of India, when teachers from South Kensington, blind to the great past of Indian art, did their very best to westernise the Hindu student and make his pictures as dull and insipid as the academic art of Paris, London, Rome, Vienna and New York.

Fortunately, however, nearly a generation ago, a man of rare imagination and insight was appointed principal of the Calcutta School of Art, whose students under the direction of Mr. E. B. Havell were taught to look for inspiration, not to Europe, but to the monumental and historic art of their own country. From this teaching and from the personal encouragement given by Mr. Havell to young men of undoubted genius, arose the Calcutta School, which is certainly one of the most interesting groups of artists working in any country to-day.

The work of this school is then briefly characterised.

True to the best traditions of Indian art, the work of these modern Calcutta artists approximates, nearer to the illuminations of mediæval craftsman than to the oil paintings of Western artists. Subjects are found in the legends, sacred history and literature of India, and the general trend of the painting is romantic rather than realistic. Technically the charm and accomplishment of the Calcutta School is made up of its fine and delicate line, the studied design of its linear patterning, and the glow of its rich but subdued and harmonious colour.

Brief appreciations of some of Mr. Abanindranath Tagore's paintings follow.

These qualities are seen to the highest degree in the pictures of Mr. Abanindranath Tagore, who is far and away the most important member of the group, a painter who shares the deep poetical feelings of his literary brother and expresses himself with the clean precision of mastery. In the albums before me there are reproductions of his "End of the Journey"—an extraordinarily simple and impressive picture of a camel kneeling to rest with the sunset glow on the desert; of his portrait of Rabindranath Tagore at the age of thirty-two; of his bust figure study, "Tear-drop on the Lotus Leaf,"

4 and 5. 2 Rupees each. (Modern Review Office, 210-3-1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta).

* *Classical and Modern Picture Albums*. Nos. 1, 2, 3,

which has a certain kinship to a very good Ganguin, and many other of his pictures. These albums would be well worth getting if only for the reproductions of Mr. Tagore's pictures, and each number contains one or two of his together with fourteen or fifteen other illustrations.

Mr. Jamini Prakash Gangooly comes in both for praise and criticism.

Mr. Jamini Prakash Gangooly is another well-known member of this School, but while we respect his unbought accomplishment, we feel his art is less indigenous than that of his comrades and for this reason, I fancy, his pictures move me less. He has been touched by westernism and relies less on line and more on tone than Tagore. For example, "The Homeless Mother" and "The Day's Reward"—a Hindu ploughman with his wife and child in the fields at sunset—almost J. F. Millet subjects and with a good deal of Millet's feeling—are typical examples of Mr. Gangooly's work, charming, but only semi-Oriental, Eastern in subject rather than in treatment. This artist, by the way, must not be confused with the late Surendranath Gangooly, whose art was quite Eastern in tradition and execution.

The article concludes with mention of the names of some other members of the modern school of Bengal painters.

I can do no more than mention the names of one or two other distinguished members of the Calcutta School whose work is reproduced in these albums,—Mr. Nandalal Bose, Mr. Asit Kumar Haldar, Mr. Saradacharan Ukil, and Mr. Sailendranath Dey, all of whom are represented in these albums by works of high quality. However, I have put my readers in the way of making themselves better acquainted with the work of these artists, and I think they will join me in thanking Mr. Chatterjee, the publisher of these albums, for making the beautiful art of modern India so easily accessible to its English admirers.

"Yoga" the Way to Save Civilization.

Dr. Kumaji Yoshida points out in the *Japan Magazine* that the extravagance, luxury and deep moral corruption of the Romans in the Augustan age destroyed the Roman empire. "Such is the fate of materialism without moral foundation and spiritual reality." This leads the writer to advert to modern times and countries.

The present world, before the outbreak of the European war, was in very much the same condition as that which led to the downfall of Rome. Certainly there was all the magnificence

and self-satisfaction if not the corruption of the Roman days. Luxury and needless extravagance marked the general course of living in Europe and America. Mansions fit for princes with big families were built for people who a few years before were among the poor. Enormous sums were spent on food and clothes. Money and time were wasted scandalously. When I was a student in Europe I was constantly astonished at the luxury and extravagance of balls and evening parties. The dresses of the fair sex served to remind me always of what I read of Roman ladies in the days of the empire's decline. It was only Europe's higher social morality that saved it from the fate of Rome. It is only as materialism is spiritualized that it can be wholesome enough to last. But is the foundation of good society materialistic or spiritual?

As an outcome of the war the wealth of Japan has increased enormously and the reign of extravagance and luxury has already begun among us. In consequence Japanese society is in great danger of disintegration. Have we the necessary spirituality to preserve our civilization from the disease of materialism?

In this connection Dr. Yoshida introduces and describes "a religious exercise of particular significance to an age like this, when civilization is threatened with decay from satiety. This exercise is known as *Yoga*, or umbilicular meditation." It is then described as practised at the Eihei-ji temple. It is here that *Yoga* is practised most sincerely.

To this place I came last March and stayed several days. My life among the monks and novices there was very interesting. Daily life was under a strict discipline far removed from anything to be found in civilization without. All was in complete aversion to modern materialism.

It is not unlike the monastic life of medieval Europe at its best. It seeks to teach that the foundation of society and civilization must needs be spiritual. At this temple the monks rise each morning at 3 o'clock, no easy task for the average mortal. No matter how cold the atmosphere may be, the monks take their places in the meditation hall as soon as they get up. The novices are seated in the center and the old monks around them. There is not much ceremony about turning out at that early hour, because the meditation hall is also their sleeping room. During meditation each sits on a mat or thin cushion. They read their *sutras* and eat what is given them all in the same hall, around which are closets in which to put away the things not wanted for immediate use. Their bedding is of the simplest kind and can be put away in a moment. Naturally there is thicker covering in winter than in summer.

In any case the bedding is so scanty that even the common man cannot sleep comfortably on it.

On rising, the monk washes his face, brushes his teeth; and after these ablutions he must practise an hour of meditation in the accustomed manner of the temple. On finishing their meditation period they all appear before the altar of the temple and read their breviaries reverently. Then comes breakfast, which consists only of rice-gruel. They are abstemious of food as much from poverty as from principle. But frugality is one of their fundamental principles. Their idea is to check the physical and encourage the spiritual side of human nature. All their occupation is in the direction of greater spirituality. They engage in meditation, as described; and then they have to clean their rooms, attend to meals and do all that is necessary to keep things in good order. They do not eat pure rice: it is mixed with 60 per cent of wheat. Both supper and breakfast are nothing but rice-gruel. On this fare, and with their religious devotions, they must get on until nine years are put in, when they graduate from the temple.

Some of the writer's comments are worthy of consideration.

Our main interest in them now is to estimate the importance of their stress on spirituality as against materialism. They deny themselves all the material delights of human existence in order to develop their spiritual character. It is generally understood that the main aim of western civilization is to gratify human desire. If the aim of man is to satisfy all his human instincts and desires then the life of the monks at the Eihei-ji temple is least of all calculated to meet human needs. These monks must be accounted the most demented and unfortunate creatures in the world. Some, no doubt, would regard them as examples of human beings driven to extremes by the unusual degree of social corruption around them. Such ideas are thought to be possible only in an undeveloped state of society when the passions of man have their fling and repel the humble-minded and pure of heart, driving them into seclusion from so wicked a civilization. But these monks appear to be quite happy; indeed much happier than those who devote their time and money to self-gratification with the material things of life. The physical condition of these monks is better than that of the average citizen of the world. They look happy and they look well. Nowhere can more optimistic and good humoured persons be found. Their satisfaction and content is far greater than is the case with our war-millionaires and men of wealth generally. In other words, their method is a success, while the method of society in general is a failure.

What strikes one at once is the vast contrast between the ideas of life presented by these monks and that of western civilization, and even

of Japanese civilization for that matter. Here is a means by which pain and discomfort become a pleasure.

Of course the legitimate gratification of human desire is a great problem everywhere. Most rational persons admit that the mind and spirit cannot be satisfied by material things. So long as man gets enough to live on the difference in salary does not make much difference in the happiness of the individual. A man does not find that he is any the more satisfied because he happens to become a millionaire. Real satisfaction and happiness are within; they are of the spirit. Once the man attains to a character of true spirituality he is able to live on very simple necessities. Happiness is possible only to those who have gained independence of material things. The less one possesses the less one has to worry about.

It cannot be said that there is no spirituality in the West. But the men who are most powerful in the West are those whose dominant idea of civilization is material prosperity. Keeping this view of Western civilization in mind, the reader would find Dr. Yoshida's observations thereon provocative of thought.

If western civilization is based on pure materialism, that is its main defect. If man seeks his main satisfaction in material things he can never be satisfied, because material things are limited, and desire knows no limitation. One may have at his disposal all the money he wants, and he may indulge in all the luxury and extravagance he has a mind to, but he will not only fail to find any true satisfaction and happiness, but he will bring dissolution on society and civilization, as the ancient Romans did. It is only spirituality that can save civilization. In other words, society and civilization have hopes of survival and further development only as they have the capacity to live as the monks of the Eihei-ji temple live; only as they are independent of materialism. The life of these monks may be too extremely simple for the common man of the world; but it must be borne in mind that the monks can live and thrive where the pampered epicure would die. They are more fitted to survive than he, and therefore more fitted to live. It is to them rather than to the pleasure-lover that man must go for spiritual guidance and direction. Of course man cannot live without material things, such as food, clothes, houses and so on; but after all, it is the spirit that gives the life necessary to true existence. At a time when Japan is exposed to the evils of wealth and questionable pleasure, the nation's mind should be directed to the necessary things, the things that count in the nation's future. If we allow ourselves to be charmed and captivated by the materialistic civilization of the west, to the

neglect of the Spirit, a grave danger faces us. Rather let us imitate the frugal and simple spirit of the monks of Eihei-ji.

The editor of the *Japan Magazine*, Dr. J. Ingram Bryan, comments as follows on Dr. K. Yoshida's article :

It must be obvious to those familiar with western civilization that the above is a very inadequate view of it. The spirit of occidental civilization may best be inferred from the spirit that led the millions of young men in England, her colonies and America to die for the freedom of France and Belgium. Was this a materialistic or a spiritual motive ? A spirit that can command the lives of six million young men is neither a selfish nor a sordid nor in any sense a materialistic spirit ; and the civilization that produced these young men must have the spirit that can save it from ruin. It is the spirit of Christ, who taught that man liveth not by bread alone but by every word that cometh from the mouth of God ! "Life is more than meat, and the body more than raiment." "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth !" Ed., J. M.

Without discussing the pacifist's possible plea that the best means of securing true freedom is not to kill others and make others suffer, but to undergo suffering and sacrifice ourselves, we may admit that a war waged really for freedom is the outcome of a non-materialistic motive. But do the terms of the peace treaty and the scramble for territory and "mandates" show that the war was fought solely or mainly for freedom ? Even patriotism is not a spiritual motive, when patriotism means a desire to make one's country wealthy and powerful at the expense of others.

Japan's Increase of Wealth During the War.

Mr. Keisui Miyazaki, Director of the Osaka Stock Exchange, writes in the *Japan Magazine* :

No city or center in Japan has been more influenced by the great war recently ended in Europe than has Osaka, the greatest commercial and manufacturing city in the empire. During the war Japan's gold holdings increased from 353,000,000 to over 1,680,000,000 yen ; but in addition to this the wealth accruing to enterprise apart from the Government amounted to about 1,000,000,000 yen, of which at least 70 per cent was distributed between Osaka

and Kobe. This alone is sufficient to show what a degree of financial and general commercial prosperity Osaka has enjoyed during the war period.

The enterprises which gained the largest profits on account of the war were those engaged in shipping and transportation ; and most of the big shipping companies and their directors are in Osaka, with the exception of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, the head office of which is in Tokyo.

A yen is equal to a little more than Rs. 1-8.

When will Indians have their own merchant fleets voyaging to all parts of the world ?

England "Humbling Herself Before America !"

In an article on "American Influence" in the *Japan Magazine*, Mr. Zenjiro Hori-koshi writes :—

Had the Germans been possessed of a few more submarines they might have been able completely to encircle Britain and isolate her. Even as it was, had America not come to the rescue the condition of England might have been deplorable. (There is no ground for such an opinion.—Ed., J. M.)

But the real interest of the article lies in the other things he says. For instance, with regard to America's consenting to England declaring Egypt a permanent protectorate of hers, he writes :—

Since 1883 that land has been under the protection of England, no ruler being able to ascend the throne without British sanction. Consequently Egypt has come to be regarded as a mere dependency of England, with a British official supervising its administration. At the Peace Conference America practically acknowledged the supremacy of Britain who must feel very grateful to Uncle Sam for all these favours. It is very evident from the British press that England was grateful to America for this assistance in the enhancement of British power in Africa. In fact some people out here regarded it much in the same light as the case of one of our ancient feudal lords obtaining recognition from a superior and feeling unduly elated over it. But it is not quite ridiculous that England, the mistress of the seas, and one of the first nations of the world, should be thus beholden to the United States and humbling herself before America as a vassal to a lord ? (Here is a further misunderstanding due to ignorance of western civilization.—Ed., J. M.)

England's purchase of George Washington's ancestral home comes in for similar comment.

Another thing that causes a smile in Japan is the action of England in purchasing the ancestral home of George Washington, the enemy of John Bull in the war of independence, and setting apart the place as a center of affection between England and America. It was Washington who declared war against England in 1773, and pushed it to a successful conclusion, thus separating Britain from her American colonies. According to all the rules of the case England should regard Washington as a traitor! (What about General Saigo, who led the Satsuma rebellion, and whose monument is conspicuous in Tokyo? Ed. J. M.) How is it that the British people have thus decided to preserve the old home of the Washington family at an outlay of some 84,000 *yen* and to collect there all the more interesting relics of the family, and further to provide an endowment of 250,000 *yen* for the upkeep of the place? All this goes to show how anxious England is to behold the good-will of the United States, and to preserve the present amicable relations between the two countries.

The concluding comments of the writer do not give one the impression that he is quite unbiased and disinterested. He seems at heart to dislike the idea of England and America backing each other, though his observations are certainly not without a substratum of truth. Says he:—

It is thus apparent that the leaders of thought and government in England as well as the people generally are very anxious to please America and are doing everything to avert a clash of opinion, even to eating humble pie. When we compare the present attitude of America toward England what a contrast it seems to the indignation evinced toward British despotism in the 19th century! America has thus not only increased her influence over England but over Europe as well and is now preparing to extend this influence even into the Far East. At present her aims in the Orient seem to be mainly financial and economic, with little attention to political or administrative matters. So long as this policy continues there is little risk of clash with the policy of Japan in East Asia; for Japan can have no objection to America developing the resources of the East and thus enriching this part of the world. Such exploitation will hardly interfere with the development of Japan, who can always make cheaper goods and command a more ready market in East Asia than can America. If America confines her operations to developing the great resources of China and Siberia Japan can have no objection, as it will be to Japan's benefit equally with the other countries concerned. Japan should be very

careful not to give America the impression of being opposed to her exploitation of the natural undeveloped resources of China, as this might create complications.

Animal Spies.

The Japan Magazine contains a very interesting article on "Animal Spies" by K. Ishikawa. According to him, the use of animals as spies has been a military art practised in Japan from remote times.

The animals so used were the dog, fox and rat, which were duly trained for the purpose. The animals mentioned were selected because, for such a purpose as spying, they are the most amenable to training, and have proved the most successful in operation. They can be trained to understand human will and language to a marvellous degree. The fox can be trained even to imitate the human voice, and the power of the animal in this direction is very effective especially when trained to utter low sounds. It is only common knowledge that dogs and cats can be trained to understand human speech. A well-trained dog can easily grasp one's meaning when ordered to go away, or to approach; and so can a cat. If you order a dog to approach you when he knows very well you intend to punish him he again reveals to a wonderful degree an accurate knowledge of your mind. Dog-killers are never successful in having dogs obey them, and dogs will not be persuaded to come near them, even for food. In order to win the confidence of animals and then train them one has to be kind and gentle towards them. Animals are most susceptible to affection, and readily averse to the opposite, even beasts of prey.

There are six kinds of foxes in Japan. The white fox and the black variety have disappeared from Japan, though they still exist in China. Recently the Japanese Government has been importing black foxes for breeding purposes from Prince Edward Island in Canada. Is the breed to be employed as spies?

The way in which dogs and foxes, particularly foxes, were used for spying has been thus described:—

When a military officer desired to ascertain certain geographical facts as to situation of a camp or fortress held by the enemy, he found the dog or the fox his most efficient spy. In feudal times certain places were always guarded and all travellers passing either way through these barriers were strictly examined, while other likely places had watchmen hidden; but the entire country could not be so covered. For

this purpose the ubiquitous fox was utilized. Human spies guarded the pathways over the mountains and across the plains; but the fox guarded the wilds and other pathless regions. The fox is small and not easily seen; he knows every foot of the country he traverses. Always on the trail the animal spy follows the human spy. When the fox or the spy dog perceives or detects the presence of a human being in the course of his patrol he utters a faint sound which his master behind understands and notes. The animal utters various sounds, and these are signals for the master to follow up or retire, as the case may require. The animal is trained to vary the cry whether the enemy is approaching or retreating. When the master finds he has lost the trail and cannot find his way out of the forest or mountain he imitates the cry of the fox and gets a reply that guides him the way he desires to go. If he continues to cry or bark in a special way the fox will come to him and lead him aright. Even today hunters adopt the same methods.

Some of these foxes have been trained to perform deeds almost incredible on behalf of their masters.

For example, when the spy comes to a precipice or cliff he finds it impossible to ascend, he puts the end of a rope in the fox's mouth; the animal finds its way up the cliff as no human being could do; and when it reaches the top it walks round and round a tree holding the rope in its mouth, while the man at the other hand pulls himself up the cliff. The fox will hold on till the master arrives. In the same way the animal is used to discover a way down cliffs or precipices. He can also fasten his rope to a tree, using a bow knot; and after he descends the rope the fox will pull open the knot and the man recovers his rope. If the spy is obliged to pass the night in a mountain or some remote place where the air is very cold, the fox will lie up against him all night and keep him warm. The animal has a keener sense of smell and a better instinct for situations than his master, and is thus able to keep the latter informed about every step of the way.

There are frequent references to the use of animals in this capacity in Japanese literature.

For example, in the famous novel, *Yumiharizuki*, Tametomo is represented as being rescued by his dog Nokaze from a venomous serpent, one day while he was out hunting. The fox can even make light for his master when the darkness is too extreme. All the master has to do is to give him a certain kind of bone to carry, and as he breathes on it there is an emission of phosphorescence that the man can easily see, and follow the animal. The bone can be picked up often in the mountains where skeletons of dead animals are found. If an enemy sees this light

he is more apt to be afraid of it than to approach it, as he thinks it a will-o'-the-wisp. Even spies placed in charge of barriers used to keep a dog or a fox always near them, as this precaution allowed them to doze or even sleep on duty; and also when a spy was surveying an enemy's position the fox enabled his master to know whether the sentinels were asleep or awake, and how the situation was.

Rats, too, were used as spies by the army officers of feudal Japan.

The spy carried his pet rat in his sleeve. On approaching the position to be spied upon he took the animal from his sleeve and let it go free. The rat was trained to pick up any bit of paper it could find and bring it to its master. Accordingly it would penetrate into the apartments of the officers of the enemy camp in a noiseless manner and steal off with any pieces of paper it saw, which, perchance might contain the enemy's plan of campaign or tactics for the ensuing battle. Sometimes the rat was trained to make a noise in the enemy camp and awake the sentinels, so that after finding they had been disturbed only by a rat, they would become more indifferent than ever and go soundly to sleep, not to be awakened by the human spy close on the trail of the rat. In this way many a spy has been enabled to steal into a samurai camp and get away with valuable information.

Another dodge was to hide oneself under the floor of the enemy's house or camp, and let the rat to find out whether the occupants of the house were asleep or awake, or if asleep, whether they were sleeping soundly or not. For this reason the floors of daimyo houses were made double and in the case of greater daimyo, including the shogun, threefold. Now it is supposed to be done to keep out dampness but the original reason was to prevent the entrance of spying rats.

Sir J. D. Rees on Brahmins.

In the course of an article on "The District" (of Madura) in the October issue of *The Asiatic Review*, Sir J. D. Rees says of the Brahmins:

I find that the latest authority says what is said in every one of my papers, namely, that the influence of the Brahmins in social matters is slight. Indeed, neither at weddings nor funerals is their presence required, but various castes employ priests of their own communities, and a Brahmin is no more a priest than Mr. Taylor makes clothes, Mr. Mason builds houses, and Mr. Barber shaves chins in our own community.

As regards the silly apprehension really entertained or pretended to be entertained in some quarters that the proposed consti-

tutional Reforms will lead to the establishment of a Brahmin oligarchy, Sir J. D. Rees observes :

While on the subject of caste it is difficult to refrain from reference to the agitation now being conducted in Madura and Madras against the proposals of the Report on the ground that they will, if carried out on lines suggested, lead to the establishment, or at least to the aggrandizement, of a Brahmin oligarchy. The Maharajah of Mysore, a non-Brahmin ruling prince, lately pointed out to an anti-Brahmin deputation that it is impossible to penalize those who have made the best use of the opportunities afforded by the educational system we have given India, and have rendered themselves more than competent to retain in the future the positions they have always held, under all the Governors of India, of an aristocracy of intellect no less than of birth and position. Would you rule out of Government appointments in England graduates of Oxford, Cambridge, London and other Universities? Would you deprecate the employment of boys educated at Eton, Harrow, the City of London and other public schools? True, these birds of a feather may have a disposition to hang together, but would you pass them over in favour of other less endowed classes? It would be impossible. Neither can you advance the cause of democracy in India by announcing as an inducement a *carriere ouverte aux sans talents*. Moreover, some class must predominate in the early days of any democracy, as the Whig magnates did here. By degrees, however, democracies become democratic, and that will no doubt happen in India as elsewhere. Meanwhile, if any class is to predominate at present, the best endowed intellectually is the best fitted to lead, and will, on the whole, be more readily accepted by the people—being also that which comes at the head of their social and religious system—than any other, however loudly such may exclaim, and however deftly they may try to turn the present political situation to their own advantage.

Sir J. D. Rees on the "Kallans" of Madura.

Madura possesses an interesting caste entitled the Kallans. Of them Sir J. D. Rees writes in the same article :—

The Kallans are a most interesting class whose caste occupation is theft. They refused to pay tribute in the time of the Nayaks, arguing that heaven sent the rain, their own cattle did the ploughing, they themselves carried on the cultivation, and they did not know for what they should make any payment! They are not ashamed of theft, and here again they argue that every class steals: the official takes bribes, the lawyer counsels litigation for the sake of

fees, the publican waters the liquor, the grocer sands the sugar, and why should not the Kallan commit the more manly so-called crimes of robbery and cattle theft? They thrive according to a regular system and carry on a regular or regularly irregular system of protection, so that where any one of them is employed as a watchman no thefts occur. Of course some people call this by the ugly name of blackmail, but the Kallan is satisfied that there is no harm in it, provided the fees are earned by the protection. There are castes of shepherds, weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, merchants, washermen, potters, and so on *ad infinitum*, and very interesting it is to see the potter "thumping his wet clay," and turning out beautifully shaped utensils with his fingers and a flat board only for his assistance. There are also puliyars, besides various other castes.

Relations of Upper and Lower Castes.

In the same article Sir J. D. Rees has something to say on the relations of the upper and lower castes.

It is not true to say that pariahs and puliyars have no caste, or indeed that the pariahs are the lowest caste, nor have I observed in Madura, nor on the other side of the hills in Travancore—said to be the most caste-ridden part of India—that the lower resent the attitude of the upper castes towards them, or that it is true that the former are habitually or indeed at all ill-treated.

Again :

What is the "social degradation" in which the Indian is said to have been sunk for centuries? Is it really true that these civilized and humane people are "under the thumb of the more advanced members of the community?" Does the Brahmin, for instance, really dominate the agriculturist and the labourer? I assert that he does not. If the former do not "flock to the poll" they will be very like the voters in more advanced Western communities, but to suppose that Brahmins are priests, and that the Indian masses are priest-ridden, is really ludicrously remote from the actual facts, though statements to this effect are made without contradiction at meetings of the Indo-British Association and its Indian analogue, the Non-Brahmin Association of Madras.

Voting Capacity of Indians

Sir J. D. Rees believes in the capacity of both ordinary and educated Indians to vote intelligently. Says he in the same article :

The ordinary cultivated or ordinary native of India is perfectly capable of voting for

a person to represent him on the Reformed Legislative or other Councils.

While on this subject I must protest that it is quite unnecessary for a cultivator to be literate in order to vote. He is usually an extremely sensible and practical person, and it is to be hoped that the Commission now in India considering the creation of an electorate will not be led astray by analogies from other countries, where the circumstances are totally different. The cultivator can, I think, cast as valuable a vote as any member of the Indian community.

I believe myself that the extension of the franchise will discover the existence of a sensible articulate and practical element in the agricultural community.

Village Life in Denmark.

Writing on "The Remaking of Village Life" in the *Cornhill Magazine*, Edith Sellers says :

Of the countries I know, Denmark is certainly the one that has solved the village life problem most satisfactorily. There the average villager is just as alert intellectually, as keenly interested in what is going on at home and abroad, as eager for the latest news, as the average townsman. When cheap science primers were first published in Danish, there was a greater demand for them in rural districts than in towns. It is in villages more often than not that Parliamentary candidates are asked the most searching questions; and it is village constituents who keep the strictest watch over Folketing doings; and when things go wrong, call Ministers to account most promptly. I was never in a Danish cottage where I did not find both newspapers and books; and I never came across a Danish peasant who did not know more about England and her colonies than any English agricultural laborer I have ever met. Again and again, when in rural Denmark during the Boer War, I was amazed at the questions I was asked as to its whys and wherefores; I was amazed, too, on one occasion, by being told, by a poor old woman, that Oliver Cromwell, had he been alive, would never have allowed such a war to be waged. Nor is it only in science and politics that these peasants are interested; they are also keenly interested in history and literature, especially in their own folklore, more interested, indeed, than townspeople. And in this there is nothing extraordinary; for, practically, they have the same opportunities as townspeople for reading, learning, studying, and they have more leisure than the average townsman has to turn these opportunities to account.

To understand how Danish Villages have become what they are we must read the description of a Danish Village Meeting House quoted below.

In almost every Danish village there is a meeting house built at the expense of the whole village, and managed by a committee of the villagers, for the use of the whole village. This house is the social centre of the village, the place where men and women alike turn their steps instinctively when in quest of a change, a rest, something to read, someone to talk to, someone to listen while they talk. It varies according to the size and wealth of the village; in some places it is a fine building; in others it is merely an old cottage or barn that has been turned into a house. No matter how poor it may be, however, it has always a hall, *i. e.*, a well-lighted comfortable room, large enough to hold seats for all the adult villagers. At one end of the hall there is generally a platform; and at the other there is always a space reserved as a reading room and library, unless, indeed, there be in the house a separate reading room. For in Denmark no self-respecting village community would ever dream of being without some place where not only daily papers but weekly and monthly reviews, as well as books, may be read. Not that the villagers are dependent on libraries for their reading. Even the very poor among them often combine to subscribe for a journal, or buy a book which they each read in turn.

What more do the Villagers do in their meeting house ?

In a well-managed village, the meeting house is always a busy place. There one night at least every week in winter the young men meet together for physical culture. They have their unpaid Sandow, and go through a regular course of training. There also one night a week old and young alike meet together to hear a lecture. About twice a month a grand debate is held, the debaters being the villagers themselves, helped out by University students, perhaps. Twice a month, too, there is a concert; while from time to time there are private theatricals, social evenings, and even dances.

Sometimes the lecturers are paid, but very rarely; for they are as a rule either professors, students, or politicians; and they make it part of their regular work to lecture in villages gratis. In some districts there is a committee, the duty of which is to see that all the villages are well supplied with lectures.

It is no unusual thing to find, in quite a little village, a political club solemnly watching over the government and sending them messages of praise or warning; a rifle club, too, the members of which spend their leisure practising shooting that they may the better defend their country. Then almost everywhere there is an agricultural society; and its members meet together to talk over the different ways of working land, and discuss new methods. Attached to the agricultural society there is often a co-operative society, through which the villages buy their supplies and sell their produce. All these socie-

a person to represent him on the Reformed Legislative or other Councils.

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ties are in touch with the Department for Agriculture, which keeps them informed as to the results of the latest experiments in scientific land culture, and sends its officials down to make things clear to them.

The peasants' high schools in Denmark have had a great deal to do with making Denmark what she is.

Meeting houses, clubs, and societies would undoubtedly do fine work in Danish villages, even if they stood alone; but what gives special value to them is that behind them are peasants' high schools, as well as agricultural colleges. In Denmark, where the whole population is only some three millions, there are seventy-five peasants' high schools, *i. e.*, colleges where not only peasant farmers, but agricultural laborers go in winter to study history, literature, political economy, hygiene, and many things besides. Every year some ten thousand students, a good third of whom are agricultural laborers, spend the 'dead' months in the high schools; and they all spread the light when they are back in their villages, for they try, by lecturing and leading debates, to teach their comrades what the school professors have taught them. Debates play a great role in Denmark. They are an unfailling source of delight to many of the peasants among whom they do a wonderful work, not only brightening their wits, but keeping alive their interest in things outside their village. And debates do not cost a penny, it must be noted, while even high schools cost very little.

Village life in Denmark was not always as it is to-day, nor were Danish peasants as they are.

Curiously enough, they owe their present well-being, in a great measure, to their past misfortunes. The loss of Schleswig-Holstein, coming as it did after the loss of their fleet to England, and their disastrous war in '48, was a terrible blow for the whole nation, one that stunned townsfolk and countryfolk alike; for it seemed to them the beginning of the end, proof that Denmark was doomed. And doomed she might have been, had not a band of fervent patriots thrown themselves heart and soul, as the veriest Crusaders, into the task of saving her. They revived the great work Bishop Grundtvig had started after the war against England, going through the land from end to end, appealing with passionate force to their countrymen to rouse themselves from the fatalistic apathy into which, in their despair, they were sinking; to fight tooth and nail against the demoralization by which they were beset. The result was a great national revival, class was drawn nearer to class than ever before; a feeling of brotherhood sprang up, a feeling that in this, their hour of trial, they must

all work together, must each, so far as in him lay, give a helping hand to his fellows, give it first of all to the peasants, as it was they who needed it most.

There was great misery in rural districts at the time; for much of the land was badly worked as well as poor; and the peasants had heavier burdens to bear than they could bear, depressed and demoralized as they were. The Crusaders, therefore, set to work at once to teach them how to farm it profitably, seeing to it the while that the terms on which they held it were bettered. Experts in agriculture went about from village to village, lecturing, holding demonstrations, teaching scientific methods of farming, helping the farmers to form co-operative societies for buying and selling, and to work in co-operation with one another. As time passed the government joined in the work; agricultural colleges and itinerant schools were organized; and a thoroughly good education in their calling was brought within the reach, not only of peasant farmers, but of laborers.

But the Crusaders did not work for material prosperity alone. They "were keenly alive to the fact, that, as man does not live by bread alone, material prosperity was not in itself enough to render life worth living.

And the lives of each one of these peasants must be rendered worth living if he were ever to escape from his slough of despond, ever to face the world cheerily and become a useful citizen, able to do good work for his country as well as himself. This was a point on which they all agreed, and there were men of all sorts and conditions among them. While some of them were at work teaching the peasant how to farm that he might live in comfort; others were, therefore, striving to bring pleasure within his reach and put him in the way of enjoying his life; while others again were trying to inspire him with the wish to turn his life to good account. Famous divines preached eloquent sermons in little village churches; great statesmen gave stirring addresses on village greens; and in old barns artists of renown took part in concerts and plays, recited patriotic poems, and told thrilling tales of the heroic deeds Danes had done in bygone days, and might do in days to come. Soon there was something or other going on, one day at least every week, in almost every village; something which not only gave the villagers delight, and thus helped them to shake off their despondency, but which set them a-thinking, and thus made for education as well as pleasure. Before long they began to read, to clamor for books, to question the lecturers, and join in the debates. They began, too, to build or rent meeting houses for themselves, and organize book supplies, libra-

rics; and then the battle was won. All that was needed was time for life in Danish villages to become what it is, and Danish peasants to become as they are.

We do hope there will be bands of well-informed, steady and enthusiastic workers in every district of India to remake village life in our country.

The Shantung Question.

Mr. Liang Chi-Chao is a distinguished Chinese scholar and statesman, who has served as Minister of Finance in the government of China. An article on "China and the Shantung Settlement" which he has contributed to the *Manchester Guardian* concludes as follows:—

Now, the Shantung question is not one of *amour propre* for China. To her it is a matter of life and death. To allow Japan to remain in that province means to give away China's political and economic independence. Can anyone blame her if she becomes desperate in the agony of her soul? After all, it is better to die heroically than to drag on an ignominious existence. China is very weak, nay, almost defenseless, but she is not without a soul. Her people are afraid of neither death nor invasion, of which none has yet succeeded in destroying her nationality or her civilization. If she must submit to a foreign yoke, she will not do so without a struggle. Her only crime has been her weakness and her belief in international justice after the war. If, driven to desperation, she attempts something hopeless, those who have helped to decide her fate cannot escape a part of the responsibility.

Research in Pure Science and Applied Science.

Men and women in India cannot become what they ought to be spiritually, intellectually and physically unless the crushing and grinding poverty of the country be removed. And we can cease to be poor, only if the mineral, vegetable and animal resources of the land are exploited by us with the help of applied science. But pure science lies at the foundation of applied science. We need to bear in mind what the *New Statesman* says about research in Science pure and applied.

It is often put forward as an excuse for starving science and its devotees that, since such men as Faraday will be impelled to carry

out their labors, however unfavourable conditions may be, it is a waste of money to reward them. Quite apart from the meanness of this attitude, and the somewhat humiliating thoughts aroused by the fact that the only material reward an English scientist is likely to receive for any great achievement is a small prize from the French Academy or a large prize from the Swedish Nobel Fund, it cannot be too often insisted that science is not advanced by the unaided efforts of a Faraday appearing once a century. Such men crystallize the scientific thought of their time, and put the labors of many into an ordered scheme; they look for support of their theories not only to their own work but also to the experiments of many other comparatively undistinguished men who fasten upon particular points for proof or disproof. It should be recognized that, apart from the fact that to a great nation a certain encouragement of intellectual activity should be a source of pride, pure science is at the basis of all industrial research, and furnishes its motive power. It is as short-sighted a policy to encourage applied science and to neglect pure science as to devote every care to providing a ship with powerful engines and to forget to furnish her with fuel.

Chinese Laborers in Flanders.

Some time ago the *Manchester Guardian* published an interesting article on Chinese Labourers in Flanders. The writer notes their easy familiarity, their curiosity to know the age of the English soldiers and laborers they came across, and the question they often asked, 'How many mada?' meaning, 'How many wives [madams] have you got?' "We, of course, had either one or none at all, while they sometimes had 'three,' to their obvious pride and satisfaction." The writer also says that "their solidarity was astonishing."

For several months our company and a Chinese labor company worked together at a wood-yard and sawmill on the Belgian frontier. We called them 'Chinks,' and they called us 'Ingaleesha.' Friendly relations were soon established, although there was on our side a small hostile element, consisting of men who harbored an unreasoning prejudice against the yellow people and considered it degrading to work with a so-called 'inferior race.' Those who took this attitude lost much of the little fun and interest that relieved the dreary monotony of our own army life.

As regards physical strength and endurance, the Chinese were not inferior to

the English, as the following lines will show :—

Sometimes, when we were working with the Chinks, the spirit of rivalry manifested itself. Once we were unloading a train of short, thick, wooden planks and stacking them in the yard. We carried them in on our shoulders, two at a time. Suddenly one of our men appeared with three planks on his shoulder shouting, 'Chinese no gooda.' The challenge was accepted with alacrity, for a Chink appeared with four planks and shouted, 'Chineesha gooda, Ingaleesha no gooda.' He was followed by one of us with five planks on his shoulder, and it was 'Chinese no gooda' once again. Then came a Chink with six planks, but immediately afterwards a soldier came along with seven, looking very hot and uncomfortable beneath such a heavy

load. We all shouted derisively, 'Chinese no gooda,' and there was a long pause, and we thought the victory was ours. But suddenly the Chinks burst into gleeful laughter and clapped their hands in mad excitement. We did not know what had happened, until we saw a Chink staggering under a kind of pagoda which his comrades had erected on his stalwart shoulders. It was built up of *sixteen* planks! Perspiring, breathing hard, and taking short, rapid steps, his pagoda on the verge of toppling over every instant, he reached the stack and then allowed the structure to collapse amid wild shouts of 'Chineesha gooda, Ingaleesha no gooda !'

It was a warm day, and none of us felt inclined to dispute the final verdict at this meeting of East and West.

SOME REMINISCENCES OF PANDIT SHIVNATH SHASTRI

BY SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.

I HAVE already given some of my reminiscences of the late Pandit Shivrath Shastri in the columns of the *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay. They related to the year 1878-79 when I first became acquainted with him. They went to represent mainly what appeared to me the ruling trait of his life as the leading missionary of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. In short, it was his homeliness, meaning the charm of that simple sincerity, which enabled him to enter into the hearts of those brought in contact with him and with a quiet emphasis to influence them to be good husbands, good wives, good neighbours, so as to be sound patriots. A missionary, wedded to the cause of God, runs the risk of dogmatism and 'sanctimonious' ways, which weaken his influence. He ought to be a man, who captures the person he wishes to draw to God, by luring, not driving him. He should present to laymen his own vital experience of God as if it was *their* vital experience as well. Lord Morley in his "Recollections" defines true leadership as "the hearth at which the soul is kindled and kept alive."

Pandit Shivrath Shastri was in more than the metaphorical sense the "hearth" of the Samaj, which he and that dear soul he loved—Ananda Mohan Bose—founded together and led. Both were the "hearths" of the Samaj, because by their actual lives they preached and practised the soundest principle of national life which is that religion must spring from home life—a people's hearths—and extend its influence from there to their social and political environment so as to make their country one home.

Pandit Shivrath Shastri's *homeliness*, illustrated by the reminiscences I have given in the *Indian Social Reformer*—the way he sought to win over all he influenced to make heaven of their homes by his own homely ways of precept and practice—was the secret of the fact that he was a missionary who lived and influenced others to live a life of *wholeness*. To him all reform, whether social, political, economic, or educational, was religious—the flow of the same spirit from the fount of love of God and man. Ardent in the cause of religion, by vocation a missionary whose

duty, one would think, is that cause exclusively, unmixed with other causes, he nevertheless had the universal soul which discerned that cause—its principles and aims—working under Divine dispensation with men as instruments in political and the like secular causes as well. For instance, when in the years 1884 to 1886 the late Mr. Behramji M. Malabari had raised his agitation of social reform, and the question whether religious and social reform ought to precede the political came to be hotly discussed, I took some part in it and wrote and made speeches in Bombay. Three expressive phrases were the outcome of the agitation: (1) that religious and social reform ought to precede political reform; (2) that reform generally takes the line of least resistance; and (3) that we ought to become *men* first before we aspire to be *statesmen*. The first and the third phrase reflected the spirit of religious and social reformers; the second that of political workers. Happening soon after, in the year 1886 to be at Calcutta for attendance at the National Congress presided over by Mr. Dadabhai Naoraji as a delegate, I moved, under Pandit Shivnath Shastri's friendly guidance, a good deal in the local Brahmo community. At a gathering of Brahmo ladies and gentlemen held in the Hall of the City College, I was one of the speakers and in my speech I pressed my point that religious reform was more important than political. I capped it all with the aphorism that we should be *men* first before we aspired to be *statesmen*. My remarks were received cordially: at the close of the gathering, both Pandit Shivnath and Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose complimented me upon the coining of the phrase as to *men* first and *statesmen* afterwards. "How much I love the phrase—you have put the problem of Indian reform in a nutshell; I will now pass it on and propagate it vigorously," said the Pandit, half seriously, half in well-meant humour. That was his kind nature—to give a word of praise to others who, he thought, were workers in the Vineyard of God and deserved encouragement. But his compliment to me was undeserved.

"What!"—I replied—"You think *I* have coined the phrase? What a bad memory you have got, Mahashoy! Please don't father the phrase on *me*. You gave it to me when you were in Bombay in 1881. You have forgotten that in that year when, as *Editor* of a newspaper, I was writing in advocacy of religious reform, we had long chats on the subject and you used the phrase and I caught it from *you*, and *your* article which had appeared in the newspaper organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj." "I never thought I could be so good as that at coining catching phrases," said the Pandit. "However you have given it life." So saying, he took me to his home; we discussed the *pros* and *cons* of the phrase and the value, possibilities, and prospects of the Indian National Congress. "It is good," he told me, "to emphasize the prime value of religion and religious reform, but let us not commit the mistake, which has for centuries retarded India's progress, of confounding religion with theology and treating it as if it was something different in nature from politics. Politics is religion too." "But"—I asked him—"politics relates to secularity and must be spiritualised to be healthy." "Yes," he said, "that is so; but man's individual life and a people's national life are not cut by God into different compartments. It is we who for convenience of work on the principle of division of labour treat them as distinct spheres; but political activity is fitted to evoke the life religious. We Brahmos are politicians because we think that life being religious at the root covers all spheres of national activity. And Ananda Mohan Bose is a living example of that." "What, then, becomes of *your* phrase, Mahashoy, that we must become *men* first before we aspire to be *statesmen*? You fathered that phrase on me, whereas it is *yours* gifted to me in Bombay five years ago. And how do you get over it?" Here the Pandit's loud laughter, so characteristic of his ever-cheerful heart, rang through me; he put his hand in mine, said what a bad memory he had and continued: "Yes, we must be *men* first to be *statesmen*; but mind you, we cannot become *men* unless we complete the circle by

developing the sense of *statesmanship*. A man is no man unless he takes interest, religiously, in the politics of his country, for politics is service too and religion is service. India wants that view and practice of religion. Let us not forget that. Our Samaj principle: "The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man" and the Upanishad text we have adopted as our sheet-anchor—एकमेवाद्वितीयम् : "One God without a second", are voices from the depths of Indians' ancient heart, just and only because they are challenges to us Indians for the concrete in life all round—we have to realise them in all our relations of life, and God points their way through the State and its politics, as through the Church and its worship." There he stopped for a while as if some idea had crossed his mind, and then he asked me whether I had called on Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, who was then living. I said: "No." "You must go and see him—it will do you good," he remarked. I asked him whether he too would go with me. "No; you should go alone and see that lion of a Bengalee, now resting and leading a lonely life. Then let me know what you have seen of him and learnt from him. And I will tell you how his life points a moral to us all as to the phrase we have been discussing. You will learn best by seeing and talking to him. And see him by yourself."

So I called on Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar; he received me with all the affection of a father though I had never met him before; I had a long and instructive interview, which I subsequently published in the columns of the paper I then edited. The interview showed that Pandit Ishwar Chandra had become something of a misanthrope; had more or less lost faith in his countrymen and in India's future; regarded India's public workers as mere "talkers" with little strength of work and sense of courage and sacrifice. After the interview I saw Pandit Shivanath Shastri and told him all about the interview I had with Vidyasagar and his despair of India's future. "There it is"—said Shivanath Shastri—"That is why I asked you to go and see him. Vidyasagar

is one of the bravest of the brave; he has adorned the annals of modern Bengal by his learning, his feeling heart and daring hand, active in the cause of the poor and the suffering. But alas! his one great defect is he expected more from the world than it gave to his call in his time, whereas God's World is a sowing and a weeding with many a long and tedious waiting for the harvest. Learn from our great Bengali—he is a light with a warning. We must work like him but never abandon hope and faith in our people, however things seem to go wrong." "But," said I, "Vidyasagar is now old and old age is apt to get into misanthropy." To that Shivanath Shastri replied: "There it is. The religious life is needed. And that is the Mission of our Samaj—to work in all spheres, welcome all activities for India's good and be always buoyant with faith and hope. Let us learn that and be warned from Vidyasagar's life. He has somehow become stubborn in his feeling that his life has been a failure. It is not;—but the feeling that a good life of courage and well-doing has failed because it has not won popular support is not healthy. It unnerves people and the great need of the day is to put heart into the people and say they are bound for great things under God."

After that I met Shivanath Shastri in the years 1916, 1917, and 1918. It was a long, long interval, enough to effect a change in him, if his had been an ordinary character. He had become old; his health was failing; his memory weak; a new generation with new ideas had come into being. Yet I found that his was the same spirit—youthful, and fitting into the changed times, as glad with the music of God in his soul as the birds with the songs of their voices in the air. Once in 1916, happening to speak to him in a depressing mood about the future of India by the light of contemporary events, I told him that that future did not seem promising. He brightened his eyes, took me by his hand, led me to the terrace of his house, and, beginning with the loud laughter that always preceded the sparks of his social talk he said:—"Vidyasagar

also talked like that in his later years. But that is not good for us, not good for India." And he was proceeding to tell me all about Vidyasagar, when I interrupted him by reminding him of my interview of 1886 and of the counsel he (Shivnath Shastri) had then given to me as a warning from Vidyasagar's otherwise heroic career. "So you know it. Why, then, despond? Cheer up—India's golden age is coming—try to be golden yourself."

That was Pandit Shivnath Shastri—a golden man because a child of God with God's love and hope. Broken in body, felled down by disease during these twenty years, he to the last lived a life of hope for India, saw God working in all movements—and I never returned from my visits to

him the last three years without being heartened by his words, and his spiritual and social *bonhomie*. The fire of youth was there—"the hearth" of the Sadharan Samaj still was kindled and alive and seemed to me to feed and nourish all that sought its warmth and food. He never whined; never wailed; did his part and asked others to do theirs. That is religion; that is politics. "To do good, without seeing it" is the best and most practical of creeds, said the late Canon Barnett. Lord Morley has been fond of preaching that to get some good out of mankind we must not expect much from our fellows. Pandit Shivnath Shastri was of that divine company. Therefore, his life ought to be an inspiration to us all.

INDIA IN THE YEARS 1917—1918

THE above is the title of a book compiled for the Government of India by L. F. Rushbrook Williams, Fellow of All Souls, and Officer on Special Duty in the Home Department of the Government of India. It gives an outline of some of the more important problems, political, social, and economic, which confront the administration of India, and contains some valuable charts and maps. The book is written in a sympathetic spirit, and can be had at the modest price of Re. 1-0-0.

INDIA AND THE WAR.

The first chapter is devoted to "India and the War." When the war broke out, "every effort was made to meet the increasing demands of the War Office in the way of materials; and in Lord Hardinge's phrase, India was bled 'absolutely white'." There were troubles with the border tribes which India has successfully surmounted, "and despite them, has rendered valuable services to the empire at large." The book proceeds to consider India's war-services under the general headings of men, of money, and of munitions. "The

efforts made by India in the war of manpower have greatly surpassed all expectations." It may fitly be recalled in this place that on April 2, 1918, the Prime Minister called upon India to "add to the laurels it had already won," and "to be the bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder which it is the object of the enemy to achieve." That the people of the Punjab, who, according to the author himself, responded most largely to this call to save Asia from oppression should themselves have become the victims of the horrors of martial law before the war was fairly over, is one of the tragic ironies of the Fate which presides over the destinies of subject nations. The King-Emperor, as we are reminded in this book, exhorted us to contribute the full measure of India's resources and strength on the ground that "the need of the Empire is India's opportunity." The book under review fully acknowledges the fact that India's contribution has in every way been ample and generous, and exceeded all expectations. India now waits anxiously to see how far

the hopes held out by His Majesty that in the liberality of her contribution lies her opportunity, are fulfilled by her rulers.

As for the financial assistance rendered by India, "in view of her poverty, her financial contributions have been very considerable." India made a free gift of £100 millions. "It adds over 30 per cent. to India's national debt, it is rather more than her entire income for a whole year, and it entails an extra annual burden of 6 per cent. of that income for its maintenance. In 1916, again, further taxation was found possible; and nearly £10 millions have been raised in this way during the last two years—a very substantial contribution from so poor a country as India." In September 1918, India undertook to make a further war contribution of £45 millions, by taking over the normal cost of the additional military forces raised in India; owing to the armistice, the actual extra cost to India under this head in 1918-19 amounted to £12·7 millions. Extra taxation, even on salt, was necessary to meet the enormous war expenditure. "India undertook to finance many war services, and to arrange for the export of enormous quantities of foodstuffs and munitions of various kinds." The 'Our Day' fund amounted to the 'magnificent sum' of over £·8 millions. The princes "have played a worthy part", and the total value of their gifts can hardly be less than £5 millions—"gifts to fire the enthusiasm of anyone conscious of the foundations of loyalty upon which the Indian empire is based."

"India's part in providing munitions has certainly not been inferior in extent to that of any portion of the Empire." "Up to the end of September 1918 the equipment and stores supplied by India to the various fronts amounted to some £80 millions. Nor was this India's only service in the way of munitions. She performed work of inestimable value in supplying raw materials and partly manufactured articles for the munitions manufactories of other lands...Not the least important war-service which India has rendered has been her help in provisioning Great Britain. As Mr. Lloyd George said some months ago, the people of Great Britain may have suffered some deprivation, but they have not known the pangs of real privation. This immunity must be ascribed in part at least to the

assistance rendered by Indian shipments in supplementing home production."

Now that India is in the grip of widespread and acute economic distress (a fact everywhere recognised in the book under notice), India waits to see what England, which was saved from 'the pangs of real privation' by Indian assistance, does to save her from a similar predicament.

"In textiles also, India has rendered great services. The importance in the last four years of India's monopoly of jute can hardly be exaggerated...The great cotton industry also has been an important aid to the Allies...the cotton textiles required for army purposes were for sometime entirely manufactured by "the Indian mills." "Some £8 millions worth of wool has been shipped to England, and altogether more than 42 million articles of troops' clothing have been manufactured. The leather industry also boasts of some very remarkable figures... Britain has relied very largely on Indian tanned hides, which have provided leather for nearly two-thirds of the army boots manufactured... She has also been the most important source of supplies of oleaginous produce [oil-seeds and oils] required for food, for lubricants, and for industrial purposes. Various measures have been taken to stimulate production and to increase as far as possible, the surplus available for export... In iron and steel also India has performed important services. The Tata Iron and Steel Works... has been the chief source of supply of rails for Mesopotamia, East Africa and Palestine... India has also supplied to Mesopotamia the whole of the railway transport, as well as the telegraphic and telephonic equipment employed in the country." The Nushki Extension Railway, a line 300 miles long through Beluchistan up to the Persian boundary near Mirjava was built. "This line runs through a most inhospitable country, where there is scarcely any drinkable water. Labour, materials, stores, and supplies of every kind had to be carried along with railhead." But it was a strategic railway, and neither cost nor difficulties of any kind were allowed to stand in the way of the completion of the project.

"The moral effect of the war upon India has been most remarkable...The ideal of responsible government within the empire came to the front in political discussions as never before, and afforded a marked stimulus to constructive constitutional activities. At no time was there any symptom of a desire for the severance of the ties which bound India to the mother-country. There was on the contrary a demand for the strengthening of those ties, combined with a fixed resolve that India's position within the Empire should not fall short of that which was deemed rightfully her due..... The acceptance by the Dominions' representatives of the principle of reciprocity of treatment, the grant of King's

Commissions to Indians, and other like developments have served at once to stimulate India's devotion to the Empire 'and to awaken her pride in her own growing national spirit.'

"The material effect of the war has been hardly less marked. There has been a notable stimulus to commerce and industry..... Great public interest has been aroused in the industrial development of the country, and it is noticed in the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission that there has been a definite demand for the adoption of the policy of State participation in industrial development, and of State assistance to industrial undertakings, which is likely to produce results stretching far into the future. As a consequence of this interest in industrial matters, there has been a growing desire on the part of the politically-minded classes that Government assistance should be directed towards the aim of making India more economically self-sufficing than has been the case hitherto. The Report of the Indian Industrial Commission points out the grave danger to which India and the Empire are alike exposed, owing to the fact that the principal industries in India depend very largely upon certain key industries, which are not adequately developed in the country. Hence any marked interruption of communications between India and the Empire, such as nearly resulted from the campaign of unrestricted submarinism, threatens to bring the industries of India to a standstill. There is every reason to hope that it will be found possible to take measures for the avoidance of any future danger upon this score."

The difficulty experienced in prosecuting the war owing to the absence of certain "Key" industries in India, has turned the attention of the authorities to the necessity of developing Indian industries, and the dearth of a surplus of qualified Englishmen to take part in that development may lead to the employment of Indians in industrial enterprise aided by the State. In this way the war may have an important influence on the material regeneration of India.

Summarising the effects of the war on India, the author concludes the chapter as follows :

"On the whole, then, it may be said that both in the moral and in the material sphere, the war has acted as a great stimulus to India. It has broadened her outlook, it has deepened her interest in the Empire. It has aroused hundreds of people to a realisation of the problems lying outside their immediate environment. In short, it may well prove to be the beginning of a new era, not merely in the relations of India to the Empire, but also in the internal life of India herself."

THE POLITICAL RECORDS.

Chapter II is headed 'the Political Record'. It is, in the main, a record of the contest between 'the left wing of the Nationalist party, commonly called the Extremists', and 'the centre party of the Nationalists, commonly called the moderates.' The cleavage of the ranks of the Nationalist party, according to the book under notice, commenced with the announcement of August 20, the moderates frankly welcoming the declaration as the Magna Charta of India. The author writes as if this cleavage was indeed to be expected, "since, if Western analogies may be trusted, the emergence of distinct parties is one of the earliest symptoms of constitutional development towards the institutions of democracy."

"While the moderates were throwing the best of their energies into work designed to assist Government in the prosecution of the war, the Home Rulers were conducting a campaign directed towards obtaining political concessions rather than towards the achievement of victory." "In short, it became plain that the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report had served to reveal the differences of aims and methods which distinguished the moderates from the extremists. It thus represents an important stage in the development of clear-cut political parties in India."

When the end of the war came,

"The gloom of war-time was dispelled and all India sincerely rejoiced. Among the political classes the reception of the news was enthusiastic. The moderates were unfeignedly delighted, for they found their position of general friendliness to Government greatly strengthened. On the other hand, those members of the left wing of the nationalists who had at one time attempted to bargain with Government by offering their support in the prosecution of the war at the price of the concessions they desired, saw that the time for such a policy had gone for ever. Their attitude, which at first was characterised by a little hesitation, seems to have been influenced in large measure by a fear lest the victory of the Allies should weaken the determination of Great Britain to proceed with Indian reforms.....despite attacks by the extremist press, they [the moderates at the special conference in Bombay] maintained their support of the general principles of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms scheme. Important sections of the press, both Indian and English edited, pointed out that the moderates, as a centre party between the old fashioned conservatives and the newly-evolved

extremists, had a great part to play in the future development of Indian politics.

Next came the Delhi Congress, where the extremists demanded full provincial autonomy at once.

"This resolution showed the uncompromising spirit and frank flouting of all dictates of prudence and expediency which marked the new party. Other resolutions were in harmony with the spirit."

Few Indians will be disposed to agree with the author as to the existence of a sharply-defined line of demarcation between the moderates and extremists, or to trace their gradual evolution on the lines assumed by him, but all will agree with the following conclusion :

"As to the 'reality' of the political developments outlined in this chapter, there can be no question. The time has gone by when the topic of constitutional reform in India could be dismissed summarily with the remark that those who demand it form but a fraction of the population."

It does not appear however that inspite of all the praise bestowed on the moderates they have been able to make much of an impression on the author by their practical suggestions or to influence the policy of the Government in any way, for the author's comments as follows on the recommendations of the Committee of non-official members of the Imperial Council appointed, on Mr. Surendranath Banerjea's motion, to consider the Montagu-Chelmsford Report :

"When this committee came to hand in its report, it was found that most of its detailed recommendations were not of very far-reaching character. There was a demand for the introduction of the principle of responsibility into the Government of India, but which of the Central Government's functions could be safely entrusted to ministers was nowhere determined."

The Congress-League scheme is also criticised in that while it gives the executive no power to carry the measures opposed by the elected members, it makes no provision for responsible government, for it gives no power to the legislature to replace the executive by one in harmony with its own ideas.

"By the early summer of 1917, that portion of the public of India which was interested in political matters had become unsettled in its

ideas. The mere fact that the Allies were avowedly fighting in defence of the rights of small and weak nations against large and strong ones; the frequent references by allied statesmen to such terms as democracy and self-determination; the strong world-movement towards government by popular opinion;—all these combined to raise vague hopes and to stimulate discontent with the existing polity in India.....The Report of the Public Services Commission, published early in 1917, was regarded as a disappointing document...on the whole it failed to appreciate the new spirit of India, which was reluctant to admit that a strong European element was necessary among the officers of any department."

As against the Hindu-Muslim compact of 1915, secured "by the concession of very heavy Muhammadan representation upon certain of the proposed councils," and admitted to be "a considerable triumph for the Nationalist party," the Bakr-Id riots of Bihar, in which about one thousand individuals were convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, and the Katarpur riots, in which also hundreds of men were similarly punished, are referred to, and the following comment is made :

"It was remarked at the time that certain sections of that [the Hindu] press appeared to feel less sorrow for the sufferings of the Muhammadans than chagrin at the break down of the political compact arranged between Hindu and Muhammadan leaders."

THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND.

'The Economic Background' forms the topic of the third chapter. The utter inadequacy of banking facilities in India, and its effect on the development of investment and all that such development implies, is pointed out. The report of the Indian Industrial Commission "shows how little the march of modern industry has affected the great bulk of the Indian population, which remains engrossed in agriculture, winning bare subsistence from the soil by antiquated methods of cultivation.

".....Previous to the war, too much reliance was placed on imports from overseas, their habitual use being fostered by the Government practice of purchasing stores in England. While India produces nearly all the raw materials necessary for the requirements of a modern community, she is unable to manufacture many of the articles and materials essential alike in peace and war. For instance, her great textile industries are dependent upon supplies of impor-

ted machinery, and would have to shut down if the command of the seas were lost. India, in short, is a country rich in raw materials and in industrial possibilities, but poor in manufacturing accomplishments."

The two factors which dominate the whole economic life of India during the period under review consist in the restriction of imports due to the shortage of freight and the enormous demand from allies and from neutrals for India's own products.

"Opportunities for manufacturing locally articles formerly imported were eagerly embraced, and money was forthcoming in abundance for financing such projects. Whether these schemes will continue to be successful when imports once more freely enter the country is a question which is agitating the minds of many persons at present; but the consensus of expert opinion seems to be that in the majority of cases, the indigenous articles will be able to meet competition successfully."

Of the exports, jute and tea have derived the largest profit, but of course the capitalists in Great Britain, and not the growers of the crops in India, have shared in this phenomenal prosperity. Japan and America have between them captured nearly the whole of the export trade of Germany and Austria.

"The progress in trade with Japan showed a phenomenal development. In 1917-18, the total value was more than £30 millions, an increase of 400 per cent. in imports and 103 per cent. in exports over the pre-war average. At present the total trade with Japan exceeds that with all other countries except the United Kingdom, but there are strong probabilities that the figures for the next year will show a substantial decline. From many quarters come reports of a growing dissatisfaction with Japanese goods on the part of the Indian consumer. On the other hand trade with the United States, now double that of the pre-war period, and second only to that of Japan, shows signs of increasing very considerably."

"Owing to the high price of raw cotton throughout the world, the high cost of manufacture of imported cloth, and the reduction in the volume of British manufacture available for the general public, the dearth of cotton cloth began to press very heavily on the masses in 1918."

The Government assumed powers for the manufacture and distribution of standard cloth, but it is said that it was not found necessary to put these powers

into active operation as state interference helped to produce a fall in the price of the commodity—a statement which seems to be wide of the truth, for there has been no appreciable fall in the price of cloth to this day.

Prices of foodstuffs rose to 31 per cent above pre-war level.

"This was sufficient to cause deep distress in India, where the margin of income over bare subsistence is extremely small for the bulk of the population." ".....The prices of all the ordinary commodities, such as spices, oil, cloth, kerosene and salt, were raised to abnormally high figures by shortage of supplies and the profiteering of the large dealers who controlled the market."

There were a few instances of market looting, labour-unrest, and strikes, but "on the whole, there were few disturbances, and conditions of exceptional hardships were borne with extraordinary resignation." It is doubtful if this spirit of resignation among the Indian masses has stood them in good stead at any period of India's tragic history.

The failure of the monsoon of 1918 led to the occurrence of local shortage in food crops and famine was declared in certain parts of India. From observations made here and there in the book it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the failure of a single monsoon would hardly have created so serious a situation but for the wholesale exportation of foodstuffs in the period immediately preceding for provisioning England and the Allies. Some of these observations have been quoted in connection with the war services rendered by India. During the years under review, "in food grains [wheat, etc.], there was a noticeable increase in the traffic from up-country to the sea-ports, on account of the increased demand for shipment abroad." Towards the end of 1917, arrangements were made "to buy the Allies' requirements of rice, estimated at one hundred thousand tons monthly, from Burma." "It was indeed supremely fortunate at this time [towards the end of 1918] that the necessity for the exportation of large quantities of foodstuffs to the Allies began to diminish owing to the approach of armistice conditions." By and by, "the Secretary of State was in-

formed that India could no longer continue to purchase and export wheat and other foodstuffs except those which were urgently required for Mesopotamia....The export of food-grains from India was prohibited except in very small quantities for exceptionally strong reasons.”*

EDUCATION, AGRICULTURE, ETC.

Chapter IV deals with education, agriculture and kindred subjects. It begins by recounting the present position of education in India. Just three per cent. of the population is under instruction—a percentage which includes five per cent. of the males and one per cent. of the females of British India.

“As might have been conjectured from figures so low as these, it was found at the last census (1911) that under six per cent. of the population could read and write. From the purely educational point of view, this state of affairs is sufficiently serious. But in the light of present political exigencies, it becomes a source of acute uneasiness. India is about to advance upon the road leading to the progressive realisation of responsible Government. Electorates are to be brought suddenly into being. Indians of all classes will have to take a greater and greater share of public duties and public responsibilities—yet only six in every hundred could in 1911 achieve the very modest census standard of literacy. It must be plain that until the proportion of literates can be raised, the immense mass of the peoples of India will remain poor, ignorant, and helpless far beyond the standards of Europe. Until education can be more generally diffused, it is idle to expect India to realise her immense industrial potentialities.”

“If the primary education of boys is to be placed upon a satisfactory footing, all boys from the completion of the fifth to the completion of the eleventh or twelfth year should be under instruction. Taking this at 15 per cent. of the

male population, more than 18½ million boys ought to be undergoing elementary education as opposed to the six million boys actually at school now. The cost of educating the rest is estimated to be at least £5 millions a year, to say nothing of the sums required for training, inspection, the erection of schools and so forth.”

“The seriousness of the present position and the urgent necessity for embarking upon a largely planned constructive policy for which money must be found in some way or other” is thus manifest.

“The problem of finding the money for the requisite expansion of Indian education is one that will tax the combined efforts of British and Indian administrators severely for the next few years. The matter is one of vital urgency; for if the money be not found and the expansion does not take place, it will be impossible for India to assume the position due to her in the commonwealth of Nations.”

Before we consider the financial solution proposed by the author, let us glance at the share of educational expenditure borne by the State. No Indian nationalist could betray a livelier concern for the extension of primary education than the author of this Government publication; and from this one might be led to suppose that the Government bore an adequate share of the public burden in educational matters. But we find from the book itself that this is far from being the case.

“The crux of the whole present position of Indian education is financial. As is suggested by the fact that the total expenditure is 7¼d. per head, such education as exists tends to be cheap and inferior in quality.”

Of this total, the “expenditure from provincial, including central [i. e., State] funds, works out to 2½ d. per head of population, as compared with 7s. 9d. in England and Wales.....

The amount contributed by fees, which is 28 per cent. of the total expenditure, seems at first sight very large. But its magnitude arises from the paucity of funds derived from other sources [e.g., state or municipal grants] than from the rate of fees charged.”

It is next admitted that in native states like Cochin and Mysore the percentage of pupils under instruction to the total population of schoolgoing age is much higher than in British India. The author gives a halting explanation for “the small amount spent upon education in India,”

* The following extract refers to the normal, and not to the war-time, export of food-grains:—
“No one who has not been to India and has seen nothing of the working of the system from the great granaries at Karachi to the agencies in every little village which has a surplus of anything that can be sent away, can grasp the colossal nature of this export organisation. One firm alone sucks the sap of Indian life like a tropical sun, leaving dust and barrenness behind. A week or two after harvest, India's surplus wheat and rice have passed into the hands of dealers, and when the next monsoon fails she starves.”—*The Awakening of India*, by J. R. Macdonald.

and trots out the familiar plea that the safety of the State must come first, and the military expenditure (Defence) is India's greatest burden. But England which spends 7 s. 9 d. as against 2½ d. per head in India upon education has also her military expenditure to attend to, and it will not be contended that her defensive position is less secure than that of India. The plea of lack of funds never greets our ears when the pay and prospects of the Imperial civil and European military services come up for consideration. It is raised only when Indian education, sanitation, the improvement of agriculture, and similar subjects in which Indians are vitally interested, are under discussion. Is it because in England the civil and military services are run on more economical and less wasteful lines that money is easily found for educational expenditure? "Important as is education to the life of a nation," says the author of the book under review, "the safety of the state and of the individual from the menace of external aggression or internal disorder naturally comes first." But we are reminded of the words of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt who says in his *India Under Ripon* :

"We have given the raiyat security from death by violence, but we have probably increased the danger of death by starvation."

"There is surely no country in the world," elsewhere says Mr. Blunt, "where in the midst of such starvation there is so much waste....."

"I wonder whether anyone has calculated the number of miles of macadamised roads in the various Anglo-Indian cantonments, not a yard of which has ever served any purpose beyond that of enabling the officers' wives to pay each other visits in their carriages?"

"Leaving out of account such large questions as that of military expenditure," says Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in his *Awakening of India*, "nobody who has seen India and the conditions of Indian Government will deny that there is great extravagance. The European service is extravagant, the conditions under which it rules are extravagant, the cost of Simla, Ootacamund and other hill stations is extravagant, the expenditure on official residences and other paraphernalia is extravagant." It is only

when the pay of the subordinate officials of the Government comes under consideration that the authorities betray a lively sense of economy. As a matter of fact no public service in the world is so overpaid in the higher and underpaid in the lower grades as the entire public service of India. When the Government has made an honest attempt at retrenchment in wasteful expenditure in connection with the higher civil and military services, it will have earned a right of hearing as to its plea of lack of funds in regard to the expansion of mass education, but not before.

The urgent need of mass education being admitted, the author solves 'the problem of finding the money' in the following way : "The success of this plan," he says, "depends upon the willingness of local bodies to avail themselves of the permission to adopt compulsory measures, and to tax themselves with a view to making these measures effective." Justification for such local taxation is found in the late Mr. J. C. Jack's *Economic Life of a Bengal District*, where he says : "The truth is that in Bengal not only is all taxation, exceptionally light, but local taxation in particular, is an insignificant burden upon the resources of the people." The fallacy of Mr. Jack's special pleading was proved in the pages of the *Modern Review* by an Indian civilian when his book was first published. But the conclusions he arrived at are dear to the official apologist, and are still quoted in official publications as authoritative. The Montagu-Chelmsford report admits (para 332) that the peasant classes have no great margin of taxable capacity, and the author of the book under notice himself says in another place :

"There are rigid limits to the taxable capacity of India, leaving out of consideration the fact that three quarters of the population depends upon agriculture, and hence upon the incidence of the monsoon, for its means of livelihood."

Elsewhere it is admitted that "the margin of subsistence of the mass of the population of India is so small that any substantial rise [in prices] must affect them with disproportionate severity." The truth of the matter is, that the Government of India knows that in the words of

Lord Bryce, the cultivator 'is taxed to the full measure of his capacity' and hence does not consider it expedient to impose further taxation itself, and as it nevertheless feels that mass education can no longer be neglected in the way it has hitherto been, it has recommended the transfer of primary education to the ministers, in the hope that they will be able to meet the cost by further taxation, quoting the words of a Committee appointed in 1917 that an elected council "will be able to raise money for education from sources that can never be tapped by a Government of the existing official type" (para 103 of the Fifth Despatch). The despatch also says:

"The view has been suggested to us that, inasmuch as it will be from the vernacular schools that we shall draw the mass of intelligent voters of the future, it is our duty to concentrate upon vernacular education, and to leave English education, as a subject in which they will be more interested, to ministers."

As we shall presently see, there is a strong additional reason for this course, for it is popular elementary education which requires development in India, secondary and higher education being already as fully developed as in other civilised countries. But the fear of courting unpopularity by additional taxation probably deterred the Government from accepting this suggestion. The Calcutta University Commission also exhorts the State to take courage in both hands and boldly launch into a policy of educational taxation. But this is what Sir Sankaran Nair, late Education Minister, wrote in his minute of dissent appended to the Fifth Despatch:

"At the [Delhi] Durbar it was announced that the Government have resolved 'to acknowledge the predominant claims of educational advancement on the resources of the Empire.' As a matter of fact, that acknowledgment has not been translated into action. In almost all the local councils attempts are being made to introduce private bills for optional compulsory education. These bills are allowed to be introduced only on condition that no financial responsibility is thereby imposed on Government. Local resources are inadequate and such education as is imparted will not be efficient. Without Government financial assistance the scheme will not succeed or even cannot be put into operation."

Coming now to secondary and higher

education, the contrast is most remarkable, and disposes, once for all, of the contemptuous remark that such education is confined to a 'microscopic minority' of the Indian population.

"In secondary schools, '5 per cent. of the population are enrolled, as compared with '6 per cent. in England and Wales. Considering the backwardness of female education, this figure is startling; if the male population of India alone is reckoned, no less than '9 per cent. are found in secondary schools, a proportion far greater than that of England and Wales, and approximately equal to that of Germany before the war. Very significant too are the figures for University education. India has about '025 per cent. of her population undergoing instruction of a University type, as against '054 in England and Wales. But here, again, the female population of India has to be almost eliminated, so that India's proportion is really very high indeed. When single tracts, such as Bengal for instance, are considered, this percentage, heavy as it is, sometimes rises in a marked degree. In this province, the proportion of those undergoing University instruction to the population is equal to the proportion in the United Kingdom, and if the female population of Bengal be left out of reckoning, the figure rises to the remarkable height of '1 per cent. Thus, while the lower classes in India are largely illiterate, the middle class, which is the class that mainly patronises the higher institutions, is numerically speaking educated to a pitch equal to that attained in countries whose social and economic conditions are more highly developed."

The defect of Indian education is that it is "conducted along extremely narrow lines. ... It is of a predominantly literary type. Only '5 (?) per cent. of the population are undergoing instruction in institutions which provide technical training." But it is admitted that, "were industrial employment assured, it is believed that students would readily come forward and that technical institutions would multiply." Education in India suffers from three other principal defects. There is a serious lack of properly trained teachers, the teaching profession is seriously underpaid, and education is entirely dominated by the examination system.

"So far as quantity is concerned, secondary education in India may be considered fairly satisfactory. It is quality which leaves so much to be desired. ... Instruction and discipline are generally reported as poor. ... Worse still, since the most necessary ingredients of education

such as discipline, social life, good physical condition and a reasonable standard of class-work are not demanded, they are not supplied. . . . Political agitation often occupies the minds of boys to a most undesirable extent." "... the defects peculiar to the Indian University system are lack of organisation, wide inequality of efficiency among affiliated colleges and an inferior standard of instruction. . . . Any attempt to raise the standard is regarded with hostility by certain sections of the press, which tend to turn every topic of educational controversy into a racial question; and profess to discover, in every proposal to improve the quality of instruction, evidence of a desire to thwart, by stunting educational development, India's legitimate political demand."

That there is some justification for this attitude of the press will appear from Sir Sankaran Nair's minute of dissent appended to the Fifth Despatch, where he says that secondary and higher education was purposely confined to the well-to-do classes for political reasons, as it was believed that they would give no trouble to the Government, and rules were framed with a view to restrict the diffusion of education generally and among the poorer boys in particular. That the political aspect of education is always present in the official mind is shown by the following extract from the book under review :

"The sum, which Government would have to find after allowing for the levelling up of fees [though it is elsewhere admitted that the income from fees is already relatively very large], in addition to the sums at present spent upon secondary education, [in order to put it on a sound footing], would amount to £1·3 millions annually. Large as is this sum, it is of vital urgency to find it. In the case of mass education the situation is sufficiently serious; but the problems are largely in the future. In the case of secondary education, however, we are dealing with a state of affairs constituting a political and social danger. Secondary education is the pivot on which depends the whole character of educational and other forms of advance."

The observations of the author on female education are thoroughly justified.

"Social reasons such as the institution of Pardah, early marriage and so forth, form a stumbling block. Still more formidable, however, is the hindrance constituted by the lack of effective demand. While female education is enthusiastically advocated on the platform and in the public press, the number of those who will pay for it or even allow the female members of their own families to enjoy its advantages is

comparatively small. Among purely educational difficulties are the provision of a sufficiently large and well-qualified staff of lady teachers and inspectresses. . . . It is obvious that female illiteracy acts as a serious bar to educational progress. If half the population grows up practically illiterate, incentive to education in the other half must be sensibly lowered; and when home education is almost unknown, education in general appears as something extraneous to the real life of the people. An artificial state of affairs is indeed created by imparting it. The youth does not find in his home the environments and thoughts which surround him in the class-room."

Referring to the educational facilities granted to the domiciled [Eurasian] community, the book says :

"Great opportunities for employment in India, whether in the public services or private concerns, have resulted from the practical cessation of recruitment from England during the war."

The dissenting notes of Messrs. (now Sirs) Chaubal and Abdur Rahim in the Report of the Public Services Commission show how ample the facilities for appointment enjoyed by the Eurasian community already were before the war broke out. They have now been enormously increased. It is no wonder therefore that in their Seventh Despatch the Government of India say that they can confidently rely on the elected European and Anglo-Indian members on the Grand Committees to a greater degree even than Indian nominated members. But has the Government ever made a similar attempt to co-ordinate the higher education of Indians with a suitable public career afterwards? Had this been done, as has been done in the case of the inferior-educated Eurasians, the cry of discontent should not have been so loud.

Regarding technical education, the author says :

"It is encouraging to find that there is a growing popular demand for scientific, industrial, commercial and agricultural training. . . . circumstances arising out of the war have combined to provide a great stimulus to Indian Industry and industrial research. With the growth of industry in different parts of India, the most crippling disadvantage under which scientific and technical education at present labours, namely the difficulty of placing its products in positions for which their training has fitted them, will gradually disappear."

"It should be noted in this connection that the effects of the war upon Indian education have not been wholly adverse. It is true that the financial stringency has postponed schemes of importance, and local Governments have been precluded from drawing freely upon the unspent balances which had accumulated from Imperial grants of previous years. But, on the other hand, the world-struggle has excited great interest among people of all ranks and all ages in matters outside their immediate surroundings. It has enhanced their historical and geographical knowledge. It has widened their outlook and united them with all parts of the Empire in common endeavour to contribute towards the successful prosecution of the war. Schools in general have taken a share in providing money and men. Universities have organised Indian Defence Force units..... War lectures, exhibition of war pictures, propagation of war news and war literature have all done much to enlarge cramped mental horizons and have led to a truer realisation of the unity of the British Empire and of the greatness of Imperial ideals."

It is a sad commentary on this eloquent testimony to India's realisation of Imperial ideals that South Africa should already have commenced a bitter and, to us, most humiliating, campaign of anti-Indian legislation.

In imparting agricultural education, "the needs of the two different classes, which constitute the agricultural population, have to be kept in mind.

For the sub-tenants and labourers, whose children are compelled to take a share in the family toil at a very early age, the simplest primary education is all that can be provided. But this primary education should be so framed as to raise the receptivity of the younger generation. If they can be trained to take an interest in the things round about them, they will be fitted to return to their homes and to the realities of life with a sense calculated to appreciate the relatively backward conditions under which they labour and a will to remedy them. So far as the landlords, large cultivators, and occupancy tenants are concerned, the education to be provided should fit them to return to their land and to take an active interest in the improvement of agricultural and of village life generally. These problems of agricultural education are most pressing. The world's progress is affecting agriculture equally with other occupations, and unless the Indian agriculturist can be so equipped intellectually that he clearly appreciates this progress, he will be blind to the new markets and to the new opportunities given to him. The future of India depends very largely upon the proper utilisation of agricultural resources. Earnest efforts are being made

both by the department of education and by the department of agriculture to improve the intelligence and the productivity of the agriculturist. The two lines of work are now inseparable and complementary."

"As to the general prospects before Agriculture in India, there can be no two opinions. The country offers an exceptionally fine field for the application of science to the industry by which two-thirds of its population live. In no country in the world is there to be found so enormous an admixture of varieties in almost every crop grown. In no country in the world is the difficulty of improving the methods employed by the mass of the cultivators so great. The present ploughs and tools of the Indian farmer are such as to compel him to sit in helpless inactivity until the soil conditions are at their maximum. When he is shown a good implement he usually replies, with perfect truth, that his bullocks cannot pull it or that it costs too much. Thousands of acres of land lie idle, awaiting only the application of manure, water and industry to yield tons of valuable crops."

The work before the agricultural Department lies in the selection and organised distribution of improved seeds, introduction of improvements in manure and cultivation, transfer of the best indigenous methods of cultivation and the best indigenous implements to the more backward tracts, selection of localities for specialization in particular crops specially suited to them. Another work is controlling the outbreak of insect pests.

"The staff available is very small, and while appreciable progress continues, it will take years to eradicate from the mind of the cultivator the idea that blights come from the clouds and are a punishment from heaven. Here, however, the Education Department can directly co-operate." "One of the difficulties has been to prevent mortality among cattle from such diseases as rinderpest. The investigations of the Department are to some extent rendered fruitless by the ignorance of the villagers, who do not sufficiently understand the contagious nature of the disease and the ruinous results which follow from the neglect of ordinary precautions."

"Scientific agriculture in India, like every other branch of Government's activity [intended to benefit the indigenous as distinguished from the foreign European population], labours under the disadvantages of being under-financed. Excellent work is being done, but it is being done on a pitifully small scale..... It is probably safe to say that if India could invest ten times this amount [£300,000] in scientific work directed towards the improvement of agriculture, the money would be well spent." "One of the

difficulties of improving agriculture in India has been the lack of capital available to the agriculturists. India to-day provides an apt illustration of the dictum that the destruction of the poor man is his poverty. Agriculture, while the foundation of all other industries in India, is painfully undercapitalised. The problem is how to place within the reach of the cultivator the improved seed, the improved implements, the improved methods, which are necessary if Indian agriculture is to become what it ought to be. Unless Indian agriculture can be placed upon a more scientific footing it is difficult to see how India is to bear the economic burden which no nation on the road to Self-government can escape."

It is observed that "upon the development of irrigation must largely depend the development of the immense agricultural resources of the country," and it is stated that "an increase of no less than 80 per cent., upon the present area irrigated by Government works is contemplated by future projects." But it is easy to see from what has been said in this connection that many of these projects are in a more or less nebulous condition and will take many years to materialise if they do so at all, whereas owing no doubt to the pressure put by English capitalists, "with the cessation of hostilities it has been found possible to resume a far-reaching programme of railway development."

SOME GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES.

In the last chapter 'some Governmental activities' are described, and the first of them is the working of the Police, to which is prefaced an eloquent testimony to the beneficial effects of the maintenance of internal tranquility.

"It is because peace and order have been maintained throughout the land, that Indians have begun to realise their heritage of common culture, that a spirit working for national unity has awakened, that educated India, at least, has begun to find itself." "Despite their services, the police are not popular in India..... In short, for all their work, the police are little trusted by the vocal section of Indian public opinion..... In India the constable is not looked upon as a friend of the peaceful citizen, so much as his potential oppressor. Partly, no doubt, this regrettable attitude is an inheritance from bad old days, which India still too clearly remembers when executive authority was synonymous with arbitrary power. Partly, it is due to the

actual existence of a limited amount of petty oppression on the part of ill-paid subordinates, which, despite the best efforts of the upper ranks, is not yet completely eradicated, although becoming rarer day by day."

These two causes sufficiently explain the educated and respectable Indian's aversion to the Police. If a further cause is to be sought, it may be found in the fact that the Indian constable, so far as his countrymen are concerned, is no respecter of persons in a bad sense. While he never fails to *salaam* any passing European and Anglo-Indian, he grudges to extend the common civilities to a respectable Indian, and it is believed that his European departmental superior does not discourage this habit, though in England Bobby accosts every respectable individual with a 'Sir.' The official mind is not however satisfied with these plain reasons, for they are not very creditable to him. The author, therefore, proceeds to find out an imaginary cause for the universal dislike of the policeman in India. "Principally, however," he continues, "it may be surmised that this attitude arises from the fact that the police, being the arm of the administration which comes most frequently into contact with the people at large, becomes unconsciously identified with the administration itself in the minds of all those who are discontented with the existing regime." Another curious perversion of the truth in a writer so habitually sympathetic is to be found in the following passage :

"The root of the problem here, as in so many other branches of the Indian administration, is financial. But the irony of the situation is that those who criticise the existing police system most bitterly are often the fiercest opponents of the introduction of improvements, when, as must inevitably be the case, these improvements cost money. It would not be too much to say that most of the defects of which the police can be fairly accused arise from the fact that in the subordinate ranks the pay is not sufficient to attract men of the right stamp to perform the difficult and responsible task of safeguarding public peace."

It is the educated classes who always agitate for increase of pay to the subordinate and menial services, and it would be strange if they were to take up a contrary

attitude in the case of the police. What they protest against is the undue liberality sometimes shown to this department as compared with other public services which stand in more urgent need of amelioration. Speaking of anarchy, the writer observes :

"In coping with this danger, the heroism which has been displayed by police officers, particularly in Bengal, has been beyond all praise. But for their courage and devotion to duty, it is not too much to say that the efforts of a minute body of anarchists might have plunged India into most serious disorder at a time when the safety of the Empire itself was gravely threatened."

This is high praise, and no doubt quite well-deserved, and very flattering to the Bengalee race. But the time has gone by when either the Bengalee police officers concerned or the general public of Bengal could rest satisfied with such empty praise, uttered by way of set off against the attacks of the politicians on the methods of the Indian police. The question is everywhere asked, what has an appreciative Government done to promote these deserving officers to positions of command and direction? Those positions, from that of District Superintendent of Police upwards, still remains a monopoly of the ruling race.

The work of the Salvation Army among the criminal section of the population deserves more than a passing mention, and is worthy of more general imitation.

"More than 7,000 members of criminal tribes, and released prisoners, are now being supervised by the Salvation Army alone, and instead of preying upon society are earning an honest living by means of agriculture and various industries..... The supervision of released prisoners and their encouragement to maintain the habits of an honest livelihood constitute a sphere in which the Salvation Army has done most admirable work up and down India."

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

A large part of the last chapter deals with local self-government. We are glad to note that no attempt is here made, as was made by some provincial Governments in discussing the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, to set up the false theory that self-governing institutions were unknown in ancient and medieval India.

"It should be remembered that self-governing institutions, as they are worked in India to-day

(italics ours), are largely a creation of British rule, and do not constitute a continuation of such indigenous institutions as were to be found in the pre-British period."

It follows as a corollary to this proposition that the development of self-governing institutions in India must follow the lines of their growth in the democratic countries of the West. The author summarises the Government of India resolution of April 1915 containing detailed proposals in the direction of giving greater scope and freedom to local self-government. The resolution laid down that authority entrusted to the local bodies must be real, and should be freed from unnecessary control; that there should be a substantive elective majority; that if a municipal or rural board had to pay for any service, it should control it; that it should have real control over the funds, and was not to be harassed by constant dictation of government departments in matters of detail. It also suggested the general replacement of nominated official chairmen by elected non-official chairmen, and the constitution of a central body to co-ordinate the experience of the local bodies, and maintain an expert inspecting establishment.

"As a symptom of the vitality of the institutions of local self-government in India, it may be mentioned that they rendered excellent service in seconding the efforts of the Central and Provincial Governments in grappling with two of the most important administrative problems which occurred during the period under review, namely, the incidence of epidemics and the high prices of commodities..... The provincial administrations and the local bodies to whom is mainly entrusted the maintenance of sanitation and public health, made whole-hearted endeavours to ameliorate the sickness and suffering occasioned by the outbreak..... In the matter of popular distress arising from high prices, the institutions of local self-government have done excellent work during the period under review.In many provinces shops were opened by municipalities and district boards, which supplied salt, grain, and kerosene oil to the people at rates considerably below those obtaining in the local market."

The book closes with a passage which India on the way to self-government should lay to heart, for it must be admitted that the principle of non-interference in detail combined with a close

general supervision is, in spite of all defects in its application to Indians and Indian institutions, better understood by Englishmen in authority acting among themselves, than by average Indians in the same position.

"Hitherto, the control which Government has exercised over municipalities and district boards, while unquestionably preventing the commission of serious errors arising from inexperience, has done much to prevent the growth of a real feeling of civic responsibility. With a relaxation of this control, to a degree hitherto generally untried, it is to be expected that an increasing degree of popular interest in the institutions of local self-government will manifest itself. But we should note that if local self-government is to achieve in India the success which it has attained in other countries and is to prove itself here as elsewhere a genuine road towards the realisation of responsible government, it will not be sufficient merely that the local bodies should be freed from excessive interference on the part of external authority; they must themselves adopt a similar policy of decentralisation by refraining from excessive interference with their own servants in routine matters; by confining themselves to the laying down of broad lines of policy and to the supervision of the process by which those broad lines may be followed; and by avoiding meticulous interference in detail, which leads not only to inefficiency in the executive services, but also to forgetfulness of the broader aims which it is the part of those undertaking the responsibilities of local self-government constantly to envisage."

PUBLIC HEALTH.

We shall close this elaborate review by a reference to the author's observations on public health during the period under review.

"The monsoon of 1917, as we have seen, was exceptionally abundant, and partly perhaps in consequence of this, plague made its appearance in a serious degree during the year. Between July 1917 and June 1918, the total number of deaths from plague was over 800,000. Although, fortunately, there is reason to believe that the incidence of the disease in India is on the wane, nonetheless the distress and dislocation caused by this mortality was very great. In addition to the influence of the plague epidemic, the year as a whole was very unhealthy and a high death-rate occurred both from cholera and malaria..... Bad as were the general conditions of public health in India during the year 1917, those of 1918 were infinitely worse. In the month of June 1918 came the first intimation that influenza in a virulent form was attacking India..... During the last quarter of 1918, India seemed to have suffered more severely than any other country

in the world; and influenza was responsible in British India alone for a death roll of approximately five millions. Detailed information with regard to the incidence of the disease in the Indian states is not available, but it is unlikely that the influenza mortality therein fell short of one million. Within the space of four or five months, influenza was thus responsible for the death of 2 per cent. of the total population of British India. In some places, the Central Provinces, for example, two months of influenza caused twice as many deaths as 22 years of plague. In Bombay, between September 10th and November 10th, the total average mortality was 326 deaths a day. . . . The Punjab also suffered very severely.....The epidemic struck India at a time when she was least prepared to cope with a calamity of such magnitude. War demands had depleted her sanitary and medical personnel, which at best is inadequate when considered in relation to the size of her population and the tenacity with which that population clings to domestic customs injurious to public health. The overworked staff that remained was struck down in large numbers. Still more serious were the effects of the almost total failure of the monsoon, which exercised a disastrous influence practically throughout the country. The staple food-grains were at famine prices and the scarcity of fodder reduced the quantity of milk available. Although there is no reason to suppose [but is there not?] that the epidemic originated in mal-nutrition, it was particularly unfortunate that the price of nourishing food and also of such comforts as blankets and warm clothing was extremely high ["large quantities of army blankets were manufactured and the exportable surplus of Indian wool was reserved for the War Office at controlled prices. Some £8 million worth of wool had been shipped to England"].The magnitude of the task which the administration was called upon to face may be gauged from the fact that it has been estimated that from 50 to 80 per cent. of the total population of India has recently suffered from influenza. It is undeniable that the catastrophe was rendered more complete by the generally insanitary conditions under which the major portion of the population of India live their lives....."

Elsewhere again :

"Famine was declared in certain parts of Bombay and scarcity in certain parts of the United Provinces and the Central Provinces [and famine was also declared in parts of Bengal in the present year]. Further, the great epidemic of influenza which ravaged India, in the autumn, causing a mortality of some six millions, weakened the capacity of the rural population to cope with their ordinary work. It has exercised the most depressing results on industrial efficiency and has besides complicated the task of famine relief."

This lurid picture will, we hope, open the eyes of those among us who, blinded by their prejudices, are apt to think that the materialistic civilisation of Europe has turned it into a vast charnel-house and that the ravages of the war among the Western peoples have proved the intrinsic superiority of the Indian outlook on life. But we learn from this book that according to Mr. Lloyd George, "the people of Great Britain may have suffered some deprivation, but they have not known the pangs of real privation" during the war, thanks to the shipments of foodstuffs from India and elsewhere. That is also the experience of the present writer's Indian friends who have returned from England after the conclusion of peace. It is India which has suffered from the pangs of famine and starvation, it is here that influenza has taken the largest toll of human lives, in addition to the usual heavy mortality from plague, cholera and malaria. In Europe they fought for their respective countries, and died on the field of battle like men. Here, too, some of us had to die on foreign battlefields, but the great majority of us who died, died like vermin, an inglorious and ignominious death, and the pity of it all is that this appalling death-rate is hardly an isolated phenomenon with us; for war or no war, year in and year out, we die in far larger numbers than they do in Europe. Does this shocking mortality from preventable causes really prove the superiority of the Indian point of view with regard to things mundane and of his mode of life, or does it not rather prove that his mental attitude requires a thorough revision? India's immunity from such visitations in the future, and therefore her very existence as a nation, depends on her ability to develop those mental and physical qualities which have given Europe her command over Nature and hostile environments. Otherwise if the mortality in India progresses at this rate there is every chance of our being wiped off the face of the earth within calculable time, or of our wholesale reduction to a human cattle-farm, where life does not count for much.

POLITICUS.

NOTES

Pandit Sivanath Sastri.

Pandit Sivanath Sastri was a master-builder who worked deep at the foundations of the social structure. He was one of the makers of modern Bengal and of modern India, too. For the last few years of his life he was in feeble health, which incapacitated him both physically and mentally. Still his enthusiasm and hopefulness never waned, and to the end of his days he was ever ready to work for and support all religious, social and educational movements which appealed to his reason and conscience.



Pandit Sivanath Sastri.

Photograph taken at Allahabad about 20 years ago by Ramananda Chatterjee.

In the south of India "Sastri" is a hereditary family name of many Brahmins. It is not so in Bengal. Pandit Sivanath Bhattacharya got his title of Sastri by passing the M.A. examination of the Calcutta University with distinction. At lower examinations, too, he distinguished himself greatly, standing first in order of merit in some subjects and winning



Pandit Sivanath Sastri.

scholarships, though throughout his boyhood and youth he had to struggle against chill penury. His great intellect and learning, his amazing capacity for hard and unremitting labour, his dutifulness and sense of responsibility, his sociability, and his literary powers and eloquence, could have led to success and worldly prosperity in more walks of life than one. But he did not care for worldly success and prosperity. He gave him-

self up wholly to work for the good of his countrymen and humanity. In politics, he was, with Messrs. Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjea, a founder of the Indian Association and one of its earliest and most enthusiastic workers. When the Swadeshi agitation was at its height, he spoke from many a platform. When the deportation of Babus Aswinikumar Dutt, Krishnakumar Mitra and others, made it necessary for Bengal to protest against this act of official high-handedness, the organisers of the protest meeting could not get any political leader of the front rank to preside. So Pandit Sastri, a minister of religion whose all-engrossing religious, social and educational activities had long made it impossible for him to devote any time to politics, agreed to preside, and read out a dignified and fearless speech. He was one of the founders of the City School, which later expanded and grew up to be the City College of Calcutta. He also founded the Brahmo Balika Sikshalaya (Brahmo Girls' School), the Bankipur Ram-mohun Roy Seminary, and other educational institutions. He was a keen temperance and social purity worker. Of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, of which he was one of the founders, he was the most cultured, powerful and eloquent minister and missionary. His sermons, coming straight from the heart, moved many to tears and roused the spiritually languid from their

torpor. Of most of the institutions of the Samaj, he was either the sole or joint founder. He was an energetic organiser, and had a creative mind. This creativeness he had to exercise not only as regards the institutions of the Samaj, but also as regards means and methods of preaching, social and domestic ceremonies, festivals and occasions of rejoicing, &c. He started and was the first to edit its two Bengali and English

organs. He was the first editor of a boys' magazine called *Mukul*, and contributed to it many humorous stories and poems which were highly enjoyed and prized by children. The Students' Weekly Service, started and organised by him, helped to draw many young men (including the present writer) to the Brahmo Samaj. He was the most cultured, attractive and powerful orator in his vernacular in his generation. There is no one equal to him among younger speakers in Bengali. In English, too, he could speak well; but his English speeches did not approach his Bengali orations in excellence and moving power. He was one of the foremost poets, novelists and essayists of Bengal. His first considerable poem, *Nirbasiter Bilap* (the Exile's Lament), was written when he was in his teens. Sincerity, earnestness, lucidity, and graphic power marked all he wrote.

But the man was greater than anything or all that he did. He was no dry theologian or gloomy preacher. Those who have been privileged to know Pandit Sivanath Sastri through all his activities cannot but think of him as pre-eminently a MAN. He was not a mere preacher, he was not a mere minister, he was not a mere teacher, he was not a mere social reformer, he was not a mere orator, he was not a mere poet, novelist and essayist. Over and above all these roles, which he so worthily filled, stood out his broad and deep and high manhood, his unique personality. His door was ever open to helpless widows and orphans. His wife Prasannamayee Devi was heart and soul with him and was a worthy helpmate in what he did for the helpless; or, rather, it would be truer to say, that but for her it would not have been possible for him in this respect to live what he preached. He remained childlike and full of fun to the end of his days. He had the saving grace of humour in abundant measure. We do not know of any one superior to him in powers of conversation and story-telling.

Though so highly gifted, he was always haunted by a sense of his own utter unworthiness. We have not met another man of such genuine humility.

The Panjab Enquiry Committee.

Though we never wanted a committee of enquiry into the affairs of the Panjab and have all along expressed grave doubts regarding the probability of its helpfulness to the cause of the People, we should indeed be glad if our anticipations as regards its results should prove false.

It has been notified that persons who desire to be called as witnesses should apply in writing to the Secretary, Disorders Inquiry Committee, C/o Home Department, Government of India, Simla, giving their full names and addresses, together with a brief memorandum stating the points in regard to which they desire to give evidence. "It will, of course, rest with the Committee to decide what evidence they will hear." For this reason, we would advise intending witnesses to keep copies of their "brief memorandum," so that in case they are not called they may be able to publish what they wanted to place before the Committee as evidence. For, much that the people consider telling evidence may not be considered such by the Committee. Moreover, it would not at all be surprising, considering the power and traditions of the C. I. D. and allied officials, if some "brief memoranda" did not at all reach the Committee. Lord Brassey's Opium Commission, which was a royal commission, visited India well-nigh a quarter of a century ago. It was one of the official contentions in favour of opium that it was a preventive of malaria and that the people used it as such. The present writer, then a Professor in the Calcutta City College, wanted to appear as a witness to show from official publications among other things that though the people of certain areas in Chota Nagpur were notoriously addicted to opium, there was no malaria there worth speaking of, and also that in certain other places which were very malarious, opium was not much used. He sent his application with a brief note of what he wanted to say. But he was not called.

Though the Lieutenant Governor of the Panjab has publicly declared and ordered that intending witnesses would not and should not be interfered with or intimidated

by the Police or other officials, the public has learned from thoroughly trustworthy sources that intimidation has been going on. The present Lieutenant Governor may be sincerely desirous that witnesses should feel quite at ease. But it is beyond his power to nullify the methods and traditions of bureaucratic and Police rule. Either intimidation before the giving of evidence, or harrassment or official disfavour after the giving of evidence, or both must be the fate of the generality of witnesses. Some of those who would have been the best witnesses have lost their lives on the gallows, whether justly or unjustly there is now no human means of establishing beyond reasonable doubt. A much larger number of other good witnesses are in jail. To crown all, as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said in the course of a very powerful speech on the Indemnity Bill, "the Panjab has been frightened out of description; the Panjabis have been terrorised in a manner in which I have not known the people of any other part of the country to have been terrorised. In spite of the presence of Sir Edward Maclagan in the Panjab that terror has not yet entirely been removed from the minds of the people." All these facts should be borne in mind in trying to anticipate to what extent proofs of the Panjab atrocities are likely to be placed before the Committee. On the other hand, as the United Provinces Congress Committee fear, there is reason to believe that "Police agents and Government proteges masquerading as independent witnesses will swamp the Committee as constituted with false and garbled accounts without fear of detection."

The valuable evidence collected by the Congress sub-committee, appointed to enquire into the Panjab atrocities, should be allowed to be placed before the official Committee by counsel, or by members of the sub-committee serving on the Hunter Committee. This can be done only if, as rightly urged by the U. P. Congress Committee, two members of the congress sub-committee be added to the Hunter Committee, or, failing such a step, permission be given to the sub-committee to appear by counsel with right of cross-examination. The

circumstances are indeed such that unless counsel be engaged on the official and non-official sides to cross-examine witnesses, it would be difficult to elicit the truth, though some members of the Hunter Committee may themselves do some cross-examination.

Since placing the above paragraphs in the printer's hands, we have seen the press communique issued by the Secretary of the Disorders Enquiry Committee, from which some sentences are quoted below.

(2) Any persons or bodies desirous of offering evidence before the Committee are invited to lodge with the Secretary a statement in writing (to be signed by a barrister, advocate, pleader or vakil) of the facts which they desire to prove and an outline of the points or contentions which they are prepared to substantiate. Such statements are to be accompanied by a list of any witnesses whom it is desired to have examined and a short synopsis of the evidence of each such witness. (3) Upon receipt of such statement in writing the Committee are prepared to hear applications from the persons or bodies who have lodged the same for leave to attend the sittings of the Committee by a barrister advocate, pleader, or vakil. (4) In view of the fact that the proceedings of the Committee are of the nature of an enquiry and are not a litigation between defined parties the Committee propose to adopt the following course:—(A) The enquiry will be conducted primarily by the members of the Committee themselves. (B) Counsel appearing by leave for particular persons or bodies will at all times be permitted to draw the attention of the Committee to any points that might otherwise be overlooked and may by leave of the Committee cross-examine as to any specific matters arising upon the statement lodged by their clients.

We think unless cross-examination be fuller and freer than what is indicated above, the object of the inquiry is likely to be partly defeated.

There is a notion prevalent among Europeans sojourning in India that the Hindu natives of India feel such scruples in the matter of taking life that even the judicially competent among them do not make good criminal judges, though they may excel in trying civil cases. It is not necessary for us to discuss whether this notion is well grounded. But if among the European and Indian members of the Hunter Committee there be any such tender-hearted men, they may safely speak

out their minds regarding any excesses and atrocities which they may find any civil and military servants of the Government guilty of in the Panjab. For, it was almost certain even before the passing of the Indemnity Bill that no such person would be punished in any way; the Indemnity Act has made assurance doubly sure that no punishment awaits any such man.

It is to be noted that the Committee has been named the *Disorders Enquiry Committee*, not "*Open Rebellion Enquiry Committee*." Do Government now fight shy of the assumption that there was open rebellion?

There are various suspicions and beliefs in the public mind of which only a part has found expression. The most important things for the Committee to ascertain would probably be to find answers to questions like the following: Why so soon after the repeated certificates of loyalty given to the Panjab by its late ruler was there an "open rebellion"? Did Sir Michael O'Dwyer want to punish, and to humiliate and degrade the educated classes in the eyes of the masses? Were any men in power obsessed with the idea that the passive resistance or the Satyagraha movement was in essence a movement of rebellion and therefore dangerous to British rule, and for that reason it must be treated as an active resistance movement and crushed as such? Was violence on the part of the mob, wherever it occurred, spontaneously or under provocation, considered as a proof of the existence of an active resistance movement and as affording an opportunity to crush it?

The Indemnity Act.

The debate on the Indemnity Bill makes instructive though very painful reading. It is not possible in these Notes, nor do we intend, to give a summary of the debate. We shall make only a few casual remarks. In the course of the speech which Sir William Vincent, the Home Member, made in moving for leave to introduce the Bill, he observed: "If it is not passed now, if it is not brought into effect now, then our officers, our officials, our

ex hypothesi, have behaved fairly and properly, will be left liable to suits at the instigation of any malicious person." So, the Home Member thinks that "our officers" are one and all such angels that he cannot even imagine that suits can be brought against any of them except at the instigation of *malicious* persons. But the reading of only what some of the official members themselves said, apart from what most of the non-official members said, leaves a different impression on the readers' mind. Our impression from these official speeches is that hundreds of persons have been killed in the Panjab in a manner and in circumstances which but for the Indemnity Act, could be correctly spoken of in legal phraseology only as murder. Lesser crimes were far more numerous. Words like "this butchery," "these atrocities," used by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in his speech, in speaking of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy, do not appear unjustifiable. To the peculiar glory of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and his satellites and also to the glory of Lord Chelmsford, the Panjab has been so cowed down, that there was little likelihood, even without the Indemnity Act, of any aggrieved persons there trying to bring their oppressors to book. But after the enactment of the Indemnity Act, it may be said that any officials, civil or military, or any other persons acting under their orders, who may have acted even in the most foolish, the most inhuman, the most vindictive and revengeful, or the most wantonly insulting manner, would feel quite safe. It is not every civil or military officer who acted in a reprehensible manner. But many did. There would be no fear of punishment for them. We do not encourage in ourselves the vindictive and revengeful mood. We are not at all eager that any officers, or other persons acting under their orders, should be hanged or punished in any other exemplary manner, according to the requirements of the law, however wickedly they may have acted. We could only wish that they could be convicted and convinced of their wickedness; they might then be pardoned by the proper authority, guilty officials being

Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda of Assam tried by moving an amendment to postpone the consideration of the Bill till after the submission of the report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Panjab affairs. His speech was argumentative and suited to the occasion. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya made a very powerful speech in support of Mr. Chanda's amendment in the midst of occasional interruptions by the President and some official members. He laid bare many extremely harrowing details of the Panjab tragedy. The official contradictions were only as regards minor details. The substantial accuracy of his formidable indictment could not be impugned. He was followed by Mr. J. P. Thompson, Sir Michael O'Dwyer's henchman. He began by characterising Mr. Malaviya's speech as "amazing", but properly speaking that epithet was more applicable to his performance than to any other speech, except perhaps his own concluding speech in which, quoting Milton, he suggested that Mr. Malaviya was an incarnation of Satan! He was rude and insolent to the Pandit, and would have the public believe that the Pandit, Swami Shradhananda, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and others mistook an earthen pot and some clothes in a well in Amritsar for a decomposed corpse! And the story was gratuitously brought in to make Mr. Malaviya look ridiculous. But Mr. Thompson succeeded only in making himself the laughing-stock and worse of all but Anglo-Indian extremists. Then followed the Hon'ble Major Malik Sir Umar Hayat Khan Sahib Bahadur. His speeches almost invariably show that gallant fighters *may* be unintelligent, unpatriotic and ridiculous flunkies. But he had better be left to the good-humoured handling of his very kind friend Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha. Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi, whose questions on vital and important though non-sensational subjects we fully appreciate, made a very brief speech giving expression to his opinion that the inquiry should be expedited as much as possible and the bill suspended for the time being. That he did express such an opinion is to

his credit. He rightly observed: "I would not be true to the traditions of my house, if I were not to view with the profoundest regret and abhorrence the loss of European lives and the other outrages committed by the mob." He had, however, nothing to say regarding outrages on the people and the far more numerous Indian lives lost.

Mr. W. E. Crum was the pink of charity, courtesy and sweet reasonableness when he said: "I can conceive of no more dishonest, no more ridiculous, no more piteous attitude for any one to take up than to suggest that, when Government had told its officers that they would be protected, they should not be protected; and to my mind it is upon this point, and this point alone, that the discussion to-day should continue." Mr. Crum forgot that the whole trouble in India (and a great anomaly too) is that the executive Government is practically also the legislating authority, and very often the law-maker, law-breaker and judge combined, which is not the case in free countries. Not even the Prime Minister of England would dare to call a critical speech on an indemnity bill in the House of Commons dishonest. Government should no doubt try to redeem its promise. But is it impossible for the Crums of Anglo-India to perceive that the non-official Indian members of Council made no promise when Government gave its word of protection, that they have reasons and consciences of their own which they must satisfy, and that if all opposition to official views and intentions must be considered dishonest and ridiculous, it is best to abolish the farcical things called legislative councils and rule by ukases.

Mr. Sita Nath Ray made a brief and mild speech supporting Mr. Chanda's amendment. That the two Bengal members supported the amendment has saved Bengal from utter disgrace. Still it must be said that our province made a poor show in the debate.

Mr. W. M. Hailey made an able and skilful speech presenting the official version of facts and arguments. He was neither ill-tempered nor insolent or rude.

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, whose speeches are characterised by good temper, humour and polish, made an able and well-reasoned speech. He was able to persuade the Home Member to propose and carry an important amendment to the preamble, and also to accept an amendment of his own. Mr. Sinha gallantly and successfully stood up for Pandit Malaviya against Mr. Thompson's rude personalities.

Mr. Sinha was followed by the egregious Mr. H. McPherson, who claimed to speak "for my own province, Bihar and Orissa." He would have people believe that it was not the non-official members in opposition but official members like himself who are in close touch with all shades of opinion in the country and can give voice to the true sentiments of the public! But, unfortunately, it was also argued from the official benches that some of the speeches of the non-official members were really addressed to the outside public as parts of the next electioneering campaign,—which was an unintended admission that these speeches coincided with and gave expression to the prevalent Indian public opinion. Evidently the *Searchlight* and the Bihar Provincial Conference are thorns on the sides of Mr. McPherson and his fellow-bureaucrats of Bihar.

Lieutenant-General Sir Havelock Hudson's defence of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and of the "crawling order" in Amritsar were the greatest unconscious admissions of official misdeeds made by themselves.

As usual, Mr. B. N. Sarma made an able and well-reasoned speech. Among other things, he tried to clearly bring out the fact that Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Government made it a point to humiliate educated Indians. He, too, took up the cudgels on behalf of Mr. Malaviya against Mr. Thompson.

Sir George Lowndes, the law member, dwelt mainly on legal points and aspects. He succeeded in giving pin-pricks to Pandit Malaviya and in convincing Sir Dinshaw Wacha that the Indemnity Bill was all right. In recent years Sir Dinshaw has shown too great a readiness to fall in with official views and has developed an

eagerness to lecture to his Indian colleagues as if they were schoolboys. He seems to have outlived his usefulness as a councillor.

Mr. K. V. Rangaswamy Ayyangar is usually brief but always fearless and outspoken.

After the Home Member had replied to the debate Mr. Chanda's motion for postponement of the bill was put and, of course, negatived. The motion that leave be given to introduce the bill was put and agreed to as a matter of course. That the non-official opposition members should put themselves to so much trouble for the sake of what is called moral effect or moral victory, may well excite the risibility of gods and cynics alike.

After the Home Member had moved that the bill be taken into consideration, numerous amendments moved by the non-official members were put and negatived, only one of Mr. Sinha's amending motions being agreed to. When the amendments had been disposed of, the Home Member moved that the Bill as amended by the council be passed. Mr. Malaviya opposed the motion in a powerful speech, in the course of which he replied to the speeches of some official members, particularly to those of General Hudson and Mr. Thompson. More official and non-official speeches followed, with the inevitable conclusion that the Bill was passed.

Congress Presidentship.

Various names have been proposed for the Congress Presidentship. The gentlemen named are, with one exception, all Indians. As there are so many quite competent Indians available, Mr. B. G. Horniman's claims need not be considered, particularly as he is not worthier than any of the Indians named.

We have said in a previous issue that Sir C. Sankaran Nair should be elected this year, fully bearing in mind what we had said in connection with his voting for the Rowlatt Bill. He is an ex-president of the Congress, and his ability and patriotism are beyond question. The claims of most of the nominees are being discussed with reference to what they have done in

relation to Panjab affairs. It is necessary to mention in this connection only Sir Sankaran Nair's resignation of his seat in the Viceroy's executive council because of his disagreement with his colleagues on the subject of the enforcement and duration of martial law in the Panjab. His very able minutes of dissent, *forming part of the Government of India despatches*, are the most fearless, able and conspicuous examples of bearding the lions of the I.C.S. in their own dens. As one acquainted with the inner workings and motives of Indian administration, he would be best able to advise as to how we should devise means to gain our object. It is also probable that he (alone among Indians) knows to some extent why Government have dealt with the Panjab in the way they have done. Should it not be impossible for Sir Sankaran Nair to return to India in time, we think he should be elected.

Mr. B. G. Tilak's great ability and unquestionable patriotism require no extolling. But having been absent in England, he has not been able to acquire any first hand knowledge of Panjab affairs.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi has fearlessly and with great acumen exposed in *Young India* many of the most glaring instances of travesty of justice in the Panjab, and is now in that province to advise and help the people there. His views on the Indemnity Bill and the Panjab Enquiry committee have not, however, been generally accepted by the public. His services to the country and his unique personality and high character need not be described. Moreover, he is revered by Hindu and Moslem alike.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya spoke as follows in the course of one of his speeches in the Indian Legislative Council:—

'Ditcher,' writing in *Capital*, has done me the honour of suggesting that I should be placed on the Committee [of Inquiry into Panjab affairs]. My Lord, I suggest a better name. I know many facts about the occurrences in the Panjab. I venture to think that I know more facts about these distressing events than probably any member of the Government, either the Government of India or the Government of the Panjab, does; but there is one gentleman who knows more about them. and that is my

esteemed friend the Hon'ble Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Advocate of the Allahabad High Court. He has, my Lord, at the sacrifice of a fee of a thousand rupees a day, laboured for many days in the Panjab sifting out facts, and gathering evidence. He is in possession of a volume of facts which will be of great help to the Committee.

Which of the two Pandits knows more of Panjab affairs, we cannot say. But evidently Pandit Moti Lal Nehru knows at least as much as Pandit Malaviya. Mr. Nehru's organ, the *Independent*, has all along been very fearless and outspoken on Panjab affairs. His sacrifices are also undoubted. His legal talents have also been strenuously employed for obtaining justice for many of the victims of martial law. Moreover, he has not yet had the honour of being elected president of the Congress.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's past services to the country need no recounting. Recently he has worked hard for the Panjab both in the Viceregal Council and outside. In addition to trying to know and to make known all available particulars regarding the Panjab tragedy, he has laboured in Bombay and elsewhere to obtain relief to those in the Panjab who have been rendered helpless by recent doings and happenings. *The Leader*, the organ of the party led by Mr. Malaviya, has worked for the Panjab with a courage, judgment and wealth of information which have won the respect and admiration of competent persons. Against Pandit Malaviya's election it may be urged by some that he has already presided more than once.

It has not been our object to appraise the worth or claims of all the gentlemen nominated. We do not possess sufficient knowledge of their careers and characters to do so, nor perhaps entire freedom from conscious and unconscious bias. We have only jotted down a few points as impartially as we could.

The Khilafat Day.

Hindu-Moslem unanimity regarding the way in which the Turkish Empire and Moslem holy places should be dealt with may or may not succeed in securing justice

and self-determination for Turkey, but it cannot be denied that the welfare of India depends more on cordial relations and co-operation between Hindus and Musalmans than on any other socio-political factor. Therefore, the good understanding between these communities has given the greatest general satisfaction.

The Cyclone in Bengal.

The cyclone in Bengal has been a greater disaster than any within living memory. The Calcutta Meteorological office did not anticipate such a disaster, and so did not give any adequate previous warning to the public. It stands in need of severe handling. The Simla Office did anticipate the shorm.

It is very encouraging to find that the leaders of the people have responded very quickly to the cry of distress, and that Government have also responded, though after some delay. The beginning was good. It is to be hoped that the present lull in the activity of the relief organisations remarked upon in some papers, is only a seeming lull. In any case, larger amounts than have yet been subscribed by the public or sanctioned by Government, and better-planned and more strenuous activity, appear to be required to deal adequately with the situation. Incidentally, may it be hoped, without offence, that Bengal would be quick to respond to cries of distress from outside Bengal, as it is to cries from within the province?

In this connection, we have pleasure to draw attention to the appeal of the Social Service League, as a reliable agency, printed among our advertisements.

Indentured Labour in Fiji.

* We are glad to read the last paragraph of the following telegram :—

Simla, Oct. 29.

Intimation has been received from the Secretary of State for India that the Government of Fiji has been instructed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the Indian labourers in Fiji are to be released from indenture on 1st January 1920 on all estates on which the following reforms suggested by Mr. C. F. Andrews have not been carried out by that date.

(1) That at the mill centres the coolie lines be reconstructed so as to give privacy and separateness to married labourers.

(2) That the mill centres hospitals be placed under the supervision of a resident matron.

(3) That no young unmarried Overseer be placed in charge of field gangs of Indian women.

(4) That no young unmarried hospital assistant be placed in charge of an Indian hospital where there is no matron.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies does not consider that the demand for cancellation on the estates where these reforms have been carried out is justifiable unless compensation is offered to the planters at the expense of India.

The Government of India have now enquired by telegram what would be the cost of freeing every Indian labourer in Fiji from indenture on the 1st January next.

"A British Persia"

[From the London "Nation"]

".....The Persian Mission, more lucky than some others, did indeed reach Paris.....But never did it see before it the faintest prospect of an audience with the dictators of civilisation..... They bowed to the inevitable, and they concluded with the British Government the treaty which it had all along intended to impose..... The treaty as we read it, places Persia in the same position towards this Empire that Egypt occupied before 1914. We do indeed pledge ourselves to recognise its independence much as we had pledged ourselves to evacuate Egypt. It is independence qualified by the fact that we alone are to appoint the "advisers" who will control its policy, and we alone are to appoint the officers who command the forces which will execute the 'advice'.

".....Persia is tied to us, fatally and completely. If in a moment of desperation she were to bethink herself of turning to some other Power for aid she would find herself in a hopeless 'cul-de-sac'. This treaty is primarily an advertisement to all other Powers, great and small, that Persia is our sphere..... We have a lien on the customs. We acquire by this treaty the right of railway building and control, the alternative means of transport also [Besides the network of railways built in Mesopotamia with men and materials supplied by India, the Nushki extension Railway has carried the Indian railway system through 300 miles of arid tract in Baluchistan right up to the Persian border at Mirjawa]. We already had the oil fields. Persia, in short, has placed all her assets in our hands. We can perceive only one respect in which this 'regime' differs from an avowed protectorate. The disguise (such as it is) will enable the Foreign Office to escape the inquisition (such as it is) of the House of Commons.

"Two consequences follow from this over-smart performance. The French are exceedingly

annoyed..... It may be of course that the French are somewhat perturbed by the possible consequences of so many wounds dealt to Moslem pride. They have taken Morocco and Tunis, and they want to take Syria. We have made the Sultan of Turkey our prisoner and the king of the Hedjaz, the prospective Caliph, is our creature. And now as a climax we extinguish what was left of the independence of the last Muhammadan State. On the whole, however, we imagine that the French press is retaliating against us for our supposed reluctance to carry out the secret treaty, which makes over Syria to France.....Our experts while taking Mesopotamia and Egypt (for ourselves) talk of Arab nationalism when the French press their claims. This quarrel, we imagine, will be settled on the usual diplomatic principle that two wrongs make a right. It is known technically as the doctrine of compensations. The French will grow callous about Persia, when we cease to deplore the hard fate of Syria.

"The other consequence of this transaction will be more enduring. It has exposed the vanity of the hopes, or shall we say, of some of the hopes, that were reposed in the League of Nations. If we can, without consulting the rest of the civilised world, assign this great region with its high though fatally impractical civilisation, if we can escape in Persia even the few limitations implied in a formal "mandate", if we can shut the door of the World's Court to any weak suitor whose case runs counter to our interests, we have succeeded in demonstrating that the critics are deplorably right who say that the League of Nations means nothing but the consecrated hegemony of three or four great Powers. We by self-interest, the Americans by weakness and incapacity, are destroying the ideal for which both profess to have fought. From crisis to crisis..... the idealists repeat the warning yet hopeful phrase, "The League of Nations is passing through a test." It takes a series of tests to extinguish so great a hope. There will come a moment when men will no longer indulge it."

Multiplicity of Religious Denominations and Self-rule.

According to the *New York Evening World* of April 22nd, 1919.

There are 168 religious denominations in the United States. There are fifteen kinds of Baptists, twenty-one kinds of Lutherans, twelve kinds of Presbyterians and fifteen kinds of Methodists.

And yet the people of the United States are independent and self-ruling, which, according to our Anglo-Indian official and non-official opponents, no people, like the Indians, comprising various sects and denominations, can be.

Local Autonomy the Only Means of Saving Large Empires.

Dr. C. J. L. Bates writes in the *Japan Magazine*.

The only nations left to-day with a population of over one hundred millions recognizing the authority of a Central Government are the British Empire, the Empire Republic of China and the United States of America. In addition to these France, Italy and Japan rule millions other than their own people. It is clear that only in so far as these great empires are able to organize themselves on a basis of local autonomy, and the freedom of the social groups of which they are composed to enjoy the use of their own languages, religions and traditional customs, can they continue.

In this new day empires can justify their existence only in so far as they are leagues of nations.

The Awakening of Eastern Asia.

The same writer observes with reference to the awakening of Eastern Asia:—

One of the most significant by-products of the war, indeed, is the enhancement of Japan's position as a world Power. Henceforth nothing that affects the continent of Asia, eastward of India, can be decided without the concurrence of Japan. Moreover, it seems to me beyond question that for the generation in which we live the leadership of Japan in East Asia is assured. The fact that Japan is the only nation in Asia that has a settled and effective government, that it is the only nation in Asia with an army and navy, that it is the only nation in Asia with a public school system that is educating practically all the children, and that it is the only nation in Asia that is trained and equipped for industrial expansion, all this makes Japan's leadership inevitable for the next twenty-five years at least.

With this awakening of eastern Asia comes a knowledge of the fact that the distribution of the earth's surface is very disproportionate to the populations of the different races. The fact that 900,000,000 of Asiatics are compelled to be content with a territory one sixth the size of that owned, though most sparsely occupied, by 600,000,000 Europeans; and that these 900,000,000 Orientals are denied freedom of emigration to most of the most desirable parts of this largely unoccupied territory, has led a recent Japanese writer, Mr. Kawakami, to say that either the policy of freedom of migration must be adopted, or those European nations that possess large tracts of the earth's surface that they do not occupy, must share up with the land-hungry overcrowded nations.

"Western Nations are Hypocrites."

Pursuing obviously Mr. Kawakami's line of thought, a Japanese gentleman of high official position said to Dr. Bates some time ago:

"Mr. Bates, if I may speak quite frankly, I must say that we Japanese feel that western nations are hypocrites. They keep saying 'peace, peace' to us, but at the same time they are going on with their plans for expansion and self-aggrandisement all around us. If you do not want our people in Canada, well and good; we have no desire to force ourselves upon you. And so also as far as the United States is concerned. In fact it is my opinion that it would be better for all the Japanese in America to be brought back to Japan. We are not negroes to be lynched and treated like lower animals. We have a country and we can retire to it. But there is something still harder to bear; and that is that if, say, 2,000 Japanese go to Mexico or South America where they are welcomed, the day after their arrival the American newspapers come out with big headlines—'Yellow Peril!', 'Japanese Invasion of Mexico', 'Monroe Doctrine in Danger', and so on. This is intolerable! And not satisfied with keeping us out of the continent of America, the western people are jealous of every advance we make in Asia. We feel that western nations are trying to put a ring around us to prevent our development in any direction. We Japanese demand the right to live!"

In other words, Japan claims the right to play the robber in Eastern Asia as Western nations have done in Asia, Africa and America.

The Intense Nationalism of the Japanese.

To illustrate the intense nationalism of the Japanese, Dr. Bates writes that in Hawaii Japanese Schools are maintained to prevent the Japanese children being too completely Americanized. In Vancouver a fully organized and equipped primary school is maintained by the Japanese for their children, evidently to prevent them being Canadianised. He remarks that "this is good policy for Japan from the nationalist point of view, but not from the international standpoint." True; but do Europeans and Americans (who ought in practice to recognise the importance and necessity of internationalism not less than any eastern people) who settle or sojourn in any eastern land send their children to the schools attended by "native" children?

Polished and Unpolished Rice As Food.

Like the people of Bengal and some other tracts of India, the Japanese are mainly a rice-eating people. They are also at present among the most powerful nations of the earth. It should be useful, therefore, to know what kind of rice they find most nourishing. Dr. Takao Okabe, president of the Soen Hospital, writes in the *Japan Magazine*:

Owing to the high price of rice in Japan there has been a search for substitutes, and some of this speculation in new foods is likely to prove injurious to the national health. Some are advocating the cultivation of potatoes instead of rice, as a substitute; but rice is better food than potatoes and they can never become a satisfactory substitute for rice, the main food of the people. The present rice deficiency of the empire is about 20,000,000 bushels annually; but this amount could be easily made up by more extensive cultivation. Moreover, much of the rice crop is wasted by polishing the rice, taking off the most nourishing part of the cereal. Thus the nation is losing much food by this bad habit of demanding polished rice. It is not too much to say that at least ten per cent of the total yield of rice is lost by the present method of preparation by polishing. Unpolished rice is far more nourishing to the human body than that now consumed by the Japanese; and yet very few eat unpolished rice, either not caring for it or thinking it derogatory to their dignity to do so.

If the annual output of rice in Japan be taken at 250,000,000 bushels and the annual loss through polishing be put at 25,000,000 bushels, it is easy to see the great loss to the nation, physically as well as economically. If the people of Japan would but make up their minds to eat even half-polished rice the saving would be immense and the result to public health very beneficial. It is obviously very foolish to throw away the best part of the grain; but most people do not follow reason: they follow habit. One would think they would adopt the wiser course even for the sake of health if not for their pockets; but here also habit is more powerful than reason. Men do not stop smoking or taking alcohol because it is bad for the health; and so they do not stop eating polished rice because it is bad for the health, to say nothing of the saving thereby.

Another objection which the Japanese Doctor brings forward against the use of polished rice is that in polishing it the cleaners have to use fine sand; and all of this is never quite taken out of the rice, "thus rendering it in another way injurious to the health of the

body. The method of cleaning, however, should be prohibited by law. It is a mystery why the authorities have so long remained inactive in regard to this menace to the nation's health." In India also polished rice ought not to be used.

In the writer's opinion potatoes cannot be a substitute for rice.

If Japan takes to eating potatoes, as advised by the Government, the health of the nation will be appreciably affected. Japanese physique will deteriorate, and a sickness known as English-sickness which prevailed in Iwate Ken last year, will be induced. Too much potato food causes a softening of the bones, frequently seen among the poor in England, who eat too many potatoes. A reasonable amount of potato food is all right; and sweet potatoes and yams should be included; but too much of this food will, as has been stated, lead to bone deterioration, which is as bad as deterioration of character. If a certain amount of fish be taken with the potatoes it will prevent bone deterioration. But the best food is rice mixed with other cereals, and avoid potatoes as much as possible.

Dr. Takao Okabe believes that the food consumed by the ancestors of the Japanese, consisting of rice mixed with barley, millet or Deccan grass, would prove sufficient for modern needs. "The people who live on such food are as healthy as any other, and live longer than those who subsist on polished rice.

Rice mixed with Deccan grass is not palatable to people at first; but a diet of 70 per cent Deccan grass and 30 per cent rice will prove sufficient to keep the body in good health, other things being equal; and by persisting in the diet it soon becomes palatable to any one. Those resorting to this diet, however, have to take more salt, which is done by the poor mostly by eating herring, or miso soup.

The people in the mountain regions of Japan who live on this diet of grass and rice are quite healthy.

What is Deccan grass?

What Korea Needs.

Professor S. Suehiro, writing in the *Taiyo* of Japan, presents to his people the only just and effective solution of the Korean problem. He says that the solution can be reached in no other way than autonomy.

When we trace the cause of the Irish revolt, we can easily see that it is due to the fact that England ignored the Irish claim for autonomy. As to the time and the extent of autonomy, there is still room for consideration. What the Government has to do is to adopt this principle first, and then gradually proceed to educate the Koreans or take other measures in conformity to it. This will surely satisfy

the people, and the unity of Japan and Korea will be realized. Some theorists oppose this opinion on the ground that if once self-government be acknowledged, it will sooner or later lead them to complete independence. My view is that if the Koreans as a result of their autonomy and through their political training, can stand by themselves and claim their independence, Japan will have no right to reject their demand. In such a case their independence will profit Japan. When the Koreans ask for independence and have ability enough to stand by themselves the Government should comply with the request rather than prevent it and thus strive for the full concord of Japan and Korea for the maintenance of peace in the Far East. This is the best way to secure the safety of the Japanese Empire. Nothing does more harm to our country than the continuance of the wrong policy which our Government has been pursuing up to the present day and the treatment of the Korean people as an inferior race. Indeed, it is not an exaggeration to say that our national destiny depends on the solution of the Korean problem.

Autonomy, though it is bound ultimately to lead to independence in reality if not also in name, is the only just and effective solution of India's political problem, too.

The Cure for Bolshevism.

As most of the powerful governments of the world are opposed to the Bolsheviks, they have been probably painted blacker than they are, and the five year long censorship has also prevented us from knowing what Bolshevism really stands for. However, taking it for granted that the Bolsheviks are the worst possible set of men on earth, abusing and cursing them again and again cannot prevent the appearance and spread of the Bolshevik infection in our country. The way to fight it lies in the removal of all sorts of social, economic and political injustice. There is no other way.

Japan favours German goods and German skill.

The *Osaka Mainichi*, a Japanese daily, expresses the opinion that German goods should never be despised, and that still more important is the German technical skill displayed in their manufacture. It says that there may be no need to import German capital, "but it is absolutely necessary to import German technical skill. In all the new industries developed during the war, what is most needed is

German skill. If this is so in England and America, how much more must it be so here in Japan."

Shantung and U. S. Senate.

In our "Foreign Periodicals" section will be found an expression of Chinese feeling and opinion on the question of Shantung. In the U. S. Senate, Senator Lodge attacked the Shantung award on two different kinds of grounds which are not intrinsically connected with one another, as the telegrams quoted below will show.

Washington, Oct. 14.

Senator Lodge, the Republican leader, to-day vehemently denounced the Shantung provision of the Peace Treaty on the ground that Japan was building a Far Eastern Empire which would threaten the safety of the entire world. Mr. Lodge urged the maintenance of a superior navy in the Pacific, as the day would come when the United States would be involved in another great war to preserve civilisation.—"Reuter."

Washington, Oct. 15.

In the Senate, Senator Lodge charged Japan with breaking her pledges regarding China and Korea and violating the policy of open door and destroying foreign commerce in Manchuria and Korea. He asserted that all Japan's promises to return Shantung were marked by a vital omission, namely, a definite date of withdrawal. He declared that Japan was steeped in German ideas and would ultimately use the man power of China militarily and threaten Europe. He declared that the Shantung award was morally indefensible and urged the adoption of amendments to the Peace Treaty, returning German rights in Shantung to China instead of to Japan.—"Reuter."

We oppose the Shantung award on the ground of its moral indefensibility. Japan's building a Far Eastern Empire is a different matter. The ever-expanding British Empire in the East is far more powerful than the Japanese empire in the near future can be. Why is the British Empire not considered a menace to the safety of the entire world? And what is the meaning of the word "world"? The fact is, there is rivalry between Japan and the U. S. A. in China and the Pacific ocean, and therefore Japan's growing strength is looked upon with alarm by the Americans. Hence

some of them are apt to jumble up moral considerations and considerations of self-interest. Not that we consider it good for the world that Japan should have an empire in the continent of Asia. But as regards the ethical aspect of empire-building, the subjection and exploitation of one people by another is morally unjustifiable, whoever the imperializing nation may be. White empire-building nations are no whit better or more desirable people than a yellow empire-building nation.

However, on whatever grounds Senator Lodge may have opposed the Shantung award, we should have been glad, if he had succeeded. We were, therefore, sorry to read the following telegram, and hope the other motions referred to therein will have a different fate:—

Washington, Oct. 17.

The Senate to-day defeated the Shantung amendment. Senator Lodge announced that he will move an amendment to the Peace Treaty to delete entirely the sections awarding German rights in Shantung to Japan. Several Republican Senators have also notified their intention to propose reservations as regards the Shantung award.—"Reuter."

Grand Committees.

The Seventh Despatch on Indian Constitutional Reforms dated the 28th May last, was devoted to the subject of Grand Committees. The mechanism of the Grand Committee, the Despatch points out, "was devised by the authors of the Report (para 252) as a means of obtaining legislation which the Governor considers essential....."; the Governor, it further says, must resolutely use his powers to prevent the standards of administration from deteriorating. But according to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the Grand Committee was to be so constituted as to comprise 40 to 50 per cent. of the Council and the Governor was to have power to nominate a bare majority exclusive of himself. The Government of India however "felt strongly that the Grand Committee procedure had been made too difficult, and that the majority offered to Government was too uncertain for practical purposes." The Government of India proposed to refer to "the strong probability that

the type of old-fashioned Indian gentlemen, conservative by disposition and anxious within reason to side with the Government, will not be found—at any rate at the outset—among the elected members of the new Councils.” The despatch recognises “that the great extension of the franchise ought to ensure the return to the new councils of some representatives of the more conservative elements in the community.” By a curious twist of language and perversion of the right point of view the old-type *Jo-Hukums* who won the approbation of the officials by surrendering their private judgment at their bidding at every available opportunity, are characterised as ‘independent’ thinkers, and the despatch expresses regret that “the habit of independent political thought, however, has still to develop; and we doubt whether at first many elected members of the councils will be able to withstand, whatever may be their own convictions, the temporary vehemence of an agitation against a Government measure which their elected leaders are determined to oppose.” The Government of India note that nomination has been confined by the Franchise Committee “for the most part to the classes who carry least weight in politics”; this makes it undesirable to carry contentious measures by the votes of nominated persons. The Governor can, it is suggested, rely at least on the European and Anglo-Indian members; but the government of India have to discard the idea as it would import racial feeling into the work of the Grand Committee. From this dilemma, as the despatch puts it, the Government of India find a way out by (1) reducing the size of the Grand Committee from 40 to 50 per cent. as proposed in the Joint Report to 33 per cent. in Bengal and to an even smaller proportion in some other provinces; (2) increasing the official element; (3) maintaining the relative voting power of the officials and the non-officials on the same footing as in the present legislative Councils. Finally, the despatch says that though its authors “are fully alive to the disadvantages of the official *bloc*,” “the Governor should find in his Grand Com-

mittee a sure staff, and not an unstable reed.”

We quote the following extracts from Sir Sankaran Nair's Minute of Dissent appended to the Seventh Despatch:

So far as I can see, we cannot secure the due representation of the special and communal interests and of the interests represented by the general electorates in the Grand Committee as they will be constituted by my Colleagues.

The Grand Committee, according to my Colleagues, will consist of a smaller number than the existing Legislative Councils with the result that the measures relating to the reserved subjects which consist of the more important subjects, will be passed by a Council which would not carry the same weight as even the existing Legislative Councils.....

There are further certain other assumptions underlying the proposals of my Colleagues which I am unable to accept. It is assumed that the effect of the growing influence or the control of the legislature over the Provincial Government would be a deterioration of the standards of administration. I see no reason for making any such assumption. On the other hand the past work of the elected members of Legislative Councils would justify the contrary assumption. If we are not prepared to assume that Legislative Councils will bring a sense of responsibility to bear upon their public work, if, on the contrary, we must assume that their tendency will always be in the direction of the lowering of the standards of administration and that it becomes the constant duty of the Governor to keep a vigilant watch over such a tendency in the Council and to act on his individual responsibility as if he alone was concerned for good government, the logical conclusion could not be resisted that it would be far better, in the interests of the country, to abolish the Councils altogether and frankly to invest the Governor with undivided power and responsibility.....

Almost invariably a number of nominated as well as elected non-official members is found in every Council, who do not go with the majority of the elected members. This will be so much more frequently in the Councils of the future. Rid of the official *bloc* and with parties among themselves, there will be much more of division of opinion among elected members and there will be no combination among them and the nominated members solidly to vote against official measures. My colleagues have made a pointed reference to our most recent experience* in the Indian Legislative Council

Which shows to their eye that no non-official members can be relied upon invariably to support a Government measure. A Government measure which evokes such a unanimous and

* In connection with the debate on the Bowlett Bills.

concentrated opposition must be an exceptionally controversial measure, and the odds are at least even that the combined opinion of all non-officials is as sound as that of the Government which seeks to force down such a measure on an unwilling people. In this connection, I may recall the words addressed by Lord Morley to the Government of India. In his Despatch of November 1908 in which he conveyed his decision to do away with official majorities in the Provincial Councils, he pointed out that when all the non-officials are unanimously opposed to a measure, it is very likely desirable that that measure should not be proceeded with, for the time being at any rate. The wisdom of this advice will still more be apparent in future with the growing power of public opinion and the increasing necessity of Government's relying upon the support of opinion.

.....If a legislation removed from the purview of the Council cannot be carried through a Grand Committee with the support of a very few elected members in addition to that of the officials it must be a bad measure; and I would unhesitatingly conclude that such a measure which has not a single friend among non-officials—even if they have been elected to the Council had better not be enacted into law at all.

Holding these views, I am sorry I am unable to join my colleagues in proposing the variations from the Report Scheme which they urge in the Despatch.

Redistribution of Provincial Areas.

The last constructive proposal which we shall mention is of a different type from any of the preceding. You are aware that a certain section of the inhabitants of Assam have expressed a desire for re-union with Bengal. Some of our advisers would go further on these lines: they suggest that all the plains districts of the province should be transferred to Bengal and the remainder of the province should continue to be administered on the present lines. So far as we are aware, however, such a desire for union with Bengal is confined to certain of the inhabitants of the Sylhet district, who presented an address to yourself and His Excellency in December, 1917, and to other persons in the Goalpara district, regarding whose request we enclose two letters Nos. 356. W., dated March 12, 1919 and 700. W. dated May 20, 1919 from the Chief Commissioner. We have therefore no evidence, that there is any general desire for a transfer to Bengal, and we agree with the authors of the Report (para 246) and with the Chief Commissioner that redistributions of provincial areas should not be imposed by official action, and should follow rather than either precede or accompany reform. For these reasons we do not propose to seek a solution of the problem in any territorial readjustments.—Para 13, of the Ninth Despatch of the Government of India dated June 5, 1919.

Assam and the Backward Tracts.

This is the subject of the ninth despatch dated 5th June last. The Government of India propose that the head of the province of Assam should continue to retain his present title of Chief Commissioner in order to "mark the difference between Assam and the other provinces in the matters of size, wealth, development, and general importance." There should be one Member of Council and one Minister. Though this would lead to increased cost, the Government of India hold that "Indian opinion is strongly in favour of Council Government and may be expected to acquiesce in the increased cost." The province should be divided into two distinct portions, one composed of the plains and the other of the hill districts. The hill districts are to be administered on the lines of Chota Nagpur, which is to be one of the 'partially excluded' tracts, that is to say, the Governor is to have power to exclude the whole or any part of the area from the operation of any act passed by the local legislature, and though the ministers are to have jurisdiction, throughout the whole area, "the Governor would have a wider discretion in varying the orders of the ministers in these areas than he has elsewhere." The following lists show the 'partially excluded' and 'wholly excluded' tracts at a glance :

Augul, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the Laccadive and Amanadive Islands, Spiti and Lahaul should be wholly excluded from the reforms scheme;

(ii) Chota Nagpur, the Santhal Parganas, Sambalpur, the Agency Tracts in Madras, and the Darjeeling district should be partially excluded.

The Champaran Case.

The note of Sir Sankaran Nair on the Champaran and Kaira cases in his Minute of Dissent appended to the First Despatch of the 5th March was too remarkable a document to be passed over in silence, and accordingly the Government of India addressed a tenth Despatch to the Secretary of State entirely on those two cases. In Appendix III of this despatch we find that the Committee appointed by

Government in 1917 to investigate the system under which indigo was grown in the district of Champaran found "that the system was generally unpopular with the raiyats who welcomed the prospect of release from growing indigo under these conditions" and that the defects of the system were according to the Committee "sufficiently formidable to justify the summary discontinuance of the system." In Appendix I of the tenth Despatch the Government thus sums up the position:

To sum up it may be said that during the last 60 years the relations between the indigo planters and their raiyats have been repeatedly under the notice of Government and that on at least three occasions prior to 1908 Government intervened in the disputes on behalf of the raiyats. Further, from the year 1908, if not earlier, Government realised that the system under which indigo was cultivated was essentially wrong and that any remedies which they could apply without entirely upsetting the system could afford only temporary relief. They were unable to tackle the problem at once because they realised that no solution could be found until the relations between the planters and their tenants had been examined in detail, and for this they had to wait until the settlement operations could be taken in hand.

Sir Sankaran Nair's elaborate dissenting minute is intended to show that the contention that the delay was due to settlement operations was totally untenable. It begins as follows :

It is stated in the Despatch (I include the first two notes in the term) that though the Local Government had always realised that the system of indigo cultivation was essentially wrong, they were unable to devise measures for permanent relief until the settlement operations were concluded ; that the Committee were able to dispose of the question only by availing themselves of the information which had been collected by the settlement staff and that there is, therefore, no ground for the charge that the Government were remiss in taking the needful steps, or that it was at the instance of the National Congress or Mr. Gandhi that the matters were finally settled. That the consideration of legitimate grievances which were provoking riots had to be postponed for seven years for the completion of a revenue inquiry is not satisfactory. It is certainly not a justification, if it is any excuse. Disregarding that aspect of the matter I shall make a few observations now on the question as to how far the statement made above about the necessity of the conclusion of the settlement operations can be supported.

Sir Sankaran Nair then proceeds to mention some of the specific complaints of the indigo raiyats and proves to demonstration that in regard to each of them "it appears to me to be impossible to say it was necessary to wait for the conclusion of the settlement operations" to afford the necessary relief. One of these complaints was that the raiyats were compelled to grow indigo against their will.

"The Committee [of 1917] found that for the last fifty years the growing of indigo under the prevalent system of cultivation had been disliked by the raiyats and that the raiyats would at any time have been glad to relinquish it. They recommended accordingly that indigo must be grown under the voluntary system and that the tenant must be absolutely free to enter into the contract or refrain from making it."

The other grievances of the indigo raiyats referred to by Sir Sankaran Nair with which the settlement operations had nothing to do were as follow: -the price paid for the indigo remains fixed for long periods and does not vary with the general rise in prices; the price is fixed on the area and does not vary with the outturn of the crop; the plots to be cultivated with indigo are selected by the planter; harassment by factory subordinates; levy of unauthorised dues in addition to the rent; levy of fees on transfers; the payment of a lump sum for the purchase of freedom from the liability to cultivate indigo; the right claimed by the estates to all the hides of dead cattle, to a monopoly of trade in kerosine oil, to dispose of trees, to pay inadequate rates for labour, supply of carts, &c. In regard to one complaint alone, viz., that relating to the agreements which the tenants had to execute for payment of enhanced rent in consideration of being allowed to abandon indigo cultivation, the results of the settlement enquiry proved useful to the Committee of 1917.

The truth is that the procrastination of of the local Government in attending to the legitimate grievances of the indigo raiyats of Bihar was due, not to the settlement operations, as the authorities would fain make out, but to other reasons. What those reasons were, will appear from the extract given below from Sir Sankaran Nair's minute. It is admitted in Appendix I

to the tenth Despatch that "indigo required much labour and was less profitable than other crops, while the system also led to the harassment of raiyats by factory servants." That under the circumstances the raiyats continued to grow indigo at all was due to the fact that "various methods of persuasion were applied." In 1908 disturbances broke out in Bettiah, and an enquiry was made by Mr. Gourlay. But the report submitted by him was never published. Let us now listen to Sir Sankaran Nair.

It is impossible to deny, in these circumstances, that the raiyats and those who supported them had some grounds for believing that the refusal to publish Mr. Gourlay's Report was due to the disinclination to disclose the legitimate grievances of the raiyats and the remedies proposed therein. Except two or three of them, the grievances are old-standing. Most, if not all, of them were noticed in Mr. Gourlay's Report. Some of them were declared illegal by the Advocate-General. But the Government, giving some relief by increasing the price of indigo, refused to interfere in all other matters, not on the ground that the settlement operations must be carried out or concluded, but that any redress afforded to the raiyats will heavily hit the planter. See the letter to the Government of India, 4th June, 1910. I cannot agree, therefore, that the Local Government had any legitimate excuse for delay.

The correspondence between the Government of India and the Local Government also bears out what I have stated. The despatch bears testimony to the unwillingness of the Local Government to start the enquiry to which they after all agreed only on pressure by the Government of India.

In all other respects the despatch goes further than my Minute of Dissent and more than confirms the statements that I have made.

The Kaira Case.

The Note on the Kaira case only shows that the Government officials did not give any relief to the raiyats and were precluded from giving any by the revenue rules. It admits that no inquiry is allowed into individual circumstances, with the result that even if there is no crop on the land the raiyat would be bound to pay the revenue. It also admits that even where a whole locality is affected, revenue may be levied from a raiyat whose crop might not suffice for his subsistence. It also admits that no raiyat is entitled to any suspension or remission of revenue under the laws of the country, and that any such suspension or remission is a matter purely of grace. The Despatch also says that the raiyats had no right to ask for any indepen-

dent inquiry as to the nature of the crop even by another Government department. My Colleagues further state that these rules are in accordance with the present system of fixed assessment under which the assessee *accepts* the periodical assessment for a term of years and *undertakes* to pay his assessment in bad years no less than in good. They fail to state, however, that this acceptance is made practically under coercion. There is nothing like acceptance in the ordinary sense of the term. A raiyat in possession of ancestral property in which his ancestors and he have sunk their capital and on which they have bestowed all their labour has to pay any revenue that might be fixed upon it by the Revenue Officials. He cannot go to a court of law to impeach the order on any ground whatever, not even on the ground that the revenue imposed leaves him no margin of subsistence or deprives him of the fruits of his capital and labour. If he does not pay he will have to surrender his land without any compensation for the capital and labour sunk. The social conditions of the country which keep him usually tied to his community and locality do not allow him to emigrate. He cannot get other land, as land is Government monopoly. Under these conditions, it is futile to say that there is any voluntary undertaking by him to pay the assessment in bad years no less than in good. Yet, even under these conditions, many raiyats leave the land and go to Fiji and elsewhere to labour under unmentionable conditions. This is the system responsible for the destitution of the raiyat. My statements as to Kaira destitution and necessity of relief have not been and cannot be denied. They can be proved by the direct testimony of respectable witnesses. The fact of collection of revenue is not evidence of capacity to pay. It is, in Kaira, proof of the rigour of collection.

It is admitted that, in these circumstances, it was the representatives of the educated classes who laboured for the relief of the destitute raiyats in Kaira. That there was no valid ground for their agitation according to the rules of the revenue system, only proves the necessity of the radical alteration of that revenue system. That their agitation did not fully succeed in its object is true, but it proves only the necessity of constitutional reform."—Sir Sankaran Nair's Minute of Dissent appended to the Tenth Despatch of the Government of India.

Publication of the Despatches.

The first, fourth and fifth despatches have been printed in book form and are available to the public. The seventh, ninth and tenth despatches have also been published in the papers. The contents of all these despatches have been summarised in the *Modern Review*. So far as we are

aware, the other despatches have not been placed on the market and are not yet available to the public. When are the public going to have access to them?

The Indian and Provincial Educational Services.

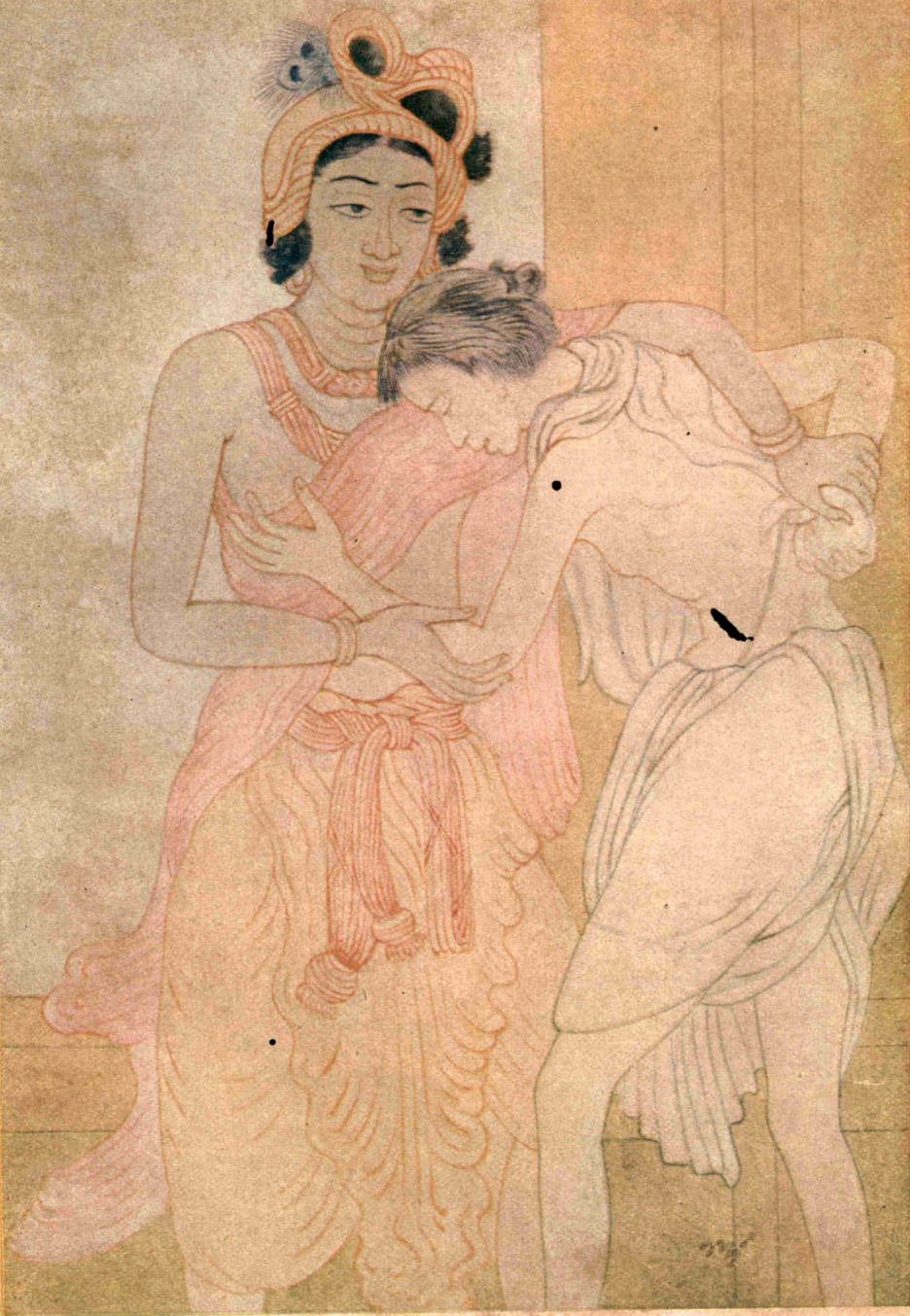
"...The Government education services have been the objects of much criticism; many of our correspondents have written about them with acrimony; and wherever we have gone in Bengal, even in places far from any Government college, we have heard the same complaints. The reason for this dissatisfaction is resentment at the way in which the services are classified, and, in particular, at what is regarded as the invidious distinction between the two higher services, known respectively as the Indian and the Provincial. The members of these two services are called upon to do work of the same type, and, in theory, they are equal; but the Indian Educational Service is paid at a substantially higher rate, and, because of this difference of pay, the Indian Educational Service man is regarded, and is apt to regard himself, as ranking above his colleague in the Provincial Educational Service; though the latter may be, and not infrequently is a man of longer service, and possibly of greater distinction in scholarship.

"The original theory of the distinction between the two services was that the more highly paid service was to be recruited in England; and the higher pay was not to represent higher status but was to form a compensation for exile, for the expense of sending children home to be educated, and for other burdens that increase the cost of living to the Englishman in India. But this logical and defensible theory was in fact made untenable when some Indians educated in England began to be admitted to the Indian Educational Service while other Indians, not less highly qualified and often themselves educated in England, had to be content with places in the Provincial Service. In these cases, the distinc-

tion had obviously come to be a distinction between a higher and a lower service. And, in fact it has been so regarded: Government itself admits this when it pays an extra allowance of Rs. 100 *per mensem* to a man in the Provincial Education Service for 'acting' for a man in the Indian Educational Service. In practice, therefore, whatever the original theory may have been, the one service is treated as superior to the other and, not unnaturally, the impression has been created that the distinction is a device for ensuring higher salaries and status to the Englishmen, and for keeping Indian scholars in an inferior position. It is true that the number of men affected is small: there were, as we have already noted, only twelve English teachers in the colleges of Bengal in 1917. But it is not the number that matters. No more unhappy impression could be created than the impression that a distinction is drawn between scholars in the service of a University, even partially, along racial lines.....

".....of recent years they [European members of the Indian Educational Service] even find that they are regarded by their students with a sort of suspicion, not as their intellectual leaders but as Government agents set to watch over them.....

"But though we recognise that much of this criticism [against European members of the Indian Educational Service and the method of recruitment for the Indian and Provincial Services] is unfair, it has a real basis of fact. *The distinction drawn between the two services is invidious* [italics ours], and sometimes tempts even very junior members of the Indian Educational Service to regard themselves as the superiors of the most senior and distinguished members of the Provincial Education Service. This makes friendly co-operation between colleagues in the two services often very difficult; and in a college of all places friendly co-operation is indispensable." Report of the Calcutta University Commission, Vol. 1, Part 1, chapter XIII.



KRISHNA AND SUDAM

By Mr. Nandalal Bose

By courtesy of the owner of the painting, Mrs. Nalini Bose, B.A.

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THE HOPE OF IMMORTALITY

BY HERAMBACHANDRA MAITRA.

SIMPLE men, wrote Bacon, admire studies, "and wise men use them. For they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them, and above them, won by observation." Applying these words to the attitude of some of the leaders of modern thought towards the scientific movement of our times, we may say that those who have ignored the spiritual needs of men, or, viewing them from without, have failed to realise how large a place must be assigned to them in a rational scheme of life, have, in admiring the achievements of science, overlooked its limitations like "simple men." "Led by science," says Spencer, "mankind have progressed from boomerangs to 100-ton guns, from dug-out canoes to Atlantic liners, from picture-writing on skins to morning journals printed twenty thousand per hour; and that over the developed arts of life science now presides scarcely needs saying." But the arts of life do not carry us very far. They return no answer to the questionings by which the soul is perplexed to-day as it was in the dawn of human thought. The response to them comes from within, and not from without. Spiritual vision is more than knowledge. "Thou shalt open thy eyes, O Son of Adam", exclaims Carlyle, "thou shalt look, and not for ever jargon about the laws of Optics and the making of spectacles." We pay dearly for the worship of science. It blinds us to the need of that higher culture, on which Socrates laid such stress in the precept—Know thyself.

Dogmas and creeds indeed change and pass. But the foundations of faith are too deep to be shaken by their fate. When St. Francis of Sales says, "Love is stronger than death," we forget his church and creed. We recognise in him a seer whose words shine as a light on our path. With a faith like his, one would perhaps find the dug-out canoe tolerable.

But if some have exalted science to a higher place than it can rightfully claim, others, blessed with a wisdom which is without science and above it, have stood forth as its true interpreters, reading in its teachings a confirmation of moral and spiritual laws. "The highest value of physical science is felt," says Emerson, "when it goes beyond its special objects and translates their rules into a universal cipher, in which we read the rules of the intellect and the rules of moral practice." Again: "I think that the naturalist works not for himself, but for the believing mind, which turns his discoveries to revelations, receives them as private tokens of the grand good-will of the Creator."

Rightly interpreted, science has great truths to teach us. It establishes by incontestable evidence the reign of law, and thus helps us to believe in the presence of law and order where we fail to trace them. And we are also indebted to it for a progressive confirmation of man's faith in the One in the many, the Eternal in the fleeting, a faith uttered by wise men long before science came forth as a witness on its side. It reveals more and more

the infinitude as well as the unity of the universe. We gratefully welcome these aids to faith, which are of far greater value than what is commonly imagined to be the highest service of science to human life—the power to subdue the material world more and more to our service. The thoughtful explorer of nature, contemplating with wonder the vastness of the universe and the unity of purpose which runs through it, almost uses the language of worship in giving utterance to his emotions. And when we yearn to know if there be a life after physical death, the study of natural phenomena gives us some very useful hints. It clears away a preliminary difficulty by demonstrating how widely appearance and reality differ. Death is absolutely certain, we commonly hear people say. But we know how untrustworthy such certainties are. "I saw it with my own eyes", we take to be indisputable evidence. That evidence, however, has to be sifted with great care. Neither sun, nor moon, nor planet really is where it is seen to be. Stars that have vanished from the heavens may yet be seen shining. Countless creatures fill earth and sky about us without our suspecting their existence. If only the number of vibrations rises or falls below our capacity, we neither see nor hear. The music of the spheres, it was said, could not be heard because it was too loud: Not an absurd theory after all. The things that we see and know may have properties which we have absolutely no means of knowing. Our experience is limited to a few short links of an infinite series. We need not therefore be greatly troubled by the apparent certainty of death. May it not, after all, be only an appearance? Who knows what a wondrous world lies beyond the ken of mortal vision? Science proves that not a particle of matter or physical energy can perish. Absolute destruction is against the order of the universe on the physical side. Can it be permitted in the moral world? If an atom cannot be annihilated, can a mind endowed with the priceless right of thought, a moral nature chastened by suffering and emerging by painful

struggles from follies and sins into a noble manhood, be left to perish? Can utter waste be permitted in a region infinitely grander than the outer world with all its beauty and glory?

Is it not a striking fact that, though man seems to perish utterly with the extinction of physical life, death is regarded as a mystery, as a veil drawn over another world? The enquiry, if there be a life after death, has a strange fascination for the human mind in spite of its utter hopelessness. Though to the eye of flesh the days of man "are as grass," yet, strangely enough, humanity declines to accept death as a settled fact. It keeps knocking from age to age at the gate of the unknown. It gazes wistfully into the darkness beyond the grave. In the legend of the *Kathopani-shad*, Nachiketas, offered a boon by Yama, prefers a solution of the mystery of death to the most coveted earthly gifts. And at the royal court of Northumbria, "Man's life," says a sage,

"Man's life is like a sparrow, mighty king!
That—while at banquet with your chiefs you sit
Housed near a blazing fire—is seen to flit
Safe from the wintry tempest. Fluttering,
Here did it enter; there, on hasty wing,
Flies out, and passes on from cold to cold;
But whence it came we know not, nor behold
Whither it goes. Even such that transient Thing,
The human soul; not utterly unknown
While in the Body lodged, her warm abode;
But from what world She came, what woe or
weal
On her departure waits, no tongue hath shown."

Questionings like these in the face of the grim certainty of death are a very suggestive fact in the spiritual history of humanity. Why cannot we rest content with the thought that there is an end of everything with death, accepting it as a decree of fate against which there is no appeal? Why cannot we help brooding over the thought of a Whence and a Whither? The sceptic's explanation of this as well as of the belief in a life after death is *the wish to live*. But is there any necessary relation between the one and the other? The wish to live is common to us all. But this sort of inquisitiveness is not met with in an equal degree among all men. Perhaps those who are most

wanting in culture and moral refinement cling most fondly to life ; and they are the least disposed to engage in enquiries about the destiny of man. This brooding over the mystery of death cannot be accounted for by a hankering after life. It seems as if the human spirit were impelled to engage in such enquiries by a dim sense of its own great destiny—a latent consciousness which appearances cannot subdue. "The idea of immortality," says Matthew Arnold, "as this idea rises in its generality before the human spirit, is something grander, truer and more satisfying, than it is in the particular forms by which St. Paul, in the famous fifteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Corinthians, and Plato in the *Phaedo*, endeavour to develop and establish it." "Above and beyond the inadequate solutions which Hebraism and Hellenism here attempt, extends the immense and august problem itself and the human spirit which gave birth to it." Does not the greatness of the idea lie in this, that it appeals to a hidden faith of the human soul in a great Hereafter awaiting it? If the wish to live cannot explain man's seeking a solution of the mystery of death, still less can it account for the faith before which that mystery stands solved. As Wilfrid Ward has shown in his essay on "The Wish to Believe," the very intensity of a wish makes it difficult for us to hope for its fulfilment. The faith of Socrates and Jesus had its source, not in a hankering after life, but in clearness of spiritual vision. When faith in immortality is professed by a worldly-minded man who does not believe in duty or in the need of self-sacrifice, we may very well suspect that what he calls faith is but imagination yoked to the service of selfish desires. But the faith that brings with it a pure life and the power of renunciation must spring from other sources than the wish to live.

A physical demonstration of immortality, such as has been attempted by writers on spiritualism and occult phenomena, lies beyond the scope of this essay. While investigations of this kind are not to be disparaged, the constitution of the human mind and the nature of our relationship to God ought to satisfy a thoughtful en-

quirer that the career of man cannot end with his earthly life. What the seekers of God have to say on this great question may be fitly summed up in these words of the *Svetasvatara-Upanishad* : तमेव विदित्वा अतिमृत्युमिति—"A man who knows Him truly passes over death."* The strongest will to live cannot give us the assurance of a life hereafter. The more intense our earthly desires, the thicker the veil drawn over the unknown. The power to believe that the soul is too sacred to perish, can only be won by unfaltering loyalty to our moral and spiritual aspirations. "Not by literature or theology", says Emerson, "but only by rare integrity can we attain clearness of vision." Yes, "only by rare integrity"! It is not conventional morality or outward propriety of conduct that can lead to spiritual enlightenment. We cannot expect to be assured of another life unless we make the best possible use of our present life. What right has the idler to ask for another life to idle away? What right has the avaricious man to hope that death will not end his career of self-seeking? How can the sensualist expect to be permitted to live a corrupt life for ever? It is only the spiritual side of our nature that has the right to live and grow. To realise that we are not of the earth, earthy, we must acknowledge the Divine in us as our Master and be ruled by it. Life is the talent given us by our Master, and it must be used aright in order that we may have abundance. To know that life is too sacred to come to nought, we must use it as a sacred gift. "I can hardly understand," says Tennyson, "how any great imaginative man who has deeply lived, suffered, thought and wrought, can doubt of the soul's continued progress in the after-life."

The aspirations of the human intellect create a presumption in favour of immortality. Not many among those who are filled with admiration by the masterpieces of art and literature are able to realise how infinitely greater is the mind than its

* III, 8, Max Müller's Translation.

achievements. Plato himself far surpasses his contributions to human thought. *Macbeth* is but a faint echo of the mind of Shakespeare. Most people lack the power to view things in relation to their source. This feebleness of mind, when displayed with regard to the universe, we call atheism. But we have no word for this tendency to stop short of the sources of things when displayed in relation to the creations of the human mind. The person to whom a great book or a great work of art does not suggest the mind which produced it, is also an unbeliever in a certain sense. "In man there is nothing great but mind." How are we awakened to a sense of its greatness by a flow of thoughts into us! What a sense of wealth does the dawning of a great truth on the mind bring with it! What a power, what an inherent dignity, do we become conscious of when a beautiful thought is born in us! Genius, it has been said, seeks no other reward than its own divine companionship. "Genius is a promontory stretching into the Infinite." But the power, the greatness, that manifests itself in genius, does not belong to genius alone. If the sublime intellectual passion of Archimedes or the sombre creations of Shakespeare fill us with wonder, we, too, in a way participate in their intellectual power. Mind cannot admire mind without inner affinity and kinship. We, ordinary people, too, have moments of lofty thought or glimpses of great truths; and then we feel how precious is our birthright of thought. And the greatness of the human mind lies most in this, that in seeking after truth it communes with and is sustained by the Divine Mind. Not the prophets alone, but the great thinkers, the great scientists, the great men of letters also, are inspired by God. There is nothing truer in Milton's utterances than his prayer for Divine aid in his greatest undertaking. We cannot command a flow of inspiration into us at our will. We can but wait and try to be worthy of it by moral and intellectual discipline. We think best and we know most when we are in the most receptive

attitude. Can this communion of the human mind with the Divine cease with the death of the body? The intellectual culture of man but begins here. Newton did not exaggerate when he said he was only gathering pebbles on the sea-shore. Even the most gifted mind can but learn one or two simple lessons, even the most versatile genius can but cultivate a few of the faculties it is endowed with, within the brief space of man's earthly life. Can such gifts come to nothing? Shakespeare, who was not blessed with contemporary fame, felt that his works could not perish. When Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* was published, the Pope said there were things in it, which would make it immortal. May we not foretell the destiny of man from the aspirations and the promises of his intellectual powers? Expert critics of statues and paintings are in great request among the lovers of art. Have we not greater need of expert critics of the human mind able to judge of its future from the faculties with which it is equipped?

But the intellect of man with all its promise sinks into insignificance by the side of the moral sense. It has an authority which the intellectual powers in their most commanding forms do not possess. There can be no comparison of the intellect with the moral faculty, said Dr. Arnold. The humility of Newton brought him much nearer to the ideal of true manhood and was of far greater value in the sight of God than his discovery of the law of gravitation. What is *Paradise Lost* to Milton the man? Wordsworth has, I believe, the moral feelings specially in view when he writes,—

Not Chaos, not
The darkest pit of lowest Erebus,
Nor aught of blinder vacancy scooped out
By help of dreams, can breed such fear and awe
As fall upon us often when we look
Into our Minds, into the Mind of Man."

It is in the moral side of our nature that we have a distinct view of the deeps out of which we emerge and the ties by which we are bound to the universe. Can a Utilitarian system of ethics account for the agony of remorse? Carlyle speaks of

"the Infinite Nature of Duty." Duty indeed springs from an infinite source and is in its nature unending. The more we obey, the more exacting does it become. As in the life of a nation, after the commandment "Thou shalt not kill," comes the higher injunction, "Pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you," so in the life of every dutiful man there is an ever-progressive revelation of the moral law. The path of righteousness is like the ascent of a mountain with a succession of peaks rising higher and higher. And the clearest exposition of the moral law is that given in the precept of Jesus, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." It does not require many words to express great truths. The cynical contempt for moral principles which is so common about us, indeed makes it difficult for us to believe that all human beings are subject to the authority of the moral law. It seems as if that supreme ordinance, "Be ye perfect," were meant only for a chosen few, the elect of God. But those in whom the moral sentiments are most highly developed, only represent a stage of growth which all must attain sooner or later. In spite of the lack of moral sensibility which prevails so widely in society, we are compelled by the irresistible authority of conscience in ourselves to believe, that it is bound to assert itself in the life of every human being. Hypocrisy itself is an acknowledgment of the power of the moral law. And by admiration as well as by shame, men bear witness to the appeal which goodness makes to their hearts. Every man is bound to outgrow what he is ashamed of. A noble aspiration is itself the warrant of its fulfilment. Whence does the precept, "Repent ye," derive its power? Men who have lived unrighteously have often sacrificed their lives to atone for their sinful life. The most terrible thing in Shakespeare is the sleep-walking scene in *Macbeth*—the agony of remorse by which the womanhood of Lady Macbeth is finally vindicated in a most tragic manner. One moment of repentance teaches us more than all the sages. In it we have a direct revelation of the inexorable authority of the moral law, an im-

mediate proof of the fact that, notwithstanding all appearances to the contrary, every individual is required to strive after perfection.

Our moral experiences teach us that the individual is sacred in the sight of God. Every human being has an inalienable right to grow more and more like unto God; and every human being is required to exercise this right for his own sake more than for the sake of others. As I reflect upon the course of my inner life, I see how through failures and struggles I am being led onward to perfection. And I infer from my own destiny the destiny of every man. It cannot be that in the constitution of the universe no provision is made for the moral well-being of others. The end to which the struggles of my inner life clearly point is, not the attainment of certain social advantages, but my own highest well-being. If I cherish an unholy thought, I do a grievous wrong to myself. There is a conceivable limit to my obligations to others, there is no conceivable limit to my obligations to myself. It is a golden sentence of Montesquieu: What we owe to others may be defined, but not what we owe to ourselves. Our true life is that which we live alone, watched over by God alone. While there are many to keep us company in the trivial occupations of life, every momentous experience recalls us to solitude. We are isolated by sorrow, and we have to isolate ourselves frequently in order to realise the nearness of God. The life that we live with others is but a preparation for the higher life in which God alone is with us. From Pythagoras to Wordsworth, every great spiritual teacher has recognised the need of frequent withdrawals from society as an essential condition of spiritual culture. Society exists for ministering to the spiritual needs of the individual.

Self-sacrifice, it must be apparent to every spiritually-minded man, is ordained for us as a necessary discipline, quite apart from our obligations to society. The recognition of this truth is essential to a rational view of the events of life—the view, namely, that they are parts of an ordered whole with a definite moral

purpose, and not a succession of meaningless accidents. When we say that society has been instituted for the well-being of man, we utter a far deeper truth than is commonly realised. Society is indeed "a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection." It has been instituted, because without it "man could not by any possibility arrive at the perfection of which his nature is capable." And one of the ways in which this great purpose is served is, that society teaches every man the lesson of self-sacrifice. Sacrifice, it is often said, is needful in order that we may live in society. It would be truer to say that society is needful in order that man may learn to deny himself for the sake of others. Self-denial is not a means to any earthly end. It is absolutely necessary for the fulfilment of our deepest needs. The self-restraints imposed on us by the conditions of social life, and even those enforced by the moral obligations which are generally recognised, are but the first feeble hints of this spiritual law and of "the high meaning of Renunciation, by which alone," as Goethe says, "the first real entrance into life is conceivable." Much apparent waste, much that is seemingly meaningless, is explained by the need of sacrifice. Even the child dying in infancy has not lived in vain. It has imposed much self-denial on its parents, and it leaves a parting message of sorrow which brings them nearer to God. This at least partially answers the question,

"Why human buds...should fall
More brief than fly ephemeral
That has his day."

There comes a time in our spiritual life when the truth flashes upon us, that every step we take in self-denial is but a preparation for another step. Sacrifice indeed brings with it the reward of a clearer vision and a widened horizon. But the reward is often hidden from us until we have submitted to the renunciation required of us. It is often hidden from us long afterwards. And yet we have to accept it as an imperative duty. There is something in it which appeals to our inmost nature. And hence it invests even meaningless rites and obsolete creeds with sanctity. The self-

denial of Roman Catholic monks fills even a sombre pessimist like Schopenhauer with passionate admiration. The Hindu gymnosophist has sometimes inspired men of other races and creeds with deep reverence. This ideal of perfection, ever resisted by our selfish impulses and ever subduing us by its power, this ideal, the authority of which is attested by every pang of remorse and every act of self-denial, is a promise of continued spiritual progress. The power to rely on that promise depends on our yielding ourselves without reserve to the guidance of our best instincts.

Renunciation is an essential condition of spiritual growth. And as we have seldom the strength to give up of our own accord what we dearly prize, sacrifices are exacted from us in the form of disappointments and afflictions to satisfy this deep need of our moral nature. Suffering is the austerity of the voluptuary. It is the self-denial of the worldly-minded. It is the obedience of the rebellious. The awful ordinance of sorrow is not without a high purpose. None but a charlatan could be ready with a solution for every perplexing problem of life. We are required to pass through ordeals which absolutely stagger and bewilder us. But there do come blessed moods in which the burden of despondency is lightened. There are moments when we receive the sweet assurance that we are not made to suffer in vain, when we have a glimpse of the peace that is to be ours hereafter. A revelation of the beneficent ends of suffering does not, however, always come in the form of comfort to the stricken heart. Sometimes there flashes upon us the painful truth that a great sorrow which has befallen us is needed to curb our earthly desires. Our moral life is built up by suffering. It subdues stubborn passions and evolves order out of chaos. The discipline of sorrow is not imposed on the ungodly alone. Even the most saintly are required to pass through fiery ordeals. "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth": this faith finds expression in numerous legends in the scriptures of every great race. This baptism of fire, this initiation through

suffering into the mysteries of the Temple of Life, must be a preparation for rites of sacred joy to be made known hereafter. Can such a process of education be designed for a perishable being? Can a fabric built up with such infinite pains be intended to crumble into dust?

"Dust as we are, the immortal spirit grows
Like harmony in music; there is a dark
Inscrutable workmanship that reconciles
Discordant elements, makes them cling together
In one society. How strange that all
The terrors, pains, and early miseries,
Regrets, vexations, lassitudes interfused
Within my mind, should e'er have borne a part,
and that a needful part, in making up
The calm existence that is mine when I
Am worthy of myself!"

Has the sacredness of sorrow for our departed dear ones no lesson to teach us? Sorrow for those who have passed away is the only sorrow we long to cherish. If we pine for riches or power, we are conscious of waste of moral vitality. When we give way to a base impulse, we feel that we revolt against the Divine will, and we cannot stand unabashed in the presence of God. But we have no sense of waste in mourning for those who have been taken away from us, no sense of disloyalty in longing for reunion with them. Do we not fail in fidelity to them if we cease to cherish their memory? Cowper wrote nothing nobler than his lines *On the Receipt of My Mother's Picture*. Love is perfected by suffering. It cannot have a nobler aspiration than to be faithful beyond death. "I have often thought," says Mazzini, "that the arrangement by which loved and loving beings are to pass through death is nothing but the last experiment appointed by God to human love; and often I have felt that a moment of soul-communing with my dead friend was opening a source of strength for me un hoped for, here down." If we may at all take the sacredness of a yearning as giving us a hint of our destiny, the sancity of sorrow is an aid to the belief that we do not mourn in vain. Theology, the science of man's relation to God and the universe, would be barren speculation, if it failed to take note of the suggestions of the spirit. That the human soul finds

rest in the thought of God is of no mean import as an evidence of Theism. The great English champion of Agnosticism, it is worthy of note, relies for moral guidance upon beliefs "produced in him by the Unknown Cause." Buckle regards "the universality of the affections, the yearning of every mind to care for something out of itself," as "the safest and most impregnable ground" of faith in immortality. "It is in the need of loving and being loved," he says, "that the highest instincts of our nature are first revealed. Of all the moral sentiments which adorn and elevate the human character, the instinct of affection is surely the most lovely, the most powerful, and the most general." "It is, then," he adds, "to the sense of immortality with which the affections inspire us, that I would appeal for the best proof of the reality of a future life."

The crowning evidence of immortality is the intimate nature of our relationship to God as revealed in spiritual experience. When we are conscious of the nearness of God, we do not need the aid of prophet or scripture to shake off our doubts and fears. The seeker of God is impelled to take counsel with Him in distress and perplexity, and one accent of the Divine voice is enough to fill him with courage and hope. When Wordsworth says in an hour of deep dejection,

"The Comforter hath found me here,
Upon this lonely road,"

he expresses a fact of common religious experience. This distinctively human element in Wordsworth, this note of an intimate personal relationship with God, is perhaps of greater value to the afflicted, struggling spirit, than the meditative calm, the illumination and tranquillity reflected in the *Lines written above Tintern Abbey*. But if in worship there is balm for the hurt mind and rest for the heavy-laden, there is in it also a power to curb and chastise. True communion is attested by its absolute intolerance of evil and its power to awaken bitter self-reproach. Spiritual culture is an illusion when it does not impose a severe disci-

line on the erring spirit. Hence अन्तर्यामी *Antaryami*, "the Indwelling Ruler," as an epithet of God in Hindu theology. We thus now we are too dear to the Spirit of the universe to be left to perish.

It is true, there come days of utter orlornness and waverings of faith. But does this not prove that the peace and joy with which we are sometimes blessed are truly the gifts of God? Are not these blessed hours, which we cannot command at our will, authentic revelations of the Divine love? The very tides of the inner life, the very ebb and flow of the heavenly waters which sometimes flood the soul, are an evidence of immortality. The best that we have known and felt we are bound to know and feel again. The glimpses and visions which have vanished after casting a transient light on our path must one day return to abide with us. The promises they brought with them are too sacred not to be fulfilled. The light that has shone on the summits of our being must descend into its dark valleys.*

To the human soul with its infinite longing, nothing but the beauty of God can be a joy for ever. We do not realise the meaning of worship until we have had a glimpse of a glory we would contemplate for ever. It was this experience which

* The last sentence is from Harnack, "What is Christianity?"

inspired Plato's words: "It is the Good that makes all things bright and beautiful." It inspired those words of the *Svetasvatara-Upanishad*:

तमेव भान्त्यनुभाति सर्वम् ।

तस्य भासा सर्वं मिदं विभाति ॥

"Every thing shines after him; by his light all this is lightened." And it inspired the Hebrew Psalmist with a longing to "dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of his life, to behold the beauty of the Lord." An attempt to convey a suggestion of this infinite beauty is the very soul of art—of all true art. Hence the prominence given in worship to music, the most flexible and liquid of the modes of utterance at our command, in which the beauty of God is in a way made visible. These visions bring with them the assurance that they are not vouchsafed to man in vain. They come, because it is the purpose of God to accept the homage of man. And this infinite condescension is not displayed in order to disappoint for ever the hope of supreme joy it raises in us. Every man, says Emerson, parts from the contemplation of the universal and eternal beauty "with the feeling that it rather belongs to ages than to mortal life." And this is the experience that inspired the utterance of the ancient Hindu sage: "A man who knows Him truly passes beyond death".

* Max Müller's Translation.

THE BELOVED

I build my fastness with a thousand freights
Of garnered sunshine, treasures of dreams
And the dark gifts of grief.

Yet in the night,
Victorious, through the drowsy sentinels
Thou comest like the wondrous harvest

moon,
And lo! I am a stranger in my realm,
Kneeling before thy glory.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

I know that this life, missing its ripeness in love,
is not altogether lost.

I know that the flowers that fade in the dawn,
the streams that strayed in the desert,
are not altogether lost.

I know that whatever lags behind in this life,
laden with slowness,
is not altogether lost.

I know that my dreams that are still unfulfilled,
and my melodies still unstruck,
are clinging to some lute-strings of thine,
and they are not altogether lost.

—RABINDRANATH TAGORE, *Crossing*.

THE PROBLEM OF INDIA

I. THE NATIONAL ASPECT.

LET us first be clear about the exact nature of the Indian problem. Political institutions are after all, only a reflection of the national mind and of national conditions. What is the end? The end is freedom to live according to our own conception of what life should be, to pursue our own ideals, to develop our own civilization and to secure that unity of purpose which would distinguish us from the other nations of the world, insuring for us a position of independence and honor, of security from within and non-interference from without. We have no ambition to conquer and rule other peoples; we have no desire to exploit foreign markets; not even to impose our 'kåltur' and our 'civilization' on others. At present we are counted among the backward peoples of the earth mainly because we are a subject people, governed by a foreign power, protected by foreign bayonets and schooled by foreign teachers. The condition of our masses is intellectually deplorable and economically miserable; our women are still in bondage and do not enjoy the freedom which has been won by their western sisters; our domestic masters the prince and priest are still in saddle; caste and privilege are still holding sway; yet it is not true that taken all in all we are really a backward people. Even in these matters we find that the difference between us and the 'advanced' nations of the world is one of degree only. Caste and privilege rule in the United States as much as in India. There is nothing in our history which can be put on the same level as the lynching of the negroes, the lynching of Mr. Little, the deportation of Bisbee miners and other incidents of a similar nature indicative of race hatred and deep-rooted colour prejudice. No nation in the world can claim an *idealistic state of society*,

in which everything is of the best. On the other hand, there are certain matters in which comparison is to our advantage. Even with the advance of drunkenness under British rule we are yet a sober nation; our *standards* of personal and domestic hygiene are much higher than those of the western people; our standards of life much simpler and nobler; our social ideals more humane; and our spiritual hankerings infinitely superior. As a nation we do not believe in war or militarism or evangelism. We do not force our views on others; we have more toleration for other people's opinions and beliefs than any other nation in the world has; we have not yet acquired that craze for possessions and for sheer luxurious and riotous life which marks the modern pharisees of the West. Our people, according to their conceptions, means and opportunities are kindly, hospitable, gentle, law-abiding, mutually helpful, full of respect for others and peace-loving. It is in fact the existence of these qualities to an abnormal extent that has contributed to our political and economic exploitation by others.

In India capitalism and landlordism have not yet developed to the same extent as they have among the civilized nations of the West. The West is in revolt against capitalism and landlordism. We do not claim that before the advent of the British there was no capitalism or landlordism in India. But we do contend that though there was a certain amount of rivalry and competition between the different castes, within the castes there was much more co-operation and fellow-feeling than there has ever been in the West. Our native governments and their underlings the landlords did exact a high price from the village communities for the privilege of cultivating their lands, but within the village there was no *inter se* compe-

tition either between the tillers of the soil or between the pursuers of crafts. The gulf between the rich and the poor was not so marked as it is to-day in the West.

Under the British rule and since its introduction, however, things have considerably changed. Without adopting the best features of modern life, we have been forced by circumstances, political and economic, to give up the best of our own. Village communities have been destroyed; joint and corporate bargaining has given place to individual transactions; every bit of land has been separately measured, marked and taxed; common lands divided; the price of land has enormously risen and rents have gone up abnormally. The money-lender, who before the advent of British rule, had a comparatively subordinate position in the village community, has suddenly come to occupy the first place. He owns the best lands and the best houses and holds the bodies and souls of the agriculturists in mortgage. The villages which used to be generally homogeneous in population, bound to each other by ties of race, blood and religion, have become heterogeneous, with non-descript people of all kinds, all races and all religions who have acquired land by purchase. Competition has taken the place of co-operation. A country where social co-operation and social solidarity reigned at least within castes, within villages and within urban areas has been entirely disrupted and disintegrated by unlimited and uncontrolled competition.

India never knew any poor laws; she never needed any, nor orphan asylums, nor old age pensions, nor widow homes. She had no use for organized charity. Rarely did any man die for want of food or clothing, except in famines. Hospitality was open and was dispensed under a sense of duty and obligation and not by way of charity or kindness. The survival of the fittest had no hold on our minds. We had no factories or workshops. People worked in their own homes or shops either with their own money or with money borrowed from the money-lender. The artisans were the masters of the goods they produced and unless otherwise agreed

with the money-lender, sold them in the open market. The necessities of life, being cheap and easily procurable, the artisan cared more for quality than quantity. Their work was a source of pleasure and pride as well as of profit to them. Now everything has gone, pleasure, pride, as well as profit. Where profit has remained, pleasure and pride are gone.

We are on the high road to a 'distinctly industrial civilization'. In fact the principal complaint of our political reformers and free trade economists is that the British Government has not let us proceed on that road, at a sufficiently rapid pace and that in doing so they have been, dominated by their own national interests, more than by our own good. We saw that other nations were progressing by following the laws of industrial development, and quite naturally, we also wanted to prosper by the same method. This War has opened our eyes as it has opened those of the rest of the world and we have begun to feel that the goal that we were seeking so far led to perdition and not salvation. This makes it necessary for the Indian politicians and economists to review their ideas of political progress. What are we aiming at? Do we want to rise, in order to fall? Do we want to copy and emulate Europe even in its mistakes and blunders? Does the road to heaven lie through hell? Must we make a wreck of our ship and then try salvage? The civilization of Europe, as it was so far known, is dying. It may take decades or perhaps a century or more to die. But ~~die it must~~. This War has prepared a death-bed for it from which it will never rise. Upon its ruins is rising or will rise another civilization, which will reproduce, much of what was valuable and precious in *our own* with much of what we never had. The question that we want to put to our compatriots is, Shall we prepare ourselves for the coming era, or shall we bury ourselves in the debris of the expiring one? We have no right to answer it for others, but our answer is clear and unequivocal. We will not be a party to any scheme which shall add to the powers of the capitalist and the landlord and will

introduce and accentuate the evils of the expiring industrial civilization into our beloved country.

We are not unaware that according to the judgment of some thinkers, amongst them Carl Marx, a country must pass through the capitalistic mill, before the proletariat comes to its own. We don't believe in the truth of this theory, but even if it be true we will not consciously help in proving it to be true. The existing social order of Europe is vicious and immoral. It is 'worm-eaten'. It has the germs of plague, disease, death and destitution in it. It is in a state of decomposition. It is based on injustice, tyranny, oppression and class rule. Certain phases of it are inherent in our own system. Certain others we are borrowing from our masters, in order to make a complete mess. Wisdom and foresight require that we be forewarned. What we want and what we need, is not the power to implant *in full force and in full vigour* the *expiring* European system, but, *power* to keep out its further development, with opportunities of undoing the evil that has already been done, gradually and slowly, though assuredly and certainly.

The Government of India as at present constituted is a Government of capitalists and landlords, of both England and India. Under the proposed Reform scheme the power of the former will be reduced and that of the latter increased. The Indo-British Association does not like it, not because it loves the masses of India, for which it hypocritically and insincerely professes solicitude, but because in their judgment it reduces the profits of the British governing classes. We doubt if the scheme really does effect even that. But if it does, it is good so far.

The ugly feature of the scheme is not its potentiality in transferring the power into the hands of the Brahmins (the power of the Brahmins as such, is gone for good), but in the possibility of its giving too much power to the "profiteering" class. The scheme protects the European merchants, it confers special privileges on the small European Community, it provides special representation for the

landlords, the Chambers of Commerce, the Muhammadans and the Sikhs. What is left for the general tax-paying public is precious little. The authors of the scheme say it is in the interest of the general masses, the poor inarticulate ryot and the workingman that they would not give complete Home Rule at once. We wish we could believe in it. We wish it were true. Perhaps they mean it but our past experience does not justify our accepting it at its face value.

There is, however, one thing we can do. We can ask them for proofs by insisting on and agitating for the immediate legislative relief of the ryot and the middle classes. We should adopt the aims of the British Labour Party as our own, start educating our people on those lines and formulate measures which will secure for them *real freedom*, and not the counterfeit coin which passes for it. It will require years of education and agitation but it has to be done, no matter whether we are ruled by the British or by our own property-holders. We are not opposed to Home Rule. Nay, we press for it. In our judgment the objections urged for not giving it at once are flimsy and intangible. The chief obstacles are such as have been created or perpetuated by the British themselves. Caste does not prevent us from having as much home rule as is enjoyed by the people of Italy, Hungary, the Balkan States and some of the South American Republics. But if we cannot have it at once and if the British must retain the power of final decision in their hands, we must insist upon something being immediately done not only to educate the ryot but to give him economic relief. So long as the British continue to refuse to do that, we must hold them responsible for all the misery that Indian humanity is suffering from.

We want political power in order to raise the intellectual and political status of our masses. We do not want to bolster up the classes. Our goal is real liberty, equality and opportunity for all. We want to avoid, if possible, the evils of the class struggle. We will pass through the mill, if we have to, but we should like to

try to avoid it, and it is for that purpose that we want freedom to legislate and freedom to determine our fiscal arrangements. That is our main purpose in our demand for home rule.

II. THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECT.

We have so far discussed the Indian question from the internal or national point of view. But it has an international aspect also. It is said, and we hope it is true, that the world is entering into an era of new internationalism and that the old exclusive chauvinistic nationalism is in its last gasps. This war was the greatest social mix-up known to history. It has brought about the downfall of four monarchs and the destruction of four empires. The armies of the belligerents on both sides contained the greatest assortment of races and nations, of religions and languages that were ever brought together for mutual destruction. Primarily, a fight between the European Christians, it drew forth into its arena Hindus, Mohammedans, Buddhists, Shintos, Jews and Negroes of Africa and America.

The war has produced a revolution in Russia, the like of which was never known before. It is now being openly said that the Russian revolution had as much influence on the final *debacle* of the Central Powers as the strength of the Allies and the resources of America. The Revolution has spread to Germany and Austria and threatens to engulf the whole of Europe. It has given birth to a new order of society aglow with the spirit of a new and elevated kind of internationalism. This internationalism must have for its foundation justice and self-determination for all peoples, regardless of race or religion, creed or color. The new international link between different nations must be supplied by co-operation, as against competition, and by mutual trust and helpfulness, in place of distrust and exploitation of the weaker by the stronger. The only other alternatives are reaction, with the certainty of even greater wars in the near future, and Bolshevism.

Now, nobody knows what Bolshevism represents. The Socialists themselves are

divided over it. The advanced wing is enthusiastic; the moderates are denouncing it. The Liberals and Radicals are free to recognise that it has brought about a new spirit into the affairs of men, which is going to stay and substantially influence the future of the world. The stand-patters denounce it in the strongest possible terms. They represent and calumniate it to their heart's content, call it by all sorts of names and are moving heaven and earth to exterminate it. But we feel that only radical changes in the existing order will stem its tide. The Socialists and Radicals want to make the most of it, while the Imperialist Liberals and Conservatives want to give as little as is compatible with the safety of the existing order in which they are supreme. The struggle will take some time to end, but that it shall end in favour of the new spirit no one doubts.

The only way to meet Bolshevism is to concede to the different peoples of the earth, now being bled and exploited, their rights. Otherwise the discontented and exploited countries of the earth will be the best breeding centers for it. India must come into its own soon or else not even the Himalayas can effectually bar the entry of Bolshevism into India. A contented, self-governed India may be proof against it; a discontented, dissatisfied, oppressed India would perhaps offer the most fertile field. We hope the British statesmen are alive to the situation.

But that is not the only way to look at the international importance of India. By its geographical situation, it is the connecting link between the Near East and the Far East, and the clearing house for the trade of the world. Racially, it holds the balance between the European Aryans and the yellow races. In any military conflict between the white and the yellow races, the people of India will be a decisive factor. In a conflict of peace they will be a harmonising element.

Racially, they are the kin of the Europeans. By religion and culture they are nearer the Chinese and Japanese.

With 70 million Moslems, India is the most important center of Mohammedan sentiment. With Christians as their present

rulers the Hindus and Mohammedans of India are coming to realise that their best interests require a closing up of their ranks. There is no doubt that, come what may, their relations in future will be much more cordial, friendly and mutually sympathetic than they have been in the past. The Hindus will stand by their Mohammedan countrymen in all their efforts to revive the glory of Islam, and to regain for it political independence. There is no fear of a Pan-Islamic movement, if the new spirit of internationalism prevails. If, however, it does not, the Pan-Islamic movement might find a sympathetic soul in India. Islam is not dead. It cannot and will not die. The only way to make it a force of harmony and peace is to recognise its potentialities and to respect its susceptibilities. The political independence of Islamic countries is the basic foundation for such a state. We hope that the statesmen of the world will give their most earnest thought to the question and sincerely put into practice the principles they have been enunciating during the war. The case of India will be an acid test.

A happy India will make a valuable contribution to the evolution of a better and more improved humanity. An unhappy India will be a clog in the wheels of progress. It will not be easy for the masters of India to rule it on the old lines. If not reconciled, it might prove the pivot of the next war. A happy India will be one of the brightest spots in the British Commonwealth. A discontented India will be a cause of standing shame and a source of never-ending trouble.

With a republican China in the north-east, a constitutional Persia in the north-west and a Bolshevik Russia in the not remote north, it will be extremely foolish to attempt to rule India despotically. Not even the gods can do it. It is not possible even if the legislature devotes all its sittings to the drafting and passing of one hundred coercion acts. The peace of the world, international harmony, and good-will, the good name of the British Commonwealth, the safety of the Empire as such demand the peaceful introduction and development of democracy in India.

The following remark of the *New York Tribune* deserves the best consideration of the British statesmen.

It is an impressive, and, we might say, a somewhat startling reflection that two of the greatest members of the freest and most enlightened empire of the world are practically the only two countries in the world still governed by irresponsible autocracy. Even Russia and China have become at least theoretical democracies. Germany is at this moment organizing a republic, and Persia and Turkey profess to be constitutional monarchies; while India and Egypt alone remain under administrations not accountable to the people. That is of course not to say that they are not governed for the benefit of the people. We believe that they are, to a much greater extent than some countries which have nominally democratic governments. But that is not sufficient. Your benevolent despotism may be the best possible government; so long as your despot remains benevolent. But you have no assurance of any such perseverance of the saints.

Supreme wisdom was expressed in Lincoln's formula. The people were to be governed, not merely for the people, but also by the people, and not merely by the people, but also for the people.

LAJPAT RAI.

HOW TO SERVE OUR VILLAGE

IT is often said that owing to want of funds the condition of our villages cannot be improved. It may be partly true. But the root cause is to be sought in the want of true and earnest desire for improvement rather than that of money or some other similar things. Should anybody really want to serve his village let him take first his residence in

a corner of the village and then the lesson from the account of a true and ideal worker given below which will speak for itself.

The account forms one of the birth stories of Buddha and it briefly runs as follows (Jataka, No. 31; Fausboll, Vol. I, P. 199):—

Once upon a time there was a householder named Magha-manava who regular-

ly kept the five commandments of the Buddhists. In the village in which Magha-manava lived there were just thirty families. One day the men of these families standing in the middle of the village were transacting the affairs of their village. The place on which Magha-manava was standing had been made comfortable by himself by removing the dust from it. But there came up another and took his stand there. Magha-manava made another place comfortable for himself, but it was also taken by another. Again and again he began afresh until he had made comfortable standing places for every man there. Another time he built a hall with seats and jars of water inside for the public or the strangers who might come to the village. Thus, as time went on, he won the hearts of the villagers who began to follow him always. Magha-manava inculcated in them the five Buddhist Commandments* and used to go about with them doing various good works. Now it came to pass that the villagers always in the company of Magha-manava getting up early and taking their different tools in their hands used to remove all stones out of the way that lay in the four highways and other roads of the village; they cut down the trees that stood in the way of the vehicles; then made rough places smooth, built causeways, and dug water-tanks; they built also a hall for the public, gave gifts to deserving persons, and kept their Commandments perfectly.

Before this when the villagers used to drink wine and commit murder and so forth, the village headman was very fortunate to make a lot of money not only by the dues paid by them for their jars of liquor, but also by the fines imposed upon them. He now naturally thought that it was Magha-manava that had put a stop to murder and other crimes by persuading the villagers to keep the Commandments and thus stopped his earnings also. So he went and reported falsely to the king that there was a gang of robbers committing destruction of the whole village, and in

accordance with the order from the king he brought before him all the men arrested as prisoners. The king without any inquiry into the matter sentenced the poor folks to be trampled to death by an elephant. The officers made them lie down in the royal courtyard and an elephant was brought accordingly. It goes without saying that Magha-manava was one of these accused and sentenced persons. He said to them exhorting: "Bear in your mind, brothers, the five Commandments. Love the slanderer, the king and the elephant equally, as you love your own body; love them all as you love your own friends!" They did so.

Now the elephant though led by the royal officers to the best of their might would not approach the men, but turned away trumpeting loudly. Elephants after elephants were brought up, but with no better result. It was then thought that the men might have had some drug in their persons and that was the reason why the elephants could not trample them. So a thorough search was made but nothing of the kind was found. It was then suggested again that there must have been some sort of *mantra* or spell that they were muttering, and it must be known. Accordingly they were all summoned before the king and it was put to them if they had any spell. Magha-manava replied in the affirmative. "Tell, then, what it is," said the king, and Magha-manava answered: "Sire, we have no other spell than this, that we are thirty men in all, we never kill any living being, we never take what is not given to us, we do not commit adultery, we do not tell a lie, nor do we drink any strong liquor; on the other hand, we give our friendly feeling towards all beings, we give what we have to give, we level roads, we dig tanks and build a hall for the public;—this is, O king, our spell, or protection or advantage as you may call it."

Well pleased was the king with them, he gave them all the wealth in the slanderer's house making him their slave; he gave them also the elephant and the village as well in which they lived.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

* Abstinence from life-slaughter, from theft, from adultery, from lying and from spirituous liquors.

SHOULD BRAHMOS CALL THEMSELVES HINDUS ?

THE question has been raised as to whether a person of Hindu lineage who contracts a marriage under Act III of 1872 (Civil Marriages Act) and has consequently to make a declaration that he is not a Hindu is guilty of any moral cowardice or delinquency in repudiating the religion of his ancestors. The members of the theistic or Brahmo Samaj (except those belonging to the Adi or original sect) marry under this Act, and on their behalf it has been contended that if they make the declaration knowing that they are Hindus, they are morally guilty, but if they do not believe themselves to be Hindus, they are quite justified in making it. This contention is of course perfectly correct, but the question to which pointed attention has been drawn by one of the most learned and respected members of the Adi Samaj still remains to be answered, viz., whether Brahmors of the more advanced sects can conscientiously call themselves Hindus. The opinion of this gentleman seems to be, that they not only can, but should call themselves Hindus, in order to get the benefit of the prestige that attaches to the name of Hindu, and because Hinduism does not necessarily connote idolatry. When those who make the declaration really feel in their hearts how dear the cognomen of Hindu ought to be to every one of Hindu origin, instead of repudiating the glorious national appellation, and submitting to the misrepresentation of foreigners, who take every Hindu to be an idolator, they will learn to take pride in it. Within the broad bosom of Hinduism, continues the gentleman alluded to above, there are various sects—idolators at the one end and pure theists at the other—but that is no reason why we should recant our glorious heritage. To this the objection has been raised, and rightly, that for the masses of its votaries,

Hinduism not only connotes idolatry, but also caste, and those who consider the institution of caste to be immoral cannot conscientiously call themselves Hindus. The question therefore ultimately resolves itself into this—Is caste essential for Hinduism ?

It is a vast question, and cannot be solved in a few words. Nevertheless some broad observations may be made, pointing the way to solution. The Adi Samaj has formally renounced image-worship, but not so caste, and this, we believe, is the crux of the situation. There is reason for this conservatism on the part of the Adi Samaj on the question of caste, in spite of its evident sympathy with reform. Ever since the Hindus have come to be known by that name, Varna Dharma or caste has formed an essential and inseparable element of Hinduism. It is therefore called Brahmanism, in which the supremacy of the Brahmin as the head of the social hierarchy is recognised, as distinguished from the religion of the ancient Indo-Aryans, founded upon the Veda. The expression 'Vedic Hindu' is really a misnomer and a contradiction in terms, for in the Vedic age there were no Hindus. The religion of the Aryans of the early Vedic age consisted of sacrifices, but they had no idols, no temples, and no caste, at least in the sense in which the word came to be understood in later times. Caste came into being in the later Vedic age, sometime before the rise of Buddhism. The earliest Buddhistic literature shows that it was already in full vogue, though of course it was then in a much more fluid condition, and its ramifications had not been so endless as now. The latest theory, started by Mr. Havell, regarding idolatry is that it came to India through the Bactrian Greeks, who professed Mahayana Buddhism and allowed their native love of idolatry full play in the Gan-

dhara sculptures. Certain it is that after the downfall of Buddhism, when neo-Brahmanism took its rise, it took over all the idolatry of the Buddhists, and set up temples for its gods. But Hindu philosophy gave the fullest scope to the human mind, and compelled none to be an image-worshipper. The Shastras contain numerous expositions of the doctrine of idolatry, and everywhere it is recognised to be only a means to an end—the concentration of the mind—and nowhere has it been made obligatory upon all; on the contrary, it has been universally admitted that it is not intended for cultivated minds, the higher *Adhikāris*, and that the supreme Brahman is formless. While the position of a patriotic and enlightened person of Hindu origin desiring to call himself a Hindu is not therefore complicated by insuperable conscientious scruples in respect to idolatry, his position in regard to the institution of caste is not so free from doubt; for a Hindu must be affiliated to some caste or other, and he can abjure it only when he renounces the world and becomes a sannyasin. But so long as he is in the world, he must belong to some caste and observe the rules of that caste in regard to food and marriage. If he be a Hindu of the more advanced type, he may call himself a Hindu and yet observe none of the restrictions as to food and marriage and may eat prohibited food and marry outside his caste for both of which practices sanction may be found in the ancient history of Hinduism. But further than this he cannot go, for he must belong to some caste or other if he is to retain the name of Hindu, and history furnishes no instance of a Hindu who has not been a member of a caste before his retirement from the world as a wandering monk.

Having stated the position of the conscientious abjector in the matter of calling himself a Hindu as clearly as possible, let us now see if his objection can be reasonably met. Now we all know that even orthodox Hindus of the modern times regard themselves as the lineal descendants of the Vedic Aryas, and however much the text of the Rig Veda may be tortured, we

do not get any clear trace of caste before we come to the Purusha Sukta of the tenth Mandala of the Rig-Veda. Class divisions there may have been, as among the Iranians of the Zend-Avesta, but certainly among the Vedic Aryas there was no caste as we understand it. This much being clear, a patriotic Hindu may refuse to admit caste distinctions and yet argue that he is a good Arya of the old Vedic type, and since the religion of the Vedic Aryans is regarded by the modern Hindus as synonymous with Hinduism, thus justifying its title of Sanātana Dharma or everlasting religion, he has as good a title to pass for a Hindu as anyone else. That this is the position of many persons who are still within the orthodox fold admits of no doubt. But with these persons it is yet a mere intellectual conviction, to which they have not the courage to give practical effect by openly renouncing caste. Small bodies of advanced Hindus have formed themselves into associations, like the Aryan Brotherhood Association of Bombay, who profess to have definitely cut off their connection with caste. The Arya Samaj also professes to have done this, but in practice, we are told, caste is not entirely ignored. The point of these social reform movements lies in the fact that though they do not recognise caste, those who have joined them regard themselves as Hindus, and would call themselves by no other name.

It may be asked, what remains of Hinduism, as its distinctive feature, if caste be abolished? The answer is not so difficult as it seems, if we have only the courage to face it. Hinduism, as we know, is not a credal, but an ethnic religion, and an ethnic religion is much more plastic and malleable than a credal religion with its set dogmas and formularies. Since the extinction of the ancient Greeks and Romans, Hinduism is the only great ethnic religion of the modern world, Mahomedanism, Christianity, and Buddhism being all religions of the credal type. Though these religions have a fixed creed, we find that a great deal of individual liberty of conscience is now allowed in Christianity in particular and if contemporary European writers

are to be believed, Christianity is a decaying religion, and a very small proportion of educated men who pass for Christians really believe in the Christian creed. In spite of this, few Europeans hesitate to call themselves Christians, though they may have no faith in the dogmas of Christianity. They would justify their position, if such justification were wanted, by pointing to the fact that Christianity does not connote a set of dogmas exclusively but also a certain type of culture and racial development. Persons belonging to the Christian races of Europe and America, inheriting the culture and traditions associated with these races, and subject to the historic evolution which they have undergone, are as much entitled to call themselves Christians as dogmatic followers of the Christian creed. It is for this reason that an Indian Christian will, with the majority of European Christians, remain so in name only, and will not be treated socially as one of their brotherhood. Now if those Christians of Europe and America who do not conform to the Christian creed do not care to repudiate the name of Christian, why should persons of Hindu origin, who are not required to adhere to any definite creed at all, feel impelled to recant the name of Hindu, simply because they do not observe caste-distinctions? They may say, with far more justice than Christians, that Hinduism is mainly a social system, and is the name given to a special type of culture. The word religion is not the same as the Dharma of the Hindus. To a Hindu, Dharma means the whole duty of man, and the sumtotal of his duties to self, family, society and the world constitutes his religion. Hinduism also denotes a special ethnic group, whose habitat is India, and which has been gradually formed out of the mixture of the original Aryans who migrated to Bharatavarsha with the ancient Dravidian and other non-Aryan races of India. The culture of this composite ethnic group—every great race in the world is a complex of various racial strands, and an absolutely 'pure' race is a myth—centres round

the Sanskrit language and literature, from which it derives all its traditions, and also all the innumerable associations of kinship, vague, undefinable, yet powerful, which unite this group in a bond of cultural affinity, and distinguish it from other similar groups. One can very well, it seems to us, call himself a Hindu in this sense, even though he repudiates two of its most common features, e. g., idolatry and caste, without proving false to his conscience. He may not be a Hindu in the generally accepted sense, but he need not feel any violent qualms or compunctious visitings of conscience for refusing to subscribe to mass-opinion in a matter of vital importance to his individual self.

What, then, will be the distinctive feature of his Hinduism? The answer is clear. To the rest of the world, he will still be a Hindu, for he does not subscribe to any particular creed, and belongs to a special ethnic group, inherits a distinct type of culture, and is the product of a definite historic evolution. In all these respects, he has a peculiarity which marks him off from the followers of the other religions of the world, and endows him with a distinct personality. His religious individuality will thus be preserved by a kind of negative process which is known in logic as division by dichotomy. He is not a Mahomedan, with whom he shares certain ethnic and linguistic characteristics, because he has no creed, however short; he is not a Buddhist, with whom he possesses strong cultural, but neither linguistic nor racial affinity (except with a small number of Indian Buddhists), for the same reason; he is not a Christian, with whom he is racially but not culturally or linguistically allied, also for the same reason. But to say this is not to suggest that such a Hindu will be distinguished by negative characteristics merely. He will have a positive culture, tradition and racial inheritance to call his own, and he will moreover have the glorious privilege, denied to the adherent of every other religion, of being absolutely unfettered by any creed in his intellectual and spiritual development,

For there is this great truth in the earnest and feeling protest of the learned member of the Adi Samaj referred to above, who wishes all persons of Hindu origin to call themselves Hindus and be proud of it, that a people can be great only by thinking greatly of itself, and it is much easier to achieve greatness with a great tradition of culture, running along the dim vista of ages into the immemorial past. It may be said in reply that to give up Hinduism is not to deprive oneself of its ancient culture, which may remain as much a living possession in the case of a convert as in that of a Hindu. A convert from Hinduism cannot, even if he would, efface his past. He, as much as his Hindu brother, is an heir to the ages, and both are equally entitled to take pride in the country's noble past, and in the glories of its ancient civilisation, for India is the common motherland of both. But however true this may be in theory, in practice the example of the Hindu converts to Islam shows us that even if the cultural affinity be strong in the first generation or two of converts, it soon becomes weak, and gradually becomes as good as extinct, by the superimposition of another culture, artificially grafted on the native culture. But though it is easy to forget, it is difficult to acquire, and in proportion as the new culture is great, with age-long associations and a special civilisation of its own, it is difficult for an outsider to grow into it, and so long as the convert does not do so, he remains a mere pariah at the gates, seeking entrance into a new heaven. If the new culture has no ancient traditions by the aid of which it can furnish its votaries with the requisite emotional sustenance, it may be assimilated at once, but it will not confer the prestige that belongs to the ancient religions, and not having reached the bed-rock of the heart by a slow process of hereditary evolution through hundreds of centuries with innumerable historic, social, political and spiritual links and inter-related associations, its roots will not drive deep, and the new culture will sit lightly on the descendants of the proselyte who do not owe their

religion to personal moral conviction. This argument, it may be urged, may be advanced against every great missionary religion which at its inception must *ex hypothesi* have been a new cult with few followers. But Christianity lived and prospered by adopting the Greco-Roman culture, and the gods of classical antiquity and many of its fasts and festivals were absorbed by Catholicism under a slightly veiled disguise. The same may be said of Buddhism in relation to Brahmanism; and Islam in India has likewise had to make terms with Hinduism in order to survive. Love of country, the sense of racial kinship and cultural affinity, are much stronger in these days than they ever were at any previous period of history. If the new culture of Brahmoism is based on the Vedanta philosophy, its Hindu affinity becomes apparent. In fact, by the followers of every other religion in India Brahmos are regarded as the most advanced section of Hindus and nothing else. Where is then the objection to call themselves Hindus, even if the orthodox section of the community refuse them this title, since they draw their religious inspiration from the monistic rationalism of the Upanishads? Moreover, it is something to belong to a large community—large in extent and numbers, and rich in intellectual inheritance. "Man as a unit is a poor thing, physically, morally, intellectually. Ability is the product of communities, of men formed into organisms, not of individuals.... No individual as an individual can achieve anything. Not till he feels he is a cell in a greater and more enduring life can he develop." (Fielding Hall). From this point of view also, it is well to be affiliated to a great people like the Hindus, provided there are no inseparable obstacles to be overcome. The heart of the patriotic Hindu yearns for his brothers and sisters who, at the call of conscience, broke away from the mother Church. Among these seceders are many of the makers of modern India. He longs to clasp them in his loving embrace, and share the common glory of their great names. Even the rigidly orthodox Hindu looks upon them as much nearer of kin than upon the followers of other religions.

Would they keep him at arm's length, and repudiate their patrimony ? Let them renounce idolatry and caste by all means—there are many Hindus who are intellectually convinced of their supremely deleterious effect on society and admire the moral courage of those who openly abjure them—but let them not cease to call themselves by the ancient designation of Hindus, so as to leave the path open for a reconciliation between the old and the new, not by a sacrifice of the essential elements of their faith, but by refusing to submit to the blind orthodoxy which would reserve that name for a particular brand of Hinduism, and thereby make it possible for advanced thinkers within the fold to join hands with them for the dissemination and ultimate adoption of more liberal views among the rank and file of the orthodox community leading to their open recognition as Hindus in the fullness of time.

Postscript :—It would seem to many that even polytheism is on the whole not so injurious to the country as the incubus of caste. The educated classes may render lip-service to the many gods of Hinduism, but practically they are monotheists, and recognise the unity of the godhead, and philosophical Hindus sometimes go even further. The lower classes, on the other hand, are idolators all the world over, whether they call themselves so or not, for they all pay homage to idols, eikons, images, pictures, paintings, saints, sadhus, pirs, prophets, ancestors, spirits, relics and the like, and associate special spiritual merit with pilgrimages to shrines reputed to be sacred. The only remedy for this state of things is education and more education, as the condition of the Russian moujik abundantly shows. In the meantime we may derive what consolation we may from the thought that the religiosity of the masses has had a potent effect in humanising their passions and fostering good will and sympathy in social relations. The institution of caste, too, was perhaps

at one time a powerful factor in holding the Hindus together in the face of adverse attacks, to which no other religion has been so liable. With the growth of racial and religious consciousness, however, the utility of caste in promoting cultural solidarity has vanished, and it now exerts a most baneful influence on the progress of the Hindus unmitigated by any relieving feature of any kind whatsoever. So long as the doctrine of promotion by merit had even qualified application, some justification might be urged for it ; but this is no longer the case, since caste-distinctions have attained absolute rigidity. With the very growth of the religious consciousness, again, the lower classes are becoming keenly conscious of their humiliating position within the bosom of Hinduism, and the spirit of revolt against irremovably fixed social barriers is daily gaining in strength. If Hinduism wants to prevent further weakening of its vitality by defections through mass-conversion, it must adjust itself to the new situation and habituate itself to think of the future of the religion without caste as an essential feature of its structure. The Adi Brahmo Samaj, too, must grapple with the problem of caste instead of fighting shy of it. It is only when the great body of the Hindus get accustomed to large and influential sections of the people calling themselves Hindus who neither admit polytheism nor caste that they will, with the adaptability that the absence of any creed confers on them, begin to feel that neither of these two institutions, which have, by promoting superstition and preventing solidarity, proved so baneful to their national advancement, is an essentially integral factor of the religion they profess. And it is only when such a feeling comes to be generally entertained among the Hindus that Hinduism will deserve to occupy the premier position among the great world-religions that we claim for it.

July 19, 1919.

A HINDU.

THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION ON INDIGENOUS SYSTEMS OF MEDICINE

NOTWITHSTANDING the introduction of the western system of medicine, the ancient indigenous systems continue to exercise considerable influence over the people at large, and large masses of the population have recourse to what is known as the Ayurvedic system among the Hindus and Unani system among the Musalmans. It is not necessary for our present purpose to consider how far either of these systems is founded on a true scientific basis, for it is plainly desirable that systems which have in the past deeply affected the life of important communities, and still exercise immense influence upon them, should form the subject of historical study and scientific investigation, especially as competent scholars are likely to be available for this purpose. Sir P. C. Ray, who has devoted a lifetime to the study of chemistry, has produced a work on the history of the Hindu system of chemistry which has met with unstinted praise from competent scholars. Dr. Girindranath Mukherji was some years ago awarded by the University a research prize for his investigations on the surgical instruments of the ancient Hindus, who had, it seems, made, in quite early times, progress which would have been deemed considerable in Europe towards the end of the eighteenth century.

"That the entire system of indigenous medicine, as practised in India, affords a fruitful field of study and investigation, is indeed clear from the testimony of many competent authorities. Dr. Hoernle, in the preface to his studies in the medicine of ancient India, observes :—

"Probably it will come as a surprise to many, as it did to myself, to discover the amount of anatomical knowledge which is disclosed in the works of the earliest medical writers of India. Its extent and accuracy are surprising, when we allow for their early age, probably the sixth century before Christ, and their peculiar methods of definition. In these circumstances, the interesting question of the relation of the medicine of the Indian to that of the Greeks naturally suggests itself. The possibility at least of a dependence of either on the other cannot well be denied when we know as a historical fact that two Greek physicians, Ktesis about 400 B. C. and Megasthenes about 300 B. C. visited or resided in Northern India."

"Dr. Neuburger in his history of medicine (vol. I, page 60) writes :—

"That Greek medicine adopted Indian medicines and methods is evident from the literature. The contact between the two civilisations first became intimate through the march of Alexander and

continued unbroken through the reign of the Diadochi and the Roman and Byzantine eras. Alexandria, Syria, and Persia were the principal centres of intercourse. Indian physicians' means and methods of healing are frequently mentioned by Græco-Roman and Byzantine authors as well as many diseases, endemic in India but previously unknown. During the rule of the Abbasides, the Indian physicians attained still greater repute in Persia, whereby Indian medicine became engrafted upon the Arabic, an effect which was hardly increased by the Arabic dominion over India. Indian influence under the guise of Arabic medicine was felt anew in the West. The apparently spontaneous appearance in Sicily in the 15th century of rhino-plastic surgery bespeaks a long period of Indo-Arabian influence. The plastic surgery of the 19th century was stimulated by the example of Indian methods; the first occasion being the news derived from India that a man of the brick-makers' caste, had, by means of a flap from the skin of the forehead, fashioned a substitute for the nose of a native"

"Similar testimony is furnished from a very different quarter. The late Surgeon-General Sir Pardey Lukis, sometime Principal of the Medical College, Calcutta, and later Director-General of the Indian Medical Service, said in the course of one of his public utterances :—

"I wish to impress upon you most strongly that you should not run away with the idea that everything that is good in the way of medicine is contained within the ringed fence of allopathy or western medicine. The longer I remain in India and the more I see of the country and the people, the more convinced I am that many of the empirical methods of treatment adopted by the Vaid and Hakims are of the greatest value, and there is no doubt whatever that their ancestors knew ages ago many things which are now-a-days being brought forward as new discoveries. For instance, during the last few years, there has been a considerable amount of talk about what is known as depurating, that is to say, the depriving of the system of salt. This arose from certain experiments carried out by Widai and Javal as a result of which it is recognised that in all cases of dropsy the greatest benefit can be obtained by restricting your patients to an entirely salt-free dietary. There is nothing new in this. This was known thousands of years ago in the East, and any Hakim would have told you long before Widai or Javal made their experiments that salt is contra-indicated in all dropsical affections."

"Equally emphatic is the assertion of Dr. Harold Brown, formerly of the Indian Medical Service, that 'there are a great many indigenous drugs which are of extreme utility but are little known to the students of western

medicine.' No arguments are needed to establish the position that a system which is described in these terms by some of the most distinguished exponents of the western system of medicine should be cultivated in an Indian university from the point of view of a historical, critical and scientific student. We do not suggest that, in a university of a modern type, it would be correct to establish degrees and diplomas in ancient systems of medicine with a view to authorise the recipients to undertake the practice of their profession. But we maintain that these systems of medicine deserve careful investigation in an Indian university from the point of view already indicated. The result of such a study would be to throw light on their origin and growth, the true basis of their structure and development. If adequate provision is made for this purpose in the reconstituted University, it is not unreasonable to hope that the exponents of the indigenous systems of medicine will gradually become linked with students trained according to the most approved western methods. The former will recognise that though their ancient system reached the height of a systematising, theorising school of thought, it lacked the freedom of individual action essential to the pursuits of real science and its evolution was prematurely arrested by an unscientific veneration for petrified dogmas. The modernists, as we may call them, will, on the other hand, realise that the ancient system possessed an imposing structure of empirical knowledge and technical achievement which cannot be safely ignored even in these days of rapid progress."—Vol. V, ch. XLII.

"The chairs of pharmacology and of the history of medicine are desirable on general grounds; but they are also desirable because it

is in connection with their teaching that effect should be given to the demand, fully justified, that the ancient systems of Indian medicine should receive attention by the University of Calcutta.

"It is clearly impossible that we should ask the university to undertake to train students on systems which ignore what has been done in science and medicine for centuries, although they have preserved valuable knowledge. As Sir Sankaran Nair, the Member for education, pointed out in a speech of March 24th, 1918, at the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi College at Delhi, the study of modern sciences is indispensable for medicine.

"His Excellency Lord Pentland struck the same note in a speech recently delivered at the opening of the Ayurvedic hospital in the Cochin State :—

"Medicine," he said, "whether it be called Ayurvedic, Unani, or western, must follow the same methods and the same aims and submit to the same tests....any system of medicine must be correlated with every advance in the allied sciences such as chemistry and physiology."

"There is an obvious and promising desire at the present moment among the numerous adherents of these systems for closer touch with modern scientific methods. In time no doubt they will be able to make available for the practitioners of western medicine the traditional knowledge which is of real value; and will reject, as western medicine continually rejects, those theories which are mere survivals, and cannot stand the test of experience. The distinction between Indian and western 'systems' of medicine will then disappear."—Vol. V, Ch. XLIV. X.

PARAGRAPHS FROM THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION REPORT

(1) Desire for Secondary Education—its origin.

"IN the West, the desire for increased facilities for secondary education draws its strength from a belief that, under the stress of modern life, the alertness of mind which a good education may engender, and the steadiness which it may impart both to judgment and character, are of increasing value alike to the individual and to the community. The economic and social conditions of to-day are liable, by reason of forces which are worldwide in their range of operation, to unforeseen fluctuation and change. They

offer therefore new opportunities to resourceful initiative and attach heavy disqualification to ignorance and unpreparedness. For this reason the whole nation is concerned in so improving its educational equipment from the primary school to the University as to increase the number of trained minds and rigorous personalities at its command.

"The individual also feels the need and advantage of better education. As industry and commerce extend, and as the functions of public administration grow more complex, a young man has a wider choice of careers. As a rule, however, he needs a good education to take

advantage of the choice.....The demand grows for schools which give a good education at a low fee.

"But, though private individuals profit by having such a school within reach, the advantage is not only theirs. The community gains from the average standard of training being raised....."—Vol. I, Ch. VIII.

(2) Neglect of the ablest youths—a national loss.

"The neglect of the ablest youths in the most critical years of their lives is, indeed, not only the most disheartening, but the most dangerous feature of the educational life of Bengal. For the fate and fortunes of every people depend upon the opportunities which it affords to its ablest sons, who must be the leaders and guides of the next generation in every field of national activity. If their minds are sterilised, if their intellectual growth is starved and stunted, the nation will as surely suffer as it will if it neglects the material resources which nature has bestowed upon it. It is almost a truism to say that the progress of every nation depends largely upon the abundance, the character and the training of its exceptionally gifted men. And while a soundly-devised educational system will not neglect the training of the ordinary mass of men, any system stands self-condemned which fails to make itself a means of selecting men of promise and of affording to them every possible opportunity of bringing their powers to full fruition, not for their own advantage alone, but for the commonwealth."—Vol. I, Ch. XIII.

(3) The Historical Method of Study.

"The historical method has come to be, during the last hundred years, so vital an element in all serious thought, and the historical point of view is so essential an element in the equipment of the leaders of any society which is to play an effective part in political development, that we feel the deficiency of the historical studies in the University system of Bengal to be a real danger. There is no point at which there is a greater need for the importation of a more scientific and liberal method into the teaching, and no aspect of the training of the educated classes of Bengal which needs more careful attention."—Vol. I, Ch. XIII.*

(4) The Spirit of the Time.

"More penetrating than words written or spoken is the spirit of the time. And that spirit challenges many traditional submissions; awakens new longings after self-realisation; tears off the mask of authority which is worn by some ancient traditions; and sends a current of disquiet and unrest even into the recesses of the home. Aroused by such a challenge, conservatism shows itself in self-defence the more conservative. And, in retort, innovation wears its most defiant look. The current, which in some natures stimulates individualism, may for

a time polarise old and new ideas in the sphere of women's education in Bengal. But there are signs of a desire for some adjustment between the new ideals and the old, and for some accommodation between what the West offers and what the East can teach."—Vol. I, Ch. V.

(5) Western political ideas must effect social transformation in the zenana.

".....the demand of women for political rights in western countries is not due to, though it has been facilitated by, the improved education of women: there have been periods in western history when women, in important circles of society, were just as well educated as men, without any such results.. The modern women's movement in all western countries, which has gone far in Britain only because Britain is politically further advanced than most other countries, is the inevitable consequence of the political ideas which have been adopted in western lands during the last hundred years. Sooner or later, in every country which adopts these ideas, the question of the position and rights of women must inevitably be raised; for in every land which has accepted them, these ideas have brought about a gradual, and sometimes a sudden and violent, social transformation.

"It is not, therefore, by merely denying an efficient education to women that great social changes can be averted. They may be delayed by such means, though perhaps only at the cost of a widening gulf between the thoughts and aims of men and women. But social changes, which must ultimately be of a far-reaching character, can only be prevented by shutting the door (if that were possible) against the political theories and methods of the West. The process of change must be painful. It cannot be made in one sphere of life, the political, without ultimately affecting all the rest; and if it is to be carried out without the most tragic of domestic misunderstandings, it can only be by giving to women that degree of education which will enable them, in partnership with their men, gradually and healthily to adjust the conditions of Indian life to the needs of a new age.

".....For themselves, they [educated Indians] have accepted the ideas of the West, more or less fully. Many of them are even eager to give practical expression in the institutions of India to those political ideas and systems of the West which have, wherever they have been adopted, been the provoking cause of a radical transformation, often painful, in the whole social order. Yet they long to be able to say to the tide of advancing change, when it approaches the *purdah*, 'thus far and no further.' But this is not a permanently defensible attitude. The only solution must be a resolute attempt to achieve a real synthesis, not in women's education alone, between the ideas and traditions of the West and the ancient and rooted ideas

and traditions of India. But this reconciliation of eastern and western ideas cannot be limited to a single sphere."—Vol. II, Ch. XIV.

(6) True National Service.

"Those aspirations of human nature which are most deeply satisfied by a steadfast and active religious faith have, in the case of many students, sought fulfilment in devotion to the cause of the nation. In so far as this devotion represents loyalty to a disinterested ideal and evinces an eagerness for personal service and sacrifice, no one would withhold respect or even admiration from those actuated by such motives, which indeed in their nobler manifestations are wholly consonant with deep religious conviction. But as we have seen, there are instances in which the appeal to religion has been used for unworthy ends.

An education which strikes deeper into character and gives fuller insight into the complex realities of life and duty is needed to protect boys and young men against morbid self-delusion and to instil that steadiness of moral and intellectual discernment which they need in order to distinguish between false patriotism and true. In any event, many of them will not win their way to serenity of mind without agony of thought and long self-discipline."—Vol. II, Ch. XIX.

(7) Blind acceptance of the old faith impossible.

"In such a situation as the present it would be vain to expect blind acceptance of an old tradition. The better, indeed the only, way is to give the student such a training and outlook as will enable him to fight his doubts and to gather strength with which to face the spectres of the mind, to slay them and thus at length to rest in a faith which by his effort he has made his own. This faith may still be the old faith, but it will be the old faith definitely appropriated by his heart and mind, and will thus be more truly than before his own."—Vol. II, Ch. XIX.

(8) Modern Education in Bengal.

"Modern education in Bengal has justified itself not only in the talent and scholarship of the eminent men whom the province has produced and in the efficiency and uprightness of the public services, but in an even more impressive way in the trustworthiness, devotion to duty and self-respect which are the honourable characteristics of the educated community and disclose themselves unobtrusively in thousands of quiet lives. The life of the student body, viewed in its broad aspects, is sound and healthy and is supported by much steadiness of individual character, by high standards of conduct, and by the influence of good homes."—Vol. IV. Ch. XXXIX.

(9) Not only the highest but all western education useful.

"I think, and it is a matter of deep conviction with me, that in the present circumstances of India, *all* western education is valuable and useful. If it is the highest that under the circumstances is possible, so much the better. But even if it is not the highest, it must not on that account be rejected. I believe the life of a people—whether in the political or industrial or intellectual field—is an organic whole, and no striking progress in any particular field is to be looked for unless there be room for the free movement of the energies of the people in all fields. To my mind the greatest work of western education in the present state of India is not so much the encouragement of learning as the liberation of the Indian mind from the thralldom of old-world ideas, and the assimilation of all that is highest and best in the life and thought and character of the West. For this purpose not only the highest but *all* western education, is useful."—Quoted from Mr. Gokhale's speech on the Universities Bill of 1904, in Vol. IV, Ch. XXXIX.

(10) Causes of the growth of secondary education.

"A fourth cause [the other three causes being economic pressure, the awakening of new ambitions, and the desire for industrial careers] has furthered the growth of secondary and college education during recent years. Thoughtful Indian opinion frets under the stigma of illiteracy which, inspite of the high attainments of a relatively small minority, the country has still to bear. Every advance which India makes towards a place of direct influence in the affairs of the Empire throws into sharper relief the ignorance under which the masses of her people labour. The educated classes are sensitive to this blot upon the good name of their country and feels that it lowers the prestige of India in the eyes of the world. They approve therefore of any extension of education, believing that an increase in the numbers of any kind of school will directly or indirectly lessen the mass of ignorance which is the heaviest drag upon the progress of India. On a narrow view of their own interests the educated classes might demur to making higher education accessible to scores of thousands of new aspirants to careers which are limited in number and already over-crowded. It is well understood that one result of the growth of new high schools will be to intensify the competition for a restricted number of posts and therefore to prevent salaries from rising. But any disposition to limit educational opportunities on this account is overborne by a conviction that the country needs more education, and by a faith that the liberal encouragement of new schools will in the long run prove the wisest policy. Such encouragement is believed to be in the interests

even of those who already enjoy access to the kind of education which, if it were limited to them, would have an enhanced pecuniary value. Much of the zeal for secondary education springs from non-self-regarding motives, and works against what might appear to be self-interest. It is this belief in education for its own sake, a belief which, though often vague and indiscriminating, is ardent and sincere, that gives its chief significance to the movement now spreading in Bengal."—Vol. IV, Ch. XXX.

(11) The effect of the prevailing illiteracy on intellectual growth.

"The most serious handicap of the Indian student is the intellectual atmosphere which he has to breathe. I need not say that no disparagement of the Indian intellect is implied in this statement. What I refer to is simply the outcome of well-recognised sociological conditions peculiar to India and more specially to India in the mufassal, at this stage of her progress: (i) There is the great mass of illiteracy all round. I am not speaking here of illiteracy in the student's own immediate circle of relations and friends, but of the illiteracy among those whom personally he may not know at all. It would be interesting to trace out some of the subtle pervasive ways in which this great mass of illiteracy is operative as an influence not only on the student (though he perhaps is most affected) but also to a greater or less extent upon all who have to live and work in India....The general effect is a sort of aridity or sterility which is not favourable to normal many-sided intellectual growth. (ii) There is the fact that even when literacy is present it is usually a one-sided affair, hardly as yet affecting women to any appreciable degree. (iii) Only too frequently is the student an isolated unit in his family, in his social circle, or, it may be, even in his neighbourhood." Mr. M. B. Cameron, of the Canning College, Lucknow, cited in Vol. IV, Ch. XXX.

(12) Ancient and Modern Educational Thought.

"Each of the traits which Mr. Trivedi selects as being characteristic of education in ancient India (its identification with religious belief, the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, the admission of the poor to learning, the personal tie between teacher and taught, the setting apart of a special class for the duty of teaching, freedom from detailed control by Government) has also been characteristic, at different times and in different degrees and forms, of one or more of the various traditions which have shown themselves indestructible in the complex fabric of education in the West. But modern educational thought in the West is affected by three fundamental assumptions, viz. (1) that the whole nation, without exception, should have access to educational opportunity; (2)

that education should be equally accessible to both sexes; and (3) that attendance at school should be compulsory for every one up to an appointed age-limit. The growing influence of these ideas upon Indian opinion is manifest, though the difficulty of their practical application in India is obvious."—Vol. IV, Ch. XXX.

(13) Vernacular education must be improved.

"No young man in England would be considered to have received a sound and good education unless he possessed a mastery over his own vernacular, had learnt to avoid grammatical errors and had acquired a taste for the niceties of the idioms of his mother-tongue....We are emphatically of opinion that there is something unsound in a system of education which leaves a young man, at the conclusion of his course, unable to speak or write his own mother-tongue fluently and correctly. It is thus beyond controversy that a systematic effort must henceforth be made to promote the serious study of the vernaculars in secondary schools, intermediate colleges and in the University. The elaborate scheme recently adopted by the University for the critical, historical and comparative study of the Indian vernaculars for the M. A. examination is but the coping stone of an edifice of which the base is yet to be placed on a sound foundation, and it is only when such a structure has been completed that Bengal will have a literature worthy of the greatness and civilisation of its people."—Vol. IV, Ch. XLII.

(14) Bengal must be Bilingual.

"...few even of the most ardent and eloquent advocates of the use of the vernacular are of opinion that Bengali has yet reached a stage at which it would suffice for the teaching of the majority of those branches of western education which form an essential part of the university curriculum. There is an overwhelming mass of opinion pointing to the use of English as the chief medium from the end of the intermediate stage upwards :....

"...We are disposed to think that the educated classes in the various provinces of India, will, like those of some other countries, both in the British dominions and elsewhere, wish to be bilingual; to use their mother-tongue for those dear and intimate things which form part of life from infancy upwards, and which are the very breath and substance of poetry and of national feeling; to use English as a means of inter-communication necessary for the maintenance of the unity of India, and of touch with other countries; for the mutual interchange and stimulation of ideas in the sphere of scholarship and science; and for the promotion of that interprovincial and international commerce and industry on which the economic future of India will largely depend....

"Those of us acquainted with British conditions do not find the bilingual Welsh student in any way handicapped when he comes to an English speaking university, nor do we think that bilingualism is felt to be a handicap to intellectual development in such countries as Belgium and Switzerland. More and more in the larger European countries are the pupils (largely by the use of the direct method) acquiring, with less than half the school-time and less than half the home work devoted in India to the study of English, a working mastery of a second living language. The results already obtained in some Madras schools show how practicable reform may be in Bengal.....

"Our general aim is to make the educated classes of Bengal bilingual. But, like our predecessors, we lay stress on the continued necessity of improving the vernaculars, through which the results of western as well as of eastern knowledge can alone be conveyed to the masses of the people."—Vol. V, Ch. XLII.

(15) Industrial Training.

"The problem of training in mechanical engineering in Bengal differs essentially from the corresponding problem in England because of the averseness of so many high-caste Bengalis to use their hands and because unlike the English youth who wishes to become a mechanical engineer, and who in accordance with universal tradition does the work of an ordinary workman and accepts the pay of an ordinary apprentice during his training, the average Bengali youth regards such work and such pay as beneath his dignity and is therefore unable to acquire the practical experience necessary to make a successful mechanical engineer.

"We believe with the Industrial Commission and with the majority of the firms whom we have consulted that the demand for engineers trained in India is bound to increase; and though some firms are doubtful as to whether India can ever train responsible engineers, we think the successful experience on the civil engineering side, and the fact that there are now successful chemical works, porcelain works, tile works, and tanneries in Bengal entirely run and managed by Indians, shows that there is every reason to believe that Bengal will be able before long to produce highly trained Indian mechanical engineers. But for that development to take place successfully we feel that the concurrence of the engineering firms is essential."—Vol. V, Ch. XLVI.

(16) Effect of Muslim Education on Indian Unity.

"But in this new movement of the Muslim community towards higher education there lies the presage of an intellectual unity which would lessen, if it might not obliterate, the breaches caused by ancient divisions and by deep differences in cultural tradition. A greater equality

in point of culture might strengthen the forces which make for harmony and co-operation between the two main sections of the Bengal population; the whole community would be the stronger by the abatement of those misunderstandings and antagonisms which have a long history behind them and still affect the inner life of the country; social reform would be rendered less difficult were some of the estrangements modified by the influence of friendships formed at school and college; and a gradual lessening of the power of old divisions would make the people of Bengal more homogeneous for the manifold and arduous tasks which await it."—Vol. V, Ch. XLIX.

(17) Historical archives and research.

"All over India there exist vast masses of unorganised and unexplored historical material in many languages: not merely the contents of the Government archive rooms but many family collections, and many records of existing or former Indian Governments, such as the admirably kept archives of His Exalted Highness the Nizam at Hyderabad, or the large Marhatta collections at Poona. The history of India cannot be fully explored until these collections are made available. They are not made effectively available merely by throwing open the archive rooms to scholars. A student of the first two decades of the nineteenth century, for example, ought to work not only at the archives in the British muniment rooms, but at the Marhatta archives, the Nizam's archives, the Sikh archives at Lahore, and a multitude of other collections. Even if he could find the time for such exploration, he would find his materials in many languages and in many scripts.

"What is necessary is that all the most valuable of these materials should be printed, the most important documents in full, selections from the less important in summaries, and translated into English. This work can only be carried out by a great co-operative enterprise; it cannot be achieved by the sporadic endeavours of isolated university scholars. Like the corresponding treatment of the English archives, which are in some ways, though more complete, less complex and varied, it will only be possible if it is undertaken by Government, enlisting the services of a large number of scholars drawn from among the university teachers of all parts of India, fixing the main plan of the work, and entrusting to qualified men, under a competent general editorship, the production of a great series of *monumenta historica Indica*. The result of such an enterprise would be, not merely that the materials for Indian history would be made available, but, what is far more important, that the methods and spirit of sane and scholarly historical investigation would receive an immense stimulus in all the universities, like the stimulus which was given to English

historical scholarships by the preparation of the Rolls Series and the Record Office publications. India needs nothing more than a wide diffusion of that sanely critical spirit in dealing with men and institutions which historical investigation should create. This spirit will grow but slowly if it is left to the disconnected and unassisted spontaneous effort of individuals."—Vol. V, Ch. L.

(18) Fellowship among the Empire's Centres of Thought.

"In the coming unification of the British commonwealth, no small part will be played by the universities; for the commerce of ideas must be yet more potent in bringing about mutual comprehension between the various elements in a great co-operation than the commerce of material things. To the cultivation and expansion of this commerce of ideas, from which all the participants will profit, too little attention has yet been given. And in the reorganisation of the intellectual life of India, which must accompany its political development if that is to have permanent fruits, it is as necessary that there should be more organic intellectual relations with the other great members of our partnership of peoples as that there should be more organic political relations. The British universities have been, in some sense, the parents of the university systems of all the British lands, as the British parliament has been the parent of their political systems. But there has been, in the one sphere even more than in the other, too little organised intercourse and mutual assistance. The British universities have yet much to give to their daughters; but the daughters have also much to give in return. It is needful that attention should be given to this aspect of our partnership of nations, and that we should find some mode of organised fellowship among the Empire's centres of thought, of such kind as will in no way restrict or interfere with the freedom of each to cultivate its own garden, in its own way."

"We believe that it is at this stage, in post-graduate research work, that the best work can be done by Indian students going to Britain; and we look forward with hope to the time when there will be a steady stream of well-trained and well-qualified young Indian graduates and young Indian professors, going to Britain and in a less degree to other English-speaking lands, for a period of training in the methods of research, and meeting at the great British centres students who have come for a similar purpose from all parts of the British Commonwealth. In bringing about such a result, Government must necessarily play a principal part. On the other hand we anticipate that in due time, when the Indian universities have been reorganised, and have developed great schools of learning particularly in those subjects which ought to be specially their own,

there will be a counter-stream of British researchers, from all the nations of the commonwealth, coming to take advantage of the revival of the ancient learning of India."—Vol. V, Ch. L.

(19) An Educational Tax Advocated.

"On all hands, during our travels in Bengal, we have heard the demand that Government should give more for education. Often enough those who make this legitimate claim seem to figure Government as sitting upon a huge and inexhaustible treasure-chest, from which it dispenses niggardly bounty, and they seem to imagine that it is greater 'generosity' on the part of Government which is required. [*This is hardly a fair presentation of the popular point of view. The people think that the State treasure-chest is depleted and squandered by extravagant waste of public funds in the shape of excessive civil and military expenditure. If such waste were stopped, there would be sufficient money for a wider spread and a far better system of education.*] But if Bengal is to have a better system of education, Bengal must pay for it, and only Bengal can pay for it; and that what Government has to show is not 'generosity', but courage in levying the necessary taxation, a courage not to be expected until it is plain that those who will have to pay the taxes are ready to do so. Either in the form of fees, or in the form of gifts, or in the form of taxes, Bengal must pay more if it wishes to escape from the vicious circle of its present education, and to give to its youth a training which will fit them more adequately to play their part in the world...."

".....If it is urged that the taxpayers of Bengal are too poor to be able to pay for the advantages of such an improved education, our answer is that Bengal is too poor to be able to afford the waste of ability which is caused by the present system. It squanders her most valuable asset, which is the brain-power and moral vigour of her sons: in a grave degree it fails to turn their great abilities towards the most socially useful ends; it does little to train their powers of initiative, and to inculcate independence of mind and judgment. A change which will help in getting rid of these shortcomings in the present system of education and which will give a stimulus to the capacity for public service in new careers will in the long run be an economy, as well as in other ways a boon to Bengal; and through Bengal, to India and the world."—Vol. V, Ch. LI.

(20) New and inadequately provided branches of study in the University of Calcutta.

"1. New branches of study, at present not represented in the University of Calcutta or its Colleges in which, as funds allow, teaching might advantageously be undertaken:—

- (i) Indian vernaculars, (ii) Hebrew and Syriac, (iii) Greek and Latin, (iv) French, German and other

European languages, (v) Phonetics, (vi) Geography, (vii) Palæontology, (viii) Entomology, (ix) Bio-chemistry, (x) History of medicine, (xi) Meteorology, (xii) Aeronautics, (xiii) Naval architecture, (xiv) Agriculture, (xv) Forestry, (xvi) Sciences of leather industries, (xvii) Colour Chemistry, (xviii) Metallurgy, (xix) Sciences of textile industries, (xx) Ethnology, (xxi) Religions, (xxii) Sociology, (xxiii) Architecture, (xxiv) Indian graphic arts, (xxv) Indian music, (xxvi) Indian numismatics.

"2. Further development is desirable in the following branches of study already existing in the University of Calcutta or its colleges. The provision in some of these subjects is quite inadequate :—

(i) Comparative philology, (ii) English, (iii) Sanskrit, (iv) Pali, (v) Arabic, (vi) Persian, (vii) Tibetan, (viii) Chinese, (ix) Japanese, (x) Philosophy, (xi) Experimental psychology, (xii) Education, (xiii) Physical education, (xiv) History, including Islamic history, (xv) Jurisprudence, (xvi) Economics and Commerce, (xvii) Statistics, (xviii) Physics, (xix) Chemistry, (xx) Botany, (xxi) Zoology, (xxii) Physiology, (xxiii) Bacteriology, (xxiv) Mining, (xxv) Engineering, mechanical and electrical."—Vol. V, Ch. LI.

(21) Woman's Education.

"Were no changes whatever to be made in the training of girls, inevitable developments in the education of boys and young men would affect the spirit and the atmosphere [of the Hindu home]...year by year, the intellectual gap between the men and the women in the home would widen... It will be a good thing if wise changes in the education of women bring about closer intellectual companionship between wife and husband without injury to those most precious of all the attributes of the good Indian woman, her selfless devotion and her sense of religious duty.....

"...[It [education of woman] can induce that attitude of mind which is reverent and loyal towards the spiritual wisdom of the past and yet sure in its discrimination of false from true. It can give a tenderness which is not weakened by timidity, a simplicity which is not ignorance, a freedom which is not disobedient. The woman is true guardian of the early education of the race, and she herself must have that which she alone can impart in turn to them. The way to much of what is best in education lies through the education of girls and women. And, as the ancient lawgiver [Manu] said, 'Where the women of a house are satisfied and happy, the gods are pleased.'—Vol. I, Ch. V.

"...the character of the education given to the few girls who go to high schools is dictated by an examination which ignores their peculiar needs, and the kind of life most of them will lead, and omits some of what ought to be the essential elements in their short and precious period of training; an examination which they will probably never attempt, and which, if they were to pass it, would only admit them to courses

that they have no prospect of following."—Vol. II, Ch. XIV.

"If the leaders of opinion in Bengal are ready to recognise the supreme importance of a rapid development of woman's education and of an adaptation of the system to Indian needs and conditions, and if they are willing to spend time and thought and money in bringing it about, the question will gradually solve itself. Otherwise there must lie before this country a tragic and painful period of social dislocation and misunderstanding, and a prolongation of the existing disregard of those manifold ills in a progressive society which only an educated womanhood can heal."—Vol. IV, Ch. XXXVI.

(22) The Student's Poverty.

".....the extreme poverty of his home. Education in Bengal often entails the utmost strain upon the family purse. Great sacrifices are made by parents who can ill afford it, in order to send their boys to school or college. In many cases savings are exhausted in meeting this expense, and money is borrowed to defray the cost of what cannot, in the interests of the boy and his family, be foregone."—Vol. I, Ch. V.

"The sacrifices made by these families and by the boys themselves in order to get education are severe and silently borne. Higher education in Bengal is being bought at the price of self-denial and, in many cases, of actual hunger. To the members of the respectable classes English high schools are a social necessity. They are desperately anxious that their boys should be able at the lowest possible cost to get the kind of education which will help them to livelihood in a career consonant with their sense of dignity and with what are felt to be the claims of their social position."—Vol. IV, Ch. XXX.

"Most conspicuous among the social conditions which affect this side of university organisation is the widespread poverty among educated families in Bengal. Many of our witnesses describe this poverty in depressing but not exaggerated terms. This poverty, while it continues, will forbid a material increase in the general rate of school or college fees. [The Commission, however, recommends educational taxation, against which the same objection may be urged]. The industrial and commercial development of the Presidency, by enhancing the wealth of the whole population, can alone provide the resources which will be needed for the provision of educational facilities and advantages adequate to the aspirations of the people."—Vol. IV, Ch. XXXIX.

(23) Government Control of the University.

".....Not only was the Viceroy, as Chancellor, empowered to nominate an overwhelming majority of the senate (a possible 80 of the non-official members); his approval was made necessary [by the Act of 1902] for the election of the

remaining 20; and the Government of India retained the power, conferred upon it by the Act of 1857, of cancelling any appointment. Moreover, the Vice-Chancellor, the chief executive officer of the University, was to be appointed by the Government; all regulations of the University must be submitted to the Government for its approval; all affiliations and disaffiliations of colleges must be finally determined by it; all professors, readers, and lecturers of the University must be approved by it; in short, almost every detail of university policy was made subject to its supervision.

".....The universities of India are, under the terms of the Act of 1902, in theory, though not in practice, among the most completely governmental universities in the world."—Vol. I, Ch. III.

"Even in the existing type of university it may well be doubted whether a government control so minute and detailed as that imposed by the present system is likely to produce the best results.

.....But the system, as it now works, has some manifest drawbacks,.....the greatest of these drawbacks is one which is apt to be ruinous to any system of administration, the weakening of responsibility.....

".....We think it necessary to say that, in our judgment, detailed Government control, which is unsatisfactory even in universities of the affiliating kind, mainly concerned with administrative work, is likely to be even more unsatisfactory when applied to a real teaching university.

".....The essence of a real university is freedom of teaching....."—Vol. III, Ch. XXVIII.

"A plan of educational reform based upon a transference to the Department of Public Instruction, as the latter is now constituted in its relation to Government, of the responsibility of the recognition of schools now exercised by the University, would be regarded as a reactionary measure and as a menace to educational freedom. The intensity of the feeling must be borne in mind by all who may be responsible for proposing changes in the educational system of Bengal. The feeling springs from a conviction, or it might be truer to say from an instinct, that education should not be controlled in all its vital issues by a bureaucracy, however competent and disinterested, acting in the name of the Government. State action and state supervision are necessary as factors in educational policy. But they should leave a wide margin for the exercise of free initiative, even at the cost of what may seem to be waste of energy and some disregard of the intellectual standards accepted as authoritative by the expert opinion of the time....."—Vol. IV, Ch. XXXI.

(24) Sanskrit studies should be placed on a footing of equality with Islamic studies at the Dacca University.

"We are informed.....that strong representations were made on behalf of the Hindu commu-

nity urging that Sanskrit studies should be placed in Dacca on the same footing as the Islamic, and that Government expressed its approval of this proposal in 1913. In view however of the financial stringency created by the war it was decided in 1915 to abandon this portion of the scheme for the time being.

"We think it would be greatly to the advantage of the University of Dacca if Sanskrit studies could be given the position in the University approved by the Government of India, and that the two schools of Islamic and Sanskrit studies would gain by their co-existence in the same University. In any case, a full and adequate place should be given to Sanskrit in Dacca, especially in view of its nearness to an important centre [Vikrampur] of Sanskrit studies.

".....In many ways the opportunities of Dacca will be unique. We hope it will serve as a new home for the study of that Arabic philosophy and science which gave fresh intellectual life to Europe during the middle ages; that Sanskrit studies will find a worthy and equal place alongside Islamic studies; and that in this quiet intellectual centre in the great plains and waters of Eastern Bengal, and in touch with a historic city, there may spring up a fresh synthesis of eastern and western studies. These are the possibilities of Dacca."—Vol. IV, Ch. XXXIII.

[In Calcutta also, the commission recommended the establishment of an Islamic College for which land has already been acquired by Government; and they say, "we are anxious to see one [institution] at least which will specialise in orthodox Brahminical learning; and the Sanskrit College obviously furnishes a valuable nucleus for the purpose" (Ch. XLII). The object is that eastern scholars may unite with their unrivalled knowledge of the oriental classics an acquaintance with the critical methods of the West. ".....the future of India depends upon finding a civilisation which will be a happy union of the Hindu, Islamic, and European civilisations." (Ch. XLII). In the Dacca University Bill no provision has been made for Sanskrit studies.]

(25) Obiter Dicta.

"The educational pyramid, though still a pyramid, has narrower basis and a broader apex than elsewhere. The tendency of an enlightened policy in the future must be to change this state of things, not by whittling away the apex, but by broadening the base..."—Ch. LI.

"For the educated Indian of today the mastery is English. English, then, is indispensable to the higher education of India at this time. It cannot be foregone. The instinct of the people is right. It is not merely that for the Indian student English is an instrument of livelihood. It is more than that. It is a pathway leading into a wider intellectual life."—Ch. VIII.

"The Bengali student, like many a student in other lands, feels upon his mind the pull of two loyalties, the loyalty to the old order and the loyalty to the new. But in his case the difficulty of combining these two loyalties is very great. Each loyalty needs fuller and clearer definition to him. He finds it hard to light upon any real adjustment between them. Therefore, it is often his fate to lead what is in effect a double intellectual life. He is two-minded and lives a parallel life in the atmosphere of two cultures. He too, as a great administrator from Europe said of his own life in India, has to keep his watch set for two longitudes, and indeed for more than two longitudes. It is not only with Calcutta and London, but with New York, Chicago, and Tokyo that the intelligent young Bengali has to keep in time."—Ch. V.

(26) Value of University Examinations.

"We desire to add one final word in regard to the value which should in our judgment be attached to examination certificates and degrees. We regard them as passports to careers, for which the university certifies the suitability of the holders. But those passports should not be regarded as valid for a lifetime. Ten years or so after a man has taken his degree (especially if this has been awarded, like the majority of degrees, on the result of performance in an examination room, and not on the result of his own original investigation), he ought to have done his work in the world in such a way that he is judged by that, and not by his examination answers, or even by a more complete record of his early youth. Conversely, it should be no reproach to a man that he has done badly in an examination, if by his subsequent work he has retrieved an early failure, which may, in some cases, have been due to illness or misfortune. We think it absurd that a man who has obtained only a low honours degree should be debarred from preferment for all time when by personal achievement in original work, in administration, or in teaching, he has shown himself capable of beating his early competitors in the real work of life. Examination results may show capacity and promise. But it is by a man's performance, in which character counts so largely, that he ought to be finally judged, in the university as elsewhere."—Vol. II, Ch. XVII.

"In no university do all the brightest minds necessarily find a place in the first class, and the most inspiring teacher or investigator may be a man with relatively poor academic qualifications. [Footnote: Thus John Richard Green, the historian, took a pass degree at Oxford, Darwin took a poor degree at Cambridge, Faraday never went to a university]. Moreover this criterion wholly breaks down when the claims of teachers educated in other countries, in England or America, have been equated with those of Calcutta graduates."—Vol. IV, Ch. XXXIV.

(27) A New Synthesis of the East and West.

"At the present time, however, a growing number of the younger minds in India feel the need of industrial enterprise, and of individual freedom from what they judge to be obsolete restraints. And, simultaneously, an overgrowing body of opinion in the West seeks to set further limits upon individual profit-making and, so far as the circumstances of each great department of production and distribution allow, to supplement, if not to supersede, private profit by collective control. Each tendency is conditioned by the need for safeguarding the play of its corrective opposite. But this drawing together of East and West towards a central point of balance between communal organisation and free scope for individual enterprise suggests the possibility of a synthesis in regard to the structure and maintenance of which East and West may learn each from the other's experience."—Vol. I, Ch. V.

(28) The Discipline of Indian Students.

"In class the Bengali student is generally well-behaved: and in the Indian school and college, some of the minor worries which confront the teacher in other countries are noticeably absent. These observations are confirmed by the experience of two important colleges in Bengal. Dr. Watt and his colleagues at the Scottish Churches College state that they "have little difficulty in the matter of discipline." The staff of the Serampore College "have experienced little or no difficulty in maintaining the necessary discipline among the students."

"But while the student is, as a rule, obedient to laws and regulations, his obedience appears to be passive rather than active. He does not wish to create trouble, but, on the other hand, he rarely realises his essential oneness with the college; his loyalty to it, his co-operation in its life and discipline, is not active enough; his attachment to the college is not sufficiently deep to stand a sudden violent strain."...—Vol. II, Ch. XIX.

(29) The Student in Bengal.

"If a general inventory be taken of his powers and disabilities, the Indian boy living in Bengal will be found to come up to a good average, when he is compared with his like in other countries." The conception of the orthodox Brahmin family has, according to the members of the Commission, "in it more than the vestige of a noble doctrine of fellow service, of other-worldliness, of renunciation." The Bengali student has, according to the same body, "a very retentive memory and good powers of hearing." His power of imaginative sympathy (with which is associated a feeling for rhythm and a gift for music) goes hand in hand with sensitiveness and diffidence, and sometimes a disposition to form too favourable an estimate of their own attainments and powers. "He has

'the inward eye' but sees too little with the outward eye. In him the eye of the mind is more developed than the eye of the body." His linguistic capacity is remarkable. "In no part of the continent of Europe are there so many men and women who speak the English language with faultless accuracy of authorised phrase as among the highly educated Indian community.....the mastery of the English tongue possessed by so large a number of educated Bengalis only fails to excite admiration because it has become familiar through everyday's experience." Aptitude for number exists side by side with a defective sense of time: "Even today there are traces of the vagueness about chronology which is found in the *Puranas* with their vast and cloudy æons, cycles, and *yugas*." "In a disposition so impressionable as that of the Bengali student, and so responsive to new ideas; with a mind which can skim quickly over the unfamiliar region of another's thought, and yet is housed in a body for whose vigorous health but little care is given, it is inevitable that there should sometimes be a pause of hesitation between insight and action, a mal-adjustment between knowledge and will. There are however, according to the Commission, two capital defects in the Bengali student's character. One is instability. "And it is perhaps to this trait in his temperament that is due his lack of endurance in working his way with stubborn, undeflected purpose through the granite of a difficult subject. Of drudgery indeed he is capable, at times only too capable.... He displays powers of absorption and of unceasing, though rather mindless, toil. But these are very different powers from those exerted by a man who digs his way through the intractable mass of a difficult subject, applying at every stage in his progress all his mental power to the problem of the next advance." The other defect is that he is "deficient in the capacity for complex co-ordination, whether in the sphere of thought or of action.....a certain degree of weakness in the grasp of complex factors, in their adjustment to one another and in keeping them in equilibrium, be it in the study of a complicated intellectual problem or in the maintenance of an organisation. This defect is one of the impediments to the progress of the Bengali not only (though there are conspicuous exceptions) in the study of such subjects as sociology and economics, but also in complex industrial undertakings in the wide but still too much neglected field of municipal enterprise, and in the responsible duties of commercial management on a large scale."—Vol. I, Ch. V.

(30) The Bengali Girl.

".....the art of household management. In this art, under the difficult conditions imposed by the joint family system and not seldom by restricted means, the Hindu woman frequently attains to a high degree of skill, tact and

resource. In fact, her abilities (as is shown by history as well as by the experience of to-day) find congenial tasks in the sphere of administration. There is a striking type of Hindu woman, racy with mother-wit, whose strong will and character impress themselves much more vigorously upon the family life than outside observers would imagine. The Bengali girl has an instinct for order and for neatness. She has natural grace of bearing, deftness of hand, simplicity in taste. If she has been taught to make on the floor the traditional designs (*alipana*) in rice or flour, her hand is often skilful in drawing patterns, and the weaving of necklaces of beads (*punthis*) or garlands of flowers (*malas*), has quickened her sense of colour....."

"Three instincts and powers show themselves with significant beauty in the nature of the Indian girl. From an early age, she discloses in very marked degree the instinct of motherhood. This natural disposition is strengthened and evoked by the spoken teaching and by the silent assumptions of the Hindu home in which she is born. The mystical aspect of life is very sacred to the Hindu soul. Reverence for what is symbolised by the life of husband and of child is central to a Hindu woman's conception of duty. Lying behind its earthly manifestation and yet inseparably merged, in it is a divine principle, of which she prays that she may be a channel and in the service of which pain is at times transmuted into ecstasy, anguish into joy. Hers is the duty of the life-bringer. In her worship of a divine mystery, instinct is transfigured into faith, self-will is conquered by devotion, personality is uplifted by submission.

"Thus in the Indian girl's nature the instinct of motherhood is linked with another power, a sense of religion. By religion, in a devout Hindu home, every act of a good woman's day is ruled....."

"In her home-service, the devout Hindu wife is true as steel, asking for no recognition, selfless, and constant to the end. Here is not the will to power but the will to submission, a submission courageously self-enforced and bringing with it a spiritual power of service and of insight.

"And this brings us to the third chief instinct of the devout Indian girl, her power to idealise. She can invest an object, in itself simple and humble, with a mystic significance, and in the symbol sees the unseen. Through the visible, her eyes and soul discern the invisible. And at last, through self-curtailment and discipline, she may attain to the power of entering, in moments of intense feeling, beyond the entanglements of distracting thoughts, into a peace that passeth understanding."—Vol. I, Ch. V.

(31) Communal Representation in the Government of the University.

"Within the sacred precincts of the temple of learning all votaries should receive equal treat-

ment, and none should claim any special favour" (Sir Gurudas Banerji). "A university in which such needs and interests are considered is a contradiction in terms" (Mr. S. G. Dunn of the Muir College, Allahabad). "In my opinion the endeavour of the university should be to discourage sectarianism and not to emphasise it" (Sir Ali Imam, who stands alone among Mahomedan witnesses in expressing this view, even Sir Abdur Rahim saying as follows :) "Speaking of the Muhammadans it is extremely important that they should be adequately represented in the Government of the university."—Vol. I, Ch. VI.

(32) Special Features of University Education in Bengal.

"One of the most remarkable features in the recent history of Bengal, and indeed of India, has been the very rapid increase in the number of university students which has taken place during the last two decades... while the increase in numbers has everywhere been striking, it has been much greater in Bengal than in any other part of India; nor is it easy to find any parallel to it in any part of the world.....

"The full significance of these facts can perhaps be most clearly brought out by a comparison between Bengal and the United Kingdom. The populations of the two countries are almost the same—about 45,000,000. By a curious coincidence the number of students preparing for university degrees is also almost the same—about 26,000. But since in Bengal only about one in ten of the population can read and write, the proportion of the educated classes of Bengal who are taking full time university courses is about ten times as great as in the United Kingdom.

"Nor is this the most striking part of the contrast. The figures for the United Kingdom include students from all parts of the British Empire, including Bengal itself; those of Bengal are purely Indian. Again, in the United Kingdom a substantial proportion of the student population consists of women; in Bengal the number of women students is—and in view of existing social conditions is likely long to remain—very small indeed. Still more important, in the United Kingdom a very large proportion of the student-population are following professional courses, in medicine, law, theology, teaching, engineering or technical science. In Bengal though the number of students of law is very great, the number of medical students is much smaller than in the United Kingdom; there are very few students of engineering; students of theology, whether Hindu or Islamic, do not study for university degrees; students of teaching are extraordinarily few; and there are, as yet, practically no students of technical science because the scientific industries of Bengal are in their infancy, and draw their experts mainly from England.

"It appears, therefore, that while an enor-

mously higher proportion of the educated male population of Bengal proceeds to university studies than is the case in the United Kingdom, a very much smaller proportion goes to the university for what is ordinarily described as vocational training. The great majority—over 22,000 out of 26,000—pursue purely literary courses which do not fit them for any but administrative, clerical, teaching and (indirectly) legal careers. In the United Kingdom (if the training of teachers be regarded as vocational training) it is possible that these proportions would be nearly reversed. A comparison with any other large and populous state would yield similar results. Bengal is unlike any other civilised country in that so large a proportion of its educated classes set before them a university degree as the natural goal of ambition, and seek this goal by means of studies which are almost purely literary in character, and which therefore provide scarcely any professional training.

"Yet another feature of the contrast, not only between Bengal and the United Kingdom, but between Bengal and all other countries with a student-population of comparable size, is the fact that while other countries have many universities, Bengal has only one. The 26,000 students of the United Kingdom are divided among eighteen universities, which vary widely in type; the 26,000 students of Bengal are all brought under the control of a single vast university mechanism, follow in each subject the same courses of study, read the same books, and undergo the same examinations. The University of Calcutta is, in respect of the number of students, the largest university in the world....."—Report of the Calcutta University Commission, Vol. I, Ch. II.

"Except in the United States of America, in Canada, and perhaps in Japan, we find nothing comparable to the eagerness for secondary education now shown in certain districts of India."—Ibid, Vol. I, Ch. VIII.

(33) Wanted Diversity—not Uniformity—in Colleges.

"The experience of other countries seems to show that variety, not uniformity, is the source of intellectual vitality. The wonderful modern revival of learned activity in France dates from the time when, under the leadership of Albert Dumont, Ernest Lavisse, and Octave Greard, the uniformity imposed by Napoleon's single dominating University of France was broken down, and eighteen French universities sprang into vigorous life. "There is room for new universities," says Mr. Joges Chandra Ray, "but none for the multiplication of one type, teaching the same subjects in the same way, and turning out graduates similar in body, mind and spirit.....A university exists for a society, and as society is a complex organism having various functions to perform, new

universities ought to take up the different questions and try to embody the underlying principles in their ideal. There will then be diversity in university education in the country."

"We agree with Mr. Ray in his belief that there is need for greater diversity in the intellectual life of Bengal, and in the training received by her sons....."

".....Some device whereby the colleges may differentiate themselves, whereby the deadening uniformity imposed by the present system may be mitigated; this seems to be the solution indicated by the circumstances. The colleges [of the Mofussal] must be given a chance of showing distinctive characteristics, of doing work that shall not be merely a reproduction of an old and wearisome pattern; a chance also of arousing the interest, and winning the practical support, of their districts; in order that the best among them may, in the long run, establish a claim to the higher rank."—*Ibid*, Vol. IV, Ch. XXXV.

"What we consider a grave defect in the present condition of secondary schools and intermediate colleges is their dull uniformity, their lifeless conformity to a type solely intended to give instruction to candidates preparing for the matriculation and intermediate examinations. We are convinced that this is not in the best interests of education, and that diversity of pattern and freedom of development are essential for the growth of schools which may effectively meet the varied and changing needs of the community....."—Vol. V, Ch. XLII.

(34) Need for Careers.

"Failure to obtain a degree means failure in life in far more cases in Bengal than it does in western countries; for in those countries a degree is but one of many portals to many careers; in Bengal it is the only portal to the most important; and the total number of careers open to a young man of promise is at present far smaller than in western countries."—*Ibid*, Vol. II, Ch. XVII.

"The narrow choice of careers open to Indian students is a second cause of anxiety and tension. A young Indian of good education has before him fewer alternatives of congenial occupation than are enjoyed by his contemporary in the West. The number of openings for highly qualified medical men in the country districts are far fewer than in the West. The religious organisations of the Indian community do not offer to university graduates as great opportunities of work and influence as fall to a clergyman in England or to a minister in Scotland. Furthermore, until quite recently, a Bengali student could not look for commissioned rank in the army. Under the conditions of Indian administration, recruitment is made in London to some of the highest grades in the medical and educational professions, to important service posts in engineering, and to the Indian Civil

Service. Nor is the teaching profession at present sufficiently attractive. In secondary as well as in elementary schools the work of a teacher is inadequately paid."—*Ibid*, Vol. IV, Ch. XXXIX.

"The fact must also be frankly recognised that there will be no sense of reality about any scheme of university education so long as the opportunities of civic life are not in harmony with it. We must proceed in the hope that such harmony will be established and that the labour of this commission will be co-ordinated with the contemplated political and industrial reorganisation. The conditions of the times make it clear that it will be for the good not only of humanity but the British Empire itself that the talent and moral energy of the people of India should be fully developed and utilised in the future ordering of human life along more stable, comprehensive and harmonious lines."—Justice Sir Abdur Rahim, quoted in *Ibid*, Vol. IV, Ch. XXX.

"It would be misleading and unjust to say that the wish to pass examinations and to get a degree is the chief cause of the desire for western education which is spreading rapidly in Bengal.....in great drifts of opinion individuals act under the impulse of the momentum which stirs the mass. Beneath the motive which the individual may assign for his own action there lies a deeper cause, often masked by an illusion of self-regard, which constrains him, though he may be only half conscious of its pressure, to move in the direction determined by the aims and sentiments of the people to which he belongs.

".....The explanation is to be found in the very limited range of careers open to educated young Indians, in the value of a knowledge of English to those who enter such careers, and in the disproportionate degree of importance which is consequently attached to recognised certificates of literary attainment....."

"In the life of an English or American school-boy there is no test upon which so much turns, no examination to fail in which brings such irretrievable disaster. An active business career, a life of adventure abroad, the army, the sea, are all for one reason or another less open to the Bengali boy than to a boy in the West..... Matriculation is the key which unlocks the door to all the callings attractive to the respectable classes in Bengal. And at that door the crowd grows larger every year."—*Ibid*, Vol. I, Ch. IX.

(35) The Conflict of Western Influence and Eastern Traditions.

"It is through the contact between Indian culture and that of the outer world, and especially the culture of Europe and the West, that painful dilemmas are created in the mind of the thoughtful student of Bengal. He feels the eddying current of western thought, which

is forcing its way, in some degree unseen, into the quiet waters of his traditional life. The current brings with it an unfamiliar, but vigorous and agitating, literature; a mass of political formulas, charged with feeling and aspiration and sometimes delusively simple in their convenient generalisation; fragments of philosophies; some poisonous weeds of moral scepticism; bright-hued theories of reform; the flotsam and jetsam of a revolutionary age. The young man's necessary study of English has given him the power of reading what the intruding stream brings with it. His own instinctive yearnings for social reform, for intellectual enlightenment and for moral certainty make him eager for fresh truth. And behind this new foreign literature and philosophy, behind the pressure of those invisible influences for which printed books and journals are but some of the conduits of communication, there stands the great authority of colossal Power; Power evinced in political achievement, in religious conviction, in the world-wide ramifications of commerce, in stupendous industrialism, in the startling triumphs of applied science, in immeasurable resources of wealth; Power, which, even under the strain of a titanic struggle, puts out new manifestations of energy and suffers no eclipse.

"These influences fix upon his thoughts and bind them by their fascination. And yet, admire them as he may, he feels by instinct that in them evil is mixed with good. By instinct also he knows that in part they are alien to his own racial tradition, and that, while some are ameliorative to it, others are baneful. But it is beyond his strength to disentangle what will help from what will hurt his country and

his individual life. He is overmastered by the force of the new stream, and finds that even the backwaters of Indian life are invaded by its waters. Not a student in Bengal or elsewhere in India can be wholly insensible to some of the influences of western thought and experience, though he may not be conscious of their significance to him and to his country, and, even if conscious of it, may not be able to express his feeling in words. Some however of the students are aware of the tension in their thoughts and ideals which is caused by the two-fold appeal of western influence and of eastern tradition."—Vol. I, Ch. V.

(36) The Need for Modern Education.

"Our own view is, that modern education has been but one of the channels, though admittedly a principal channel, through which the influences of the West have penetrated into India; that such penetration was in any case inevitable; that modern education, whatever its defects, met a need which was keenly felt by the Indians themselves; that it is indispensable to India if she is to achieve an inner unity and take her rightful place among the peoples of the world; that its results, though not free from grave dangers or even from actual mischief, have on the whole been highly beneficial; and that, though unavoidably producing some tension of mind and spirit, and even leading in some cases to what Sir John Woodroffe describes as 'a paralysing inner conflict', it has in the main prepared the way for a culture which will harmonise with and supplement the national culture and will stimulate the latter into new manifestations and achievements."—Vol. I, Ch. V.

AN OLD ALUMNUS.

THE REPORT OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION

THE Report of the Calcutta University Commission has been before the public for three months, but it has not yet evoked the criticism that it deserves by reason of its importance and the revolutionary changes recommended in it. We do not remember to have noticed in the newspapers the holding of a single public meeting in Bengal for the purpose of discussing the Report, nor do the public bodies in the country seem to have taken an active interest in it. What a wave of agitation swept over this vast peninsula from one end of it to the other

when the Report of Lord Curzon's Universities Commission came out in 1902! And yet the measures recommended by that Commission were but a child's play in comparison with the drastic and far-reaching changes which are looming large at this moment over the educational horizon of India. One explanation of this seeming public apathy will perhaps be found in the formidable bulk of the present Report. It consists of five thick volumes; and the Appendices will cover eight more. The first three volumes contain the "analysis of present conditions." The

survey is masterly, thorough and exhaustive, and will prove very useful to the future historian of English education in this province. We were most pleased with the Chapter on the Student in Bengal, which is an eloquent testimony to the real insight and genuine sympathy and broad-mindedness of the writer. But one may honestly entertain the opinion that the five volumes now before us might have, without detriment or loss of value, been compressed into three. If a captious critic were to bring against the Report the charge of verbosity, it is difficult to say how it could be rebutted.

There are a thousand things in the Report which call for sifting examination; in a magazine article like this it is possible to notice only one or two. This will be done on the present occasion.

VERDICT WITHOUT A HEARING.

We find that serious allegations against the Calcutta University have found a place in the pages of the Report, but the public have not been afforded the means of knowing what the defendant has to say on the plaint. Mr. W. C. Wordsworth says (Vol. I, p. 307) on the recognition of schools by the University :—

"It is usually the case that, of all who consider the school's application, the inspector alone has seen the school. Yet it is by no means the rule that his recommendation is accepted, even when wholly endorsed by the Director. Cases are not unknown in which recognition has been granted despite the inspector's and Director's emphatic advice, or in which recognition once granted temporarily on condition of certain improvements being made, has been continued without further reference to the inspector and cases have been recently brought to the notice of the Syndicate where schools, formally deprived of recognition, have still been permitted to present their pupils for the matriculation. The present situation is one that depreciates the value and prestige of the inspector; he is obviously in a difficult position in relation to a school that has managed to secure recognition against his deliberate judgment; and his position is made worse by a practice that has grown up in certain parts of the province; a school after inspection frequently sends a deputation of its committee to Calcutta to canvass the Syndicate and traverse the inspector's report. This practice is not discouraged by all members of the Syndicate and engenders the idea that the position of the

University is that of a mediator between the inspectors and the schools."

Mr. T. O. D. Dunn, Inspector of Schools for the Presidency Division, writes on the same topic (Vol. I, p. 307) :—

"The regulations dealing with the recognition of schools by the University have become a dead letter; for the following reasons the most undesirable and most inefficient school continue to enjoy their connexion with the University :—

* * * *

(2) The unwillingness of the University to enforce its own regulations.....The reason for this is twofold, (a) people in India do not like to be unpleasant and to take the final and decisive course. Instead of disaffiliation, or removal of recognition, the offending school is let off with a warning that, unless within such and such a period, improvements have been effected, action will be taken. And so on. (b) The regulations are scarcely capable of fulfilment in the spirit and the letter by about 60 per cent. of existing institutions....."

• The extracts from the evidence of these two witnesses are followed immediately by this remark of the Commission :—

"The defects disclosed in this evidence are, relatively to the present needs of the University and of the province, more serious than would have been the case twenty and thirty years ago."

• Evidently the Commission hold that the charges are "proven." But there must be another side to the shield. It is not unlikely that among eight hundred schools there might be a few whose records deserve the strictures of Mr. Wordsworth. But scores of instances might be given where the greatest injustice would have been done to private unaided schools and a death-blow dealt to secondary education in Bengal, if the University had acted up to the report of the Department. We shall refer only to three cases.

The Brajamohan Institution (College and School) at Barisal, founded by Babu Aswinikumar Dutt, has had a long and brilliant record, and had always been spoken of highly by successive Lieutenant-Governors and Directors of Public Instruction. Shortly after the partition of Bengal, it was visited at the request of the Principal by an Inspector of Schools who expressed himself as being pleased with what he heard and saw. About a year after this (Feb. 1907) the same officer was

deputed by the Director of Public Instruction, Eastern Bengal and Assam, to inspect the school on behalf of the University. In the meanwhile the Institution had fallen into the bad graces of the Government of that province. The report submitted by the inspecting officer through the Director was most damaging to it (6th October 1907). The Syndicate sent a copy of the report to the authorities of the school and demanded compliance with certain conditions which were based on the allegations contained therein (July 1908). The reply of the Secretary to the Governing Body is dated the 14th August 1908. What followed will appear from the extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate (22nd August 1908) given below :—

“Resolved—

(i) That as the facts set forth in the report on the inspection of the School Department of the Braja Mohan Institution, Barisal, are disputed and the allegations made against the Institution are emphatically denied, the Syndicate find it impossible to judge the case fairly and to pass any final orders thereon without a thorough and independent inquiry.

(ii) That a Committee be appointed to investigate and report on the condition of the Braja Mohan Institution, College and School Departments, with special reference to the allegation that the Governing Body, the instructive staff and the students have taken part in political agitation and demonstration in such a manner and to such an extent as to prejudice its character as a place of sound education and discipline.

(iii) That the Committee consist of the following members of the Senate.

Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee, K.T., M.A., D. L., Ph. D., President.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. P. Sinha.

Professor P. Bruhl, M. I. E. E., F. C. S., F. G. S.

Professor J. A. Cunningham, M.A., F. C. S., A.R. C. S. I.

Dr. Thibaut, C. I. E., Ph. D., D. Sc.

(iv) That the Committee be authorised to take evidence and to adopt such other measures as may be necessary to enable them to submit a full report in the matter.

Ordered :—

(i) That a copy of the above Resolution be forwarded to the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam through the Director of Public Instruction of the province with the intimation that in order to make the inquiry as full and satisfactory as possible it would be necessary that the Government should furnish the Syndicate with a statement of the case against the Institution

and should be prepared to support the statement by evidence.

(ii) That the Government be further informed that the evidence which they may desire to adduce will be taken in Calcutta by the Committee who will commence their proceedings early in November.

Ordered also :—

That a copy of the foregoing Resolutions and Orders be forwarded to the Secretary to the Governing Body of the Braja Mohan Institution and he be informed that the authorities of the Institution will have a full opportunity of defending their position before the Committee.”

The Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam furnished the Syndicate with a statement of the case against the Institution—it was a heavy file, and only the first instalment—but declined to support the statement by evidence. The Committee, therefore, never met, and the authorities of the Braja Mohan Institution were not given an opportunity of defending their position before them. The situation that now arose was curious. During those following years, the Syndicate continued to receive from the Director month after month charges of a more or less serious nature against the College and the School, but they were not allowed to have them tested by their own Committee of inquiry. All that they could do was to transmit the communications to the Governing Body of the Institution and call for their replies. The Syndicate, acting on these replies, as well as the reports of their own Inspector, Dr. P. K. Ray, who inspected the College year after year, and with whom was associated on one occasion Dr. E. R. Watson of Dacca College, and Mr. H. R. James, Principal, and the late lamented Mr. J. A. Cunningham, Professor of Presidency College, who were deputed to visit it in 1908, felt satisfied that it had been guilty of no offence which required severe chastisement. But the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam could not see eye to eye with the Syndicate in this matter. They withdrew the scholarship rights from the College and the School, imposed other disqualifications upon them, and ultimately recommended more drastic measures to the Government of India. Under these circumstances, it is not too much to state, were it not for the firm stand taken

by the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the Calcutta University, the Braja Mohan Institution would have long ago been a thing of the past.

Again, take the case of the Siddheswari Abhaya Charan Institution at Chanchartala (Dacca district). In 1915 Mr. Stapleton, Inspector of Schools, Dacca Division, in his report on the school after making sixteen distinct allegations against it, remarked: "Its present management constitutes a grave menace to sound education and discipline." The life of the school was in imminent danger; but the Syndicate did not think it right to condemn the school unheard; they asked the Managing Committee for a reply. It was promptly submitted, and was forwarded by the Syndicate to the Director of Public Instruction, who again sent it for report to Mr. J. W. Gunn, Inspector of Schools, Dacca Division. This officer held a two days' inquiry in the school, 6th and 7th March 1916. The report submitted by him proved, by its silence, that Mr. Stapleton's allegations had been successfully met by the Committee, and that their statements could not be contradicted. Mr. Gunn again inspected the school on the 5th September 1917. The only serious difficulty that now confronted it was his recommendation in the report—this had also been demanded by the University—that the Committee should be "thoroughly reconstituted to the satisfaction of the Department." It was reconstituted in October 1917, but not "to the satisfaction of the Department"; for the Director took exception to the Secretary and three other members. Once more the Syndicate asked the Managing Committee to explain matters; and on receipt of their representation requested the Director to state on what grounds he based his objection to the gentlemen referred to. His reply will be found in the following extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate dated the 10th January 1919.

"61. Read a letter from the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, stating, with reference to this office No. 5793, dated the 8th November, 1915, that the information regarding certain members of the Siddheswari High School, Chanchartala, was forwarded in his letter No. 30 c., dated the 6th February, 1918, and that

it was confidential and was intended for the guidance of the Syndicate in taking executive action; that no useful purpose would be served by communicating it to the parties immediately concerned, and that he is unwilling that such action should be taken.

The Director also states that the objection to Babu Barada Kanta Basu was based on his being an absentee and that, in view of the representation subsequently made, he does not intend to press the objection in his case.

Resolved—

That Dr. S. P. Sarbadhikary and the University Inspector of Colleges be requested to inspect the Chanchartala Siddheswari High School and report on the matter contained in the file."

The University Inspector inspected the school in September last, but as the matter is still pending we shall close our narrative here. It is only necessary to add that during all these weary years of trouble, one Sub-Divisional Officer of Munshiganj after another, European and Indian, visited the School and remarked favourably on it. Mr. S. Modak, I.C.S., found it in March 1918 "in a flourishing condition", and Mr. J. N. Gupta, M.A., I.C.S., District Magistrate of Dacca, wrote on the 13th January last, "I have read with interest the inspection notes of the S. D. O. I entirely agree with the views of the S. D. O., and do not consider any change in the constitution of the managing committee necessary."

The third case is that of the City Collegiate School, Mymensingh Branch. In July 1917 the Syndicate received a letter from the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, forwarding a copy of a letter from Dr. C. P. Segard, Adviser to Government on Physical Education, regarding the state of things obtaining at the City Collegiate and Mrityunjay Schools at Mymensingh, in which Dr. Segard states that from the point of view of Hygiene, Sanitation and Physical Education the two schools are impossible as Educational Institutions, that both have close to a thousand students and the conditions and surroundings under which they are taught are simply vile, that some of the class rooms are little less than disease breeding pens being poorly lighted and ventilated and holding the greatest number that can be crowded into their doors and that there is no arrangement for Physical

Training in any of the Schools and (the Director) suggesting that as the schools are independent of Government assistance and can apparently afford to ignore the Education Department, the University should bring pressure to bear on the authorities of the two schools to remedy the state of things disclosed by Dr. Segard whose report is in no way exaggerated.

We can speak only of the City Collegiate School. It could not be expected to survive such ruthless onslaught; but it has. The reason is, the Syndicate never award punishment without giving a hearing to the accused party. In the present case they followed their usual practice, and finding the explanation of the Managing Committee satisfactory, allowed the matter to rest where it should. We also understand that Dr. Sadler and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee visited the school in 1918, and were favourably impressed with it.

We would also in this connection draw the attention of our readers to the following remarks of Principal Herambachandra Maitra who has been a Fellow of the Calcutta University for more than a quarter of a century, and a member of the syndicate for a number of years. (*Modern Review*, Dec. 1917).

"There have been numerous instances in which the Director after having forwarded a report on a school from an Inspector, has modified his views on the Inspector's recommendations after a discussion at a meeting of the Syndicate. There have been instances in which members of the Syndicate belonging to the Education Department have declared some of the demands of an Inspector of Schools to be absolutely unreasonable."

"Surely a body constituted like the Syndicate, with about half the members belonging to the Education Department, is no less qualified than the Inspector to come to a right conclusion as to the steps to be taken to preserve discipline. Could any instance be pointed out in which the Director and his subordinates in the Syndicate have dissented from the decision of that body?"

A CHARGE AGAINST HINDU EXAMINERS.

The Commission say (Vol. II, p. 177):

"But Mr. Wordsworth, Principal of the Presidency College and officiating Director of Public Instruction for Bengal, makes the following grave statements, which cannot be ignored."

"The University does not command complete

confidence..... There is a suspicion, sometimes vocal, that the published results of examinations are not invariably in accord with the work done. This suspicion is due in part to the system of grace marks formulated in the regulations, partly to the readiness of examiners' meetings to attend to complaints or representations from individual candidates, and generally to show indulgence."

Here also the University has been condemned unheard. Not only this. The last sentence contains a serious charge against examiners. Were they given by the Commission any opportunity to examine or reply to it? The Hindu examiners have fared the worst of all. The Commission have thought fit to allow a grave allegation against them to stand unchallenged. It is to be found in the following words of theirs on page 203, Vol II.

"The protest (against the practice of requiring students to write their names on their answer-books in addition to their roll-numbers) comes, very largely from representative Musalmans who think that Muslim candidates suffer under some disabilities compared with Hindu candidates when the answers are corrected by Hindu examiners."

The present writer has been an examiner for about twenty years and has worked his way up from the Entrance to the M.A. Examination. To the best of his knowledge this sweeping charge is absolutely unfounded. May we enquire why veteran examiners like Mr. Herambachandra Maitra and Dr. Brajendranath Seal were not in their oral evidence interrogated on this point?

We feel this omission all the more keenly inasmuch as they adopted a different procedure, which was the right one, with regard to an allegation made against the University by a Muhammadan witness. They say on the same page:

"Nawab Syed Nawabaly Chaudhury has drawn our attention to the case of two students, one a Hindu, the other a Musalman, each of whom according to this statement obtained 359 marks at the B. A. Examination in 1916 (the minimum for a pass being 360) when the Hindu candidate was passed and the Musalman rejected, in spite of the fact that the Hindu candidate's marks 'were made up in part of 9 grace marks.'"

After a careful inquiry into this matter,

the Commission arrive at the following conclusion :

"It seems clear to us that the case to which the Nawab has drawn our attention shows no evidence of inequality of treatment on the ground of race, and no other such case has been brought to our notice. Dr. P. J. Bruhl, the Registrar of the University, stated in his oral evidence that in his opinion there was no bias of the kind suggested."

The University is exonerated ; but not a word about the Hindu examiners.

A CHARGE AGAINST THE UNIVERSITY AND THE COMMISSION'S OWN REPLY TO IT.

Mr. Wordsworth has formulated another indictment against the University. We read on pages 381-2, Vol. I.

"Mr. W. C. Wordsworth (until lately Principal of the Presidency College) states that 'there is, or appears to be, a tendency in University policy to regard all colleges as of the same degree of untrustworthiness. Certainly it has long been a cardinal belief among the staff of the Presidency College that there is in university policy a tendency to diminish the prestige, importance and efficiency of the College in the interests of easy administration. I may instance recent inspection reports, in which, after a few hours' inspection, the inspectors attacked the carefully considered policy of the governing body in the matter of numbers and of the combination of subjects permitted; in one of which also they attacked by name, as not fitted for his position, a gentleman of considerable academic distinction and experience, whom one of the inspectors had himself commended in the highest terms. The belief which Mr. Wordsworth and his late colleagues entertain may, or may not, be justified. But it is an unhappy state of things, not conducive to good work, when such suspicions can be entertained by a body of able and reasonable men.'"

The principle laid down in the last clause is very sound, but the observation seems to be a mild endorsement of Mr. Wordsworth's indictment ; at any rate it is not distinctly contradicted ; and it does not appear that the University was invited to state its own side of the case. But we may be mistaken. Perhaps the following passages in the Report, marked by judicial impartiality, and containing a thorough vindication of the University, were written in reply to its traducers. They are extracted from the Chapter on Post-Graduate Teaching and Research.

"The result which followed from this system was a most regrettable feeling of distrust and jealousy between the University and some of its colleges. The authorities of the colleges, though realising the need for the University classes, distrusted their efficiency owing to their large size and felt suspicious that the University wished to crush ultimately their higher classes out of existence. The professors in charge of the University classes were not slow to reciprocate the feeling and felt suspicious that the authorities of the colleges desired to have a monopoly of higher teaching so as to be able to restrict its field." (Vol. II, pp. 47-48).

"The Presidency College could not possibly claim as of right to provide, and, even if it advanced the claim it had not the means to provide, for the efficient instruction of all graduates from all other colleges in the University. But even if the college could secure the means, those students from the other colleges could not force themselves upon an institution which, for the sake of efficiency, must have a manageable size" (p. 50).

HOW THINGS MOVE IN INDIA.

How rapidly things move in India is best illustrated by the history of Post-Graduate Teaching in the Calcutta University. Such teaching was undertaken for the first time by the University in 1908, with two lecturers and 19 M. A. students. In 1916 the number of the latter rose to 1172, while that of lecturers and assistant professors reached 46. On the 20th October 1916 the Government of India appointed a committee to consider the question of postgraduate students in the university and its constituent colleges. "The unanimous report of this committee," we are quoting the language of the Report, "was presented on the 12th December 1916.

The Government of India after examining the report, forwarded it to the University for consideration, with the intimation that if the Senate accepted a scheme corresponding substantially to that put forward by the Committee, the Government of India with the concurrence of the Government of Bengal would not raise any objection thereto. The matter was elaborately discussed by the Senate at four sittings, and, ultimately, regulations drafted on the lines of the report by a sub-committee were adopted with slight modifications. These regulations received the sanction of the Governor-General in Council on the 26th June 1917, and constitute the present Chapter XI of the University regulations." (Vol. II, p. 51). "The machinery was rapidly constituted and the

system came into working operation from the beginning of September 1917." (P. 56).

In the meantime an announcement had been made by His Excellency the Chancellor of the University at the Convocation held on the 6th January 1917 to the effect that the Governor-General in Council had decided "to appoint a Commission to inquire into the condition and prospects of the University of Calcutta and consider the question of a constructive policy in relation to the questions which it presents." The members of the Commission were appointed on the 14th September 1917, and they held their first meeting on the 12th November, i.e., just two months after the new post-graduate classes had been formed according to the regulations recently sanctioned by the Government of India; and the result of the inquiry of the Commission is the recommendation of an entire reconstruction of the system just introduced. Surely the rate of progress in this case is amazing. It would be interesting to note, by way of contrast, for how many years Mr. Gokhale's Primary Education Bill is hanging fire.

SCATHING CONDEMNATION OF THE UNIVERSITY.

It is stated on p. 67, Vol. I, that the regulations required to give effect to the Universities Act of 1904 were framed by a small committee appointed by the Government of India and presided over by Mr. Justice (now Sir) Asutosh Mookerjee, and that "they constitute a thorough, careful, and honest attempt to carry out in detail the principles laid down in the Act." The fact is admitted on all hands that the University, as the Commission found it, was the creation of the most pre-eminent of its Vice-Chancellors, who was at the head of its affairs for eight long years and piloted it safe through many a shoal and sand-bank, and whose masterful presence is still felt in every direction, though he ceased to be its official chief five years ago. Mr. Wordsworth bitterly complains that "of recent years the University's interpretation of the needs of the public it serves has been mainly inspired by one dominant personality, with much resultant unrest."

After this it is painful to find that the deliberate verdict of the Commission is that failure is writ large on the portals of the University of Calcutta. They say:

"Secondary education in Bengal is preparing candidates, not making men. It teaches subjects, but offers no synthesis of knowledge, communicates no nucleus of unifying thought. It is dull not so much because it is poor in material resources as because it is poor in ideas." "Eleven out of every twelve of our witnesses who deal with this point (the Matriculation Examination) express dissatisfaction with it as a test of fitness for entering the university." The University "allows a very considerable number of ill-educated candidates to pass." "The intellectual out-put of the University of Calcutta in the form of contributions to learning has been small relatively to the size of the University, a testimony to the unfruitfulness of the education which the University has encouraged and developed under the all-powerful influence of regulations for examinations." "The colleges are wooden models, turned out to a pattern in accordance with the regulations of the University." "Most of the instruction to which the Commission have listened was arid and unprofitable." "The students of the University are marked by intellectual deadness which shows itself in a multitude of ways."

And this is how the Commission sum up the discussion of the examination system of the reformed University:—

"It is impossible to peruse the evidence on the examination system as it exists to-day in Bengal without a feeling of profound sadness. The immensity of the effort, disproportionate to the results; the painful anxiety of the candidates; the mechanical award of marks encouraging the least fruitful efforts of the mind; a leniency sometimes neglecting the grave responsibility of the University to the public and tending to class the less with the more deserving students; the number of failures in spite of that leniency; the sterilising influence of the whole system on both teachers and taught, and the consequent crying waste of the intelligence of the youth of Bengal; these are evils which have been brought home to us by the most convincing evidence from witnesses of every section of the community as well as by what we ourselves have seen."

The above forms sad reading for all who love their Alma Mater. One fails to understand how Sir Asutosh Mookerjee could sign the Report without a word of dissent.

NON-APPRECIATION OF PRIVATE COLLEGES.

The Commissioners are very generous

in their appreciation of the missionary colleges of Bengal, and their report on them is prefaced with a warm tribute of praise.

"The influence which has been exercised by the missionary colleges upon the development of Education in Bengal has been of the highest value and importance. No colleges wield a deeper influence over the minds of their students, none have a stronger corporate spirit.....The influence of the missionary teachers over the mind of their students is, doubtless, farther deepened by the fact that they have obviously undertaken their work from no motives of self-interest.....They approach more nearly to the spirit of the old Hindu *guru* than many college teachers in modern Bengal."

This may be no more than what is deserved ; but read side by side with it the bald description of the four first grade private colleges in Calcutta does not appear to be particularly sympathetic, or free from racial bias. We read on page 422, Vol. I. :-

"These four colleges—the Ripon, the Vidyasagar, the City and Bangabasi—very closely resemble one another in the main features of

* We have no desire to speak against missionary professors. But if they with their handsome salaries and comfortable, and sometimes palatial, residences can be said to have "obviously undertaken their work from no motives of self-interest," we cannot understand why the same thing cannot be said of many Indian professors, whose academic careers were brilliant, and who, after decades of service, have far smaller incomes than many of their former class-fellows, of inferior academic standing, following other professions. We personally know Indian professors who chose teaching as a calling in preference to more lucrative professions open to them. Indian professors are not and have not been wanting who have conformed to the ideal of the Hindu *guru* to some extent.

As the commissioners refer to the deep influence wielded by the missionary colleges over the minds of their students, we only refer to but do not wish in this connection to characterise the influence produced on the minds of the Hindu students by the rule of compulsory attendance in Bible classes, though they do not believe in Christianity. The influence wielded over the minds of students by the two scales of salaries for white missionary and brown non-missionary professors for doing work of the same grade and kind, by the provision of separate waiting rooms for white missionary professors and "native" professors, &c., is also very deep, though not in the sense in which the commissioners have used the word.—Ed., M. R.

their work ; in the huge numbers of students with which they have to deal, and in the wholesale and mechanical way in which they necessarily have to treat them ; in the very inadequate proportion between their teachers and their pupils ; in the small salaries and insecure tenure* which they offer to most of their teachers ; and in the most total absence of any effective social life among their students. They are, in fact, huge coaching establishments for examination, wherein the human element in education is inevitably almost non-existent."†

Not a single statement here is absolutely untrue, but the sum-total produces an impression which does great injustice to these four Colleges. "To tell truth, rightly understood," says R. L. Stevenson, "is not to state the true facts, but to convey a true impression ; truth in spirit, not truth to letter, is the true veracity." A foreigner unacquainted with India will conclude from a perusal of the Report that the private colleges are doing no useful work, and meeting no insistent demand. Is it the fault of these Colleges that they have to cater to the needs of huge numbers, and that their classes are full to overflowing? It is idle to assert that when eight or ten thousand students

* This is not true of every one of these four colleges.—Ed., M. R.

† The editor of this Review was a pupil, in turn, of a Government college, a missionary college and a private college. He does not wish to make any comparisons ; but he owes it to his professors in the private college to say that they were not inferior to his other professors in teaching capacity, and certainly not inferior in power to exercise beneficial influence on the character of their pupils. Is there much more social life among the students of government and missionary colleges than in private colleges? Are not they too taught mechanically, more or less? Are not government and missionary colleges also coaching establishments to a greater or less extent? Is the human element in education conspicuous by its presence in government and missionary colleges?—It will be admitted that if in any college there is *physical* collision between a professor and his students, and there are other colleges where there are no such collisions, the human element in education is more "non-existent" in the former than in the latter. And it is a matter of history that such collisions have not occurred in the four Calcutta private Colleges, but have occurred, e.g., in the Presidency College, the latest being that in which Professor Oaten figured.—Editor, M. R.

pass the Matriculation, and four thousand the Intermediate Examinations in a year, it would have been good either for the country or for its youth, if the private Colleges were closed or reduced in dimension; and if the vast majority of the successful candidates were turned away. The Commission elsewhere speak of the anarchical movement in Bengal. They owed it to these Colleges to say at least this much, that the movement might have assumed undesirable proportions, had not private enterprise stepped in to afford facilities for education, however imperfect it might be in their opinion, to as large a number as possible. If anybody is to blame, it is not certainly these private Colleges which have exerted themselves to their very utmost to carry out loyally the New Regulations of the University, and come up to the standard insisted on by it. Among the teachers in these colleges, did the Commission find none who had "obviously undertaken their work from no motives of self-interest?" We are precluded from naming those who are still living—distinguished educationists who have grown gray in the service of their country, and whose self-sacrifice in the cause of education is freely acknowledged all over the Province. But teachers like the late Mr. P. K. Lahiri, Mr. N. N. Ghose, Mr. Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, and Mr. Rajendranath Chatterjee might have been accorded by the Commission a humble measure of recognition. Besides, we are not prepared to admit that the difference between the types of colleges under discussion is really as wide as it is made to appear in the Report; but good taste seals our lips, for "comparisons are odious."

The following passage occurs on pages 424-5, Vol. I.

"The Ripon and the City Colleges have recently acquired large new buildings, paid for partly by private subscriptions and partly by Government grants. They are not ill-designed for their purpose, but the purpose which has governed their design is that of providing accommodation for innumerable lectures to immense classes of students, not that of providing a home for living societies of teachers and pupils. They do not find space for nests of

private rooms. They are in short, 'barracks of lecture-rooms'—a criticism which may, indeed, fairly be applied to most Bengal colleges, not excluding Presidency College.

Why the defect of the Presidency College is not mentioned in its own proper place, but is casually referred to at the end of a denunciatory clause in the report on the Ripon and the City Colleges, it is not for us to say. Our complaint is that here also the unfortunate private Colleges have been singled out for castigation for what was demanded by the New Regulations of the University. Take the case of City College. It had a building of its own at 13 Mirzapur Street, which, so long as the old system was in vogue, was found quite adequate to its purpose. The operation of the New Regulations led to unforeseen expansion of Collegiate education, so that the rush of numbers rendered it absolutely indispensable for the college to shift to new premises. The large new building at Amherst Street, characterised by the Commission as "not ill-designed," but about which, we are informed on the best authority, their President remarked that it was an addition to the beautiful buildings of Calcutta, cost over three lacs of rupees, and was occupied only a week before the Commission visited the college. The Governing Body of the college are now told by the Commission that there is no space in it for "nests of private rooms"—a requirement the idea of which never crossed their mind when they placed the plan of the building, formally or informally, before the University Inspectors. What is now asked for by the Commission? Is it intended that the building should be sold off, and a fresh home found for the College; or that it should be penalised for honestly conforming to the regulations of the University the remodelling of which no human being could have the prevision to anticipate?

The Commission remark (p. 417, Vol. I), "The Scottish Churches College embodies the great tradition of Duff." For the enlightenment of our readers, who may not know what that tradition is, we make the following extract from *The Life of Alexander Duff* by Dr. George Smith:—

"I have never ceased to pronounce the system of giving a high English education, without religion, a blind, suicidal policy. On the other hand, for weighty reasons, I have never ceased to declare, that if our object be, not merely for our own aggrandisement but very specially for the welfare of the natives, to retain our dominion in India, no wiser or more effective plan can be conceived than that of bestowing this higher English education in close and inseparable alliance with the illumining, quickening, beautifying influences of the Christian faith. The extension of such higher education, so combined, would only be the means of consolidating and perpetuating the British Empire in India, for years even ages to come, vastly, yea almost immeasurably, to the real and enduring benefit of both." (P. 266.)

The passage quoted above forms part of a statement prepared by Dr. Duff in 1853, when the great educational despatch of the East India Company was under debate. Twenty-three years before this, he landed in India. When he presented his letter of introduction to General Beatson, he was advised to visit at once Rajah Rammohun Roy, and among "the providential combination of circumstances, which culminated in the Scottish evangelisation of the Hindus by education," the biographer of Duff counts "the help of the one Hindu whom English teaching had led to find the living God." For the material assistance which our great countryman rendered to Dr. Duff in founding his school, the forerunner of the present Scottish Churches College, we refer our readers to the pages of his biography. Rammohun Roy also "emphatically declared that all true education ought to be religious, since the object was not merely to give information, but to develop and regulate all the powers of the mind, the emotions, and the workings of the conscience." As he expresses himself in his letter on English Education to Lord Amherst, he "looked forward with pleasing hope to the dawn of knowledge" in India, and "offered up thanks to Providence for inspiring the most generous and enlightened nations of the West with the glorious

ambition of planting in Asia the Arts and Sciences of Modern Europe." But his object was not exactly that which Dr. Duff had in view. For, as his English biographer, Miss Collett observes, "the prospect of an educated India, of an India approximating to European standard of culture, seems to have never been long absent from Rammohun's mind; and he did, however vaguely, claim in advance for his countrymen the political rights which progress in civilisation inevitably involves." Has the spirit of "the tribune and prophet of New Indian" died out in the land of his birth? If the Scottish Churches College embodies the great tradition of Duff, did not the Commission find a single college where the tradition of Rammohun Roy was silently and unobtrusively working among his countrymen? Was it not the noble enthusiasm in the cause of national uplift created by him that led Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and Mr. Surendranath Banerjea to found the colleges which, along with two others in Calcutta, have developed into "immense and populous institutions"? It is delicate for us to speak of City College; but we have no hesitation in stating the bare truth that it was the spirit and ideal of Rajah Rammohun Roy which inspired the late Mr. A. M. Bose and Pandit Sivanath Sastri, just taken away from us, in establishing City School in 1879. The self-denial of some of the members of the staff—self-denial not only in respect of pay and prospects, but that of an acuter form, to wit, foregoing the pleasure of doing intellectual work that might have lived—has been ignored by the Calcutta University Commission; but they will find consolation where the Maker of Modern India found it—they will find it in the thought that their "motives are acceptable to that Being who beholds in secret and compensates openly."

RAJANIKANTA GUHA.

THE SUGAR PROBLEM

THE Government's appointment of a committee of experts to consider what may be called the sugar problem of India will be welcomed by every one in the country who knows something of our sugar industry or is interested in the systematic and scientific examination of all Indian industries. In fact many will feel that the Government has moved not a day too soon in this matter. When we note the various activities initiated or promoted by the Government as well as by the various scientific and technical associations in America, England and Germany, with the object of consolidating those industries which may have suffered during the war or which may have been started only after the war broke out, we cannot but deplore the absence of corresponding efforts in India, where the need of such investigations is perhaps greater.

As the committee is appointed primarily to investigate and advise, as all preliminary committees should be, the Government communique does no more than merely suggest some aspects of the whole problem. While the report and the advice of the committee will be awaited with great eagerness, it may not be out of place to indicate here some standpoints which are necessarily involved in any systematic inquiry of the sugar problem.

The sugar problem arises out of several very different considerations. And although of all the standpoints from which the problem may be regarded, the Indian standpoint is naturally and necessarily the one which will appeal to us most and which will have a decisive influence on the ultimate decisions arrived at, there are some other standpoints also which cannot be ignored and which, for all that we know, are so intimately associated with the whole problem that they are sure to influence the inquiry and even the final conclusions. One of these, which

has not been referred to in the Government's communique, is the British standpoint. It arises, not merely from the interests of Britain, but also from the broader interests of the British Empire. It is not suggested that there is any necessary conflict of interests between India and Britain in this case merely because there are two distinct standpoints. It may as well be, and we hope will actually be, that the two different standpoints may strengthen the whole case of the reform of the sugar industry, and may quicken the efforts in the same direction.

The sugar problem of Britain and of the British Empire, which as we said is vitally related to the sugar problem of India, will be clear from the following considerations. The British Empire is the greatest sugar-producer in the world, the total production in 1917-18 being about $4\frac{1}{2}$ million tons. Owing to deficient rainfall in India later on, the sugar produced in India, and consequently in the British Empire declined and the last has now come down to $3\frac{3}{4}$ million tons. The Empire's consumption of sugar however is still greater and may be taken as $6\frac{1}{4}$ million tons for the corresponding period. If we deduct the 3,859,330 tons produced by the Empire from the 6,222,030 tons consumed, we arrive at the shortage of 2,362,700 tons, or, in round numbers, $2\frac{1}{2}$ million tons in the year. In spite, therefore, of the British Empire producing more sugar than any other single state in the world, it is yet indebted to foreign countries for something over one-third of its total consumption. Looking to the importance of sugar in our daily life, the dependence to such an extent on foreign countries cannot be contemplated with equanimity, and thoughtful people who desire to see the British Empire quite self-sufficient have already been actively engaged in studying this problem.

A detailed study of the figures reveals some more interesting facts. The most important fact which emerges out is that it is the United Kingdom which is chiefly responsible for this shortage, because while it consumes an exceedingly large amount it produces none. The Board of Trade returns for the import of sugar in the United Kingdom from all sources, are about 19½ lakhs tons for the year ended 31st December 1913 (i.e., before the war), and 13 lakhs tons for the year ended 31st December 1918. According to Mr. J. W. Macdonald's calculations, the shortage of 23½ lakhs tons of sugar in the year may be explained as under: about 18 lakhs tons as due to the imports in the United Kingdom, 8 lakhs tons as due to the imports in India, and 3 lakhs surplus due to Fiji, West Indies, and Mauritius. This surplus usually found its way to India, consequently India's dependence on sugar produced outside the British Empire was reduced by that amount, and came up to somewhere between 5 and 6 lakhs tons.

Thus the United Kingdom and India (in this case we include under India Ceylon,

in this Indian group. As the total shortage of about 8 lakhs tons in the Indian group is made up, to the extent of a little more than one-third, by the sugar surplus of some of the British dominions, namely Fiji, Mauritius and some of the West Indies islands. The remaining two-thirds is made up by imports from foreign countries chiefly Java. The situation in the United Kingdom is more instructive. The shortage was chiefly made up, before the war, by the beet-root sugar made in Germany and Austria-Hungary, which between themselves were responsible for 65 per cent of the total imports in the year 1913. Of this Germany alone contributed 47 per cent or nearly half of the total sugar consumed in the United Kingdom, and Austria-Hungary 18 per cent. Cuba came next with 11·5 per cent, Netherlands with a little less than 10 per cent, and then other foreign countries with still smaller percentages. It may be noted that the amount of British-made sugar imported in 1913 in the United Kingdom was scarcely 4 per cent of the total imports. The following table will make the position clearer.

Imports of Sugar Into the United Kingdom.

(Board of Trade Returns 1913.)

Source.	Amount of Refined Sugar.	Amount of Raw Sugar.	Total Amount.	Percentage of Total Imports.
Germany	4,65,453·2	4,72,026·0	9,37,479·2	47 per cent. nearly
Austria-Hungary	1,98,063·85	1,60,858·45	3,58,922·3	18 " "
Cuba		2,24,227·3	2,24,227·3	11½ " "
Netherlands	1,78,566·6	11,207·7	1,89,774·3	10 " "
Total Foreign	9,22,254·5	9,74,995·2	18,97,239·7	96½ " "
Total British	290·25	71,729·45	72,019·7	3½ " "
Total Imports	9,22,544·75	10,46,714·65	19,69,259·4	

Hongkong, North Borneo, Sarawak, Straits Settlements, Singapore, Malacca, Penang and Cyprus) are chiefly responsible for this huge deficit. There is however one difference in the cases of the two, and it is this that while the United Kingdom does not produce any sugar, India itself produces a very large amount. The other places included with India above also do not produce any sugar worth mentioning, and India itself does not now produce all the sugar which it needs.

Let us now see how the shortage is made up both in the United Kingdom and

As soon as the war broke out, more than half of this sugar-supply was cut off, and but for the timely assistance from Cuba, the people of the United Kingdom would have had to face a veritable sugar starvation. The figures for the year ending on the 31st December 1918, very clearly bring out the fact that Cuba alone supplied nearly as much sugar—cane-sugar in this case—as was supplied by the two central powers before the war. The total imports certainly declined, but the proportion of the British-made sugar improved from 3·5 per cent to 16·8 per cent, while

of the foreign powers Cuba alone contributed 63 per cent. and Java 14 per cent. settled, a huge effort will be made by them to capture the market they have now lost

Imports of Sugar Into the United Kingdom.

(Board of Trade Returns 1918).

Source.	Amount in tons of Refined Sugar.	Amount Tons Raw Sugar.	Total Amount Tons.	Percentage.
Cuba		8,23,900·7	8,23,900·7	63 per cent.
Java	492·95	1,86,192·7	1,86,685·65	14 „ „
Peru		41,695·9	41,695·9	3 „ „
Mauritius	4,170·65	94,417·55	98,588·2	7·5 „ „
Bri. West Indies	2,303·7	59,490·75	61,794·45	4·7 „ „
Demerara	3·35	56,423·1	56,426·45	4·7 „ „
Total Foreign	12,033·0	10,73,716·75	10,85,749·75	83·2 „ „
Total British	9,518·35	2,10,382·35	2,19,900·7	16·8 „ „
Total	21,551·35	12,84,099·10	13,05,650·45	

Thus at the conclusion of the war, the United Kingdom has to depend for about four-fifths of its sugar supply on foreign countries. Of the many great truths brought home by this great war, one of the most indisputable is perhaps this that an ally of to-day may become an enemy to-morrow. The necessity of a great nation or a great Empire to be entirely self-sufficient, at least in respect of the prime necessities of daily life, is now felt to be imperative, and suggestions for consolidating the Empire's raw materials, the Empire's manufactures and the Empire's trades with this object have been so favourably received as to indicate a movement in the direction of some kind of preference for the Empire's articles. The Government of India has already made a move with respect to hides. But sugar is a commodity of still greater importance. It is no longer an article of luxury but an article of daily necessity, particularly in the United Kingdom, where the consumption of sugar per capita of the population is nearly 90 lbs. per year—one of the highest in the whole world. It is of supreme importance for the United Kingdom to be altogether independent of foreign sugar, which in other words means that the production of the Empire must increase by a little more than 23 lakhs of tons per year.

The consideration of the future is complicated by the fact, which is in danger of being overlooked but is none the less true, that as soon as Germany and Austria-Hungary (or what remains of them) are

in the United Kingdom. A very severe competition between the continental beet-sugar and the Cuban cane-sugar is most certain, and this struggle will take place long before the Empire finds itself in such a position to increase its own production as to be completely self-supporting. In the face of these two powerful rivals, both of whom are ready, well-organised and capable of easily expanding their concerns, the United Kingdom is not likely to find it easy to import Empire-made sugar, which has yet to be made in sufficient amounts and will even then have to be carried over a long distance. The main question therefore is, not that which of the two foreign powers will ultimately hold the field, but that whether the United Kingdom will ever be able to do without both of them, deriving all its supplies from within the Empire. The British Empire itself must enter into a struggle with these rivals, and must be determined to win, otherwise its dependence on foreign powers will increase still further, with the consequent certainty of extreme embarrassment on some occasions.

Among the various remedies suggested and started, one is the production of beet-sugar by the United Kingdom itself. With this object beet-root cultivation has already been commenced there, but in the view of many experts this remedy is not at all promising. The United Kingdom is lacking in most of the requisites of a successful beet-sugar industry, and particularly in land, experienced farmers, and technical knowledge. Because it is well-known that

the beet-sugar industry is one of the most highly scientific industries on the continent and it cannot be at once planted even in a country like England.

A larger consensus of opinions seems to point out the desirability of increasing the productive capacity of those parts of the British Empire which are themselves large sugar producers. It will be easier to expand a growing industry than to start an altogether new one. Attention therefore is turned to those dominions which have a surplus to export and in which conditions of expansion are suitable. Although Jamaica, Trinidad and some others can very well respond and give larger returns, most of them are faced with a shortage of labour, which cannot be supplied except by immigration, particularly from India. Moreover, even if this difficulty were solved, it is doubtful if the increase will go to make up the full deficit, as their capacities could not conceivably be so far augmented.

India is apparently the only country within the Empire that could possibly solve the whole problem. Expectant eyes are therefore turned to India, and one cannot resist the conclusion that the Government inquiry is, in part at least, inspired by Imperial considerations.

We may briefly go into the problem of the Indian Sugar, Why : India—a country which itself imports 5 to 8 lakh tons of sugar per year is looked upon as capable of furnishing the whole Empire's sugar, what is the basis of this expectation and what are the difficulties to be necessarily overcome.

It is a fact that of all the countries in the world, India possesses the largest acreage for cane. It is also a fact that till recently, India was the largest producer of sugar of any country in the world, and it is only very recently that Cuba has taken the premier position, India standing a good second. It must also be recorded that statistics in British India are very imperfect, and they are much more so in the native states. While the actual production in the whole of India is certainly greater than what the figures show, the *gur* or raw sugar which is

largely made in India, has, on the other hand, a very low sugar-content. These factors have mystified a large number of earlier investigators who in despair of ever getting at the truth have generally omitted India's share in the World's Total production of sugar. It is however possible to work with the available figures, whose limitations may be borne in mind.

There was a time when Indian sugar was exported to Europe and to England even : we do not know what was the total production in those times. But it is true that Indian sugar was driven from this field, which was ultimately possessed by European beet-sugar. India began even to import sugar, and within the last few years has imported something between 5 to 9 lakh tons per year. Most of it was cane-sugar, but there was also a small amount of German and Austrian beet-sugar.

Is it possible for the tables to be so completely turned that instead of importing 5 to 9 lakh tons per year, India may produce so much sugar that after satisfying the home demand, it may have enough to export to the United Kingdom? The normal production may be taken somewhere between 28 and 32 lakh tons per year. This will have to increase more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ times. While no one can dogmatise on this subject, the following points can be, and have been, urged, in favour of the view that the Empire's deficit might be made up by India.

(1) There is already a very large sugar industry in India. It is obviously more advantageous to improve and expand it, than to make experiments elsewhere. With regard to the possibility of expansion, (2) India possesses plenty of land and labour, without which the industry cannot be established anywhere. Evidently, it is better and easier to employ the Indian labour in India than induce it to emigrate to other sugar-producing colonies. From the Indian's own standpoint, in view of the extremely disgraceful treatment which several of the dominions are giving to Indian labourers, it will be neither desirable nor very possible to take out a large number of Indians to the colonies. As

regards improvement, (3) there is plenty of scope for it. It is a notorious fact that the yield of sugar from the Indian cane is extremely low. First of all about 90 per cent of the total sugar-cane area grows an inferior kind of cane. Secondly, not all the cane which is grown comes to be pressed; because, apart from the amount used all over the country in chewing, a lot is wasted and allowed to decay, for the simple reasons that there are very little facilities of transport and there is not enough power to crush all the cane! It is stated by Sir Alfred Chatterton that he has himself seen in a good year large areas of sugar-cane in good condition allowed to rot and finally to be burnt on the ground, because the power available for crushing the canes was not sufficient. Of the cane that does find its way to some kind of mill, the ordinary mill worked with bullocks manages to take only 50 per cent of the juice, the remaining 50 per cent being lost so far as sugar-making is concerned. Another 25 per cent may be put down as the loss due to the use of the open pans for evaporating the solution. The introduction of better mechanical appliances as well as the application of more science to all the departments of sugar-making is bound to affect the final yield. Thus "in the Northern Provinces, including the United Provinces, Panjab, Bihar and Orissa, Bengal, which together constitute 91.6 per cent of the total sugar-growing area of India, where for the most part thin canes are grown, the average yield of sugar in the current year was only 0.72 ton per acre. On the other hand, in the Southern Provinces, Madras, Bombay and Sind, where thick canes are grown, the average yield of sugar was 1.95 tons per acre." With a larger application of scientific improvements, some persons hope to see the yield rise to 4 or even 5 tons per acre. No doubt it will take a long time before this yield becomes general, but it may be remembered that in Hawaii, where the greatest benefits of science to the cane-sugar industry are perceived, the average is 5 tons per acre.

Much might be written in favour of this line of reasoning; much might also

be written against it, to show that the difficulties are insuperable. That there are great difficulties cannot be denied, but the sight of difficulties must only stimulate the effort to master them, so that one way or other, the goal may be reached. For example, the difficulty of introducing improvements in the methods of making sugar, though very real, could easily be exaggerated to such an extent as to allow matters to shift for themselves and to end in ultimate inaction on the part of the authorities and in the ruin of the industry. In a country so vast as India, and where there is so little of general education, so little of the knowledge of modern appliances, so little of transport facilities and not also much of enterprising capital, and where, above all things, the ruling authorities even have not fully grasped the importance of playing their part in the progress of this great national industry, the introduction of the reforms could not be expected to be very quick.

The question of land-tenure is also involved, and will offer another difficulty. It is well that the sugar-committee will make inquiries on the point. One wishes, however, that they will carry on their enquiry with an open mind, and that when the Government have their advice as to the extent to which "consolidation of the areas under cane is possible," they will also seriously consider the desirability of reducing the strength of the small holders. While large scale farming may be necessary for a more efficient industry, there is another aspect of small farming, which develops individual responsibility and initiative, and has been said to be of very great service in the West India Islands in a time of stress, as pointed out by Prof. Carmody. From the people's standpoint too, the disappearance of a large class of small independent landholders cannot be welcomed, as they are capable of making a very important part of the people. What is needed is voluntary co-operation on their part, so that they may help a large organised industry while retaining their individuality.

One of the knottiest of the problems will be the question of protection. Although

ultimately science is a better protection than a tariff-wall, it is undeniable that for some years to come the cane-sugar industry of India as well of the rest of the British Empire will have to receive adequate protection, if it has to satisfy the needs of the whole Empire. Sugar however has been the sport of politicians and economists, and so long as there is no certainty of the Government's attitude, large capital cannot be expected to go out, which it must do in order to effect the necessary improvements and the expansion in the industry. Moreover it has been agreed at the Peace Conference and in the constitution of the League of Nations that economic barriers should be removed as far as possible.

After granting that the conditions for the Indian sugar industry may become very favourable, there is another likelihood which will be attendant on any increased production. And it is that with more sugar being produced in the country, it is very likely that more also will be absorbed in the country itself. The consumption of sugar per capita is very low in India, viz., only 17 lbs. per year; it may therefore increase, and thus the extra production will not *all* go to make up the Empire's shortage, or in other words, much larger increase in production will be necessary than the actual amount of the shortage.

It is a very happy sign that the Government of India have seriously started to tackle this problem, which appears all the

more difficult when viewed from an Imperial standpoint. The committee of inquiry has the benefit of the assistance of Mr. J. W. Macdonald, a West Indian expert who has shown a masterly grasp of the whole problem, and of the Hon. Lalubhai Samaldas, one of the leaders of finance and industry in Bombay. It might have been better if in addition to the two Indians already appointed on the committee, there had been at least one more, like, say, Sir P. C. Ray, to represent the Indian chemical industry.

It may be added that a very important conference on this subject was organised by the Society of Chemical Industry of London. Early in 1917 the Society appointed a committee to make inquiries about and submit a report on the production and consumption of sugar within the Empire. The committee submitted its preliminary report in a conference held on the 16th of July 1919, and much of the information in this article is based on this report as well as on the speeches subsequently delivered in the conference. It should be noted that Mr. Macdonald's statement was perhaps the best that was made on the occasion. It was also announced in the meeting that "The British Empire Sugar Research Association" was established, backed by thirteen powerful Empire sugar trade associations, and representing millions of capital.

• KANTILAL C. PANDYA.

A WORD ON HISTORICAL CRITICISM IN INDIA

WITH the commendable object of showing the new writers in the field of Indian History the right road to success, Mr. Vincent Smith has reviewed a good number of recently published works relating to the History of India, and this review of the learned scholar appears in the English journal "History" for July 1919. Certainly there is nothing

new in the statement that the writers should be free from bias and should pursue a strict scientific method, but we cannot afford to disregard the words of the veteran scholar as mere platitudes, since he has been induced to utter them looking to some cases of failure on the part of some writers of Indian birth for whom he evinces genuine sympathetic feelings. This

is exactly why we feel called upon to examine carefully what Mr. Smith has said in his paper.

Mr. Smith begins by deploring the mental attitude of the English people at home, that they cannot be roused to take interest in the subject of Indian History.

We may mention relevantly in this connection that Reuter's telegram of the 4th September 1919, informs us that Sir Charles Lyall in welcoming the members of various learned societies to a meeting in London convened to discuss Oriental questions of archaeological interest, has said that the present condition of things in India has made it essential that a thorough endeavour should be made to understand the Indian mind. We know very little how the apathetic English people can be made to take interest in the affairs of India, or how the Indian mind both ancient and modern can be interpreted to them aright; it is however a matter of vital importance with us that we should interpret our history correctly to ourselves. As the chief practical use of history is (as has been nicely put by Bryce) to deliver us from plausible historical analogies, and as to touch successfully the heart and the mind of a people, settled down with a fixed habit of life, very correct and accurate interpretation is necessary of the heritage of the people from which they cannot easily get away, a truly patriotic historian cannot allow himself consciously to be led astray by any bias. As to the unconscious working of "bias" of one sort or another, nobody can easily be free from; but it can be asserted looking to the natural probabilities of things, that in the matter of interpreting Indian thoughts and Indian Institutions the trained scholars of India are less liable to err than the trained scholars of foreign lands. Mr. Smith as a fair critic acknowledges this proposition when he says, "The intimate knowledge of Indian languages, religions and social conditions, possessed by natives of the soil, gives them an advantage which no foreigner, however learned, can hope to rival."

We doubt not that Mr. V. A. Smith, who is a scholar of generous disposition, will take the matter in good light if I proceed

to show that his European culture has been partly in his way in giving a true History of India to the world, and that because of his pre-conceived wrong notions about the activities of the people of India, he has failed to appreciate the full value of such a work as the "Corporate Life in Ancient India" by Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar. To get at the mental attitude of Mr. Smith we refer to a passage of his occurring at p. 385 of his enlarged and revised edition of "Akbar"; the author asks us in this passage on his own authority as well as on the authority of Lane Poole to accept this untenable proposition, that what is called the history of the people cannot be written for India, and that the history of India should concern itself with the accounts of the lives of the rulers of the country only. What has been stated to give reasons for this assertion will sufficiently clear up the situation. As the common people of India are not known to have been involved in political revolutions of the European type, Messrs. Smith and Lane Poole cannot think of any change or mobility in the society of the Indian people. Thus, viewing the people of India through the glass of European culture the noted writers have stated with confidence that "the Indian commonalty has no history that can be told and that there has been practically no evolution of institutions"; they have gone the length of saying, "when we read descriptions of Indian social conditions recorded by Megasthenes twenty-two centuries ago we feel that his words are still applicable in the main to present conditions in India." Being busy in dealing with the palace records of ancient days Messrs. Smith and Lane Poole could not evidently direct their attention to the activities of the inner life of India, which have always been operative in effecting change in many directions. How the Jaina preachers have been instrumental in spreading culture and in softening the hearts of many million of men in the wild tracts of India, how our people have changed in the time of Gotama Buddha, Chaitanya and Guru Nanak, and how the people have been moved in the Deccan in the days of a great political upheaval, by the influence of the teachings

of saints belonging to the lower classes of Marhatta Society, should not have escaped the notice of the noted historians though they might fail to be attentive to such things as the Satnami movement in the Chhattisgarh tract, or the humanizing activities of the Mahima Gurus in the backward hilly tracts of Orissa. We wonder how the historian can afford to forget that India has been the home of diverse races from the remotest antiquity and that through all times the Aryans have been influenced by the non-Aryans, and the latter by the former as reflected in many blends of our cultural institutions. We cannot any longer deny that the facts indicated above are essential factors for the historians to study in preference to the anecdotes of the lives of some rulers; for the real history of our country we have to study very seriously how the Aryans have absorbed many thoughts and notions of the non-Aryans and how the latter have changed by imitating the former. It should be evident to the oriental scholars that many dark corners of our Indian History cannot be properly illuminated unless some accounts of the hitherto neglected common people throw light on them. It is a miserable history which deals with the acts of the rulers only. Those who cannot understand "change" unassociated with "political revolutions" are bound to fail to read us aright; they should do well to change their view-point when addressing themselves to write the history of our country. A cycle of Cathay may be less eventful than a period of fifty years in Europe, but still the commonalty in the East has a history to be told; why the East does not move as the West does, is by itself a fact of great historical moment, and it should therefore be a point for the Historian to deal with. When the European critics consider the peoples of the East less mobile than even a glacier, they judge things by a standard which is inapplicable in the East. Do not our languages and literatures of various times and of different provinces speak unmistakably of serious changes, which we have undergone and are still undergoing? The transition from one stage to another may be either slow or imperceptible, but all the same, the

country has changed and this change has not been mainly due to what we get to read in the anecdotes of the rulers of India. India of today with all its social and religious institutions is not what it was "in the days of Megasthenes."

That the life of India was not so immobile is clearly shown in a book entitled "Corporate Life in Ancient India," which has been recently brought out by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, a young and energetic scholar of the Calcutta University. That there is no tendency in this work to idealise the past or to minimise inconvenient facts, could be clearly and distinctly seen if Mr. Smith cared to look up the authorities on the basis of which Dr. Majumdar has stated his facts; the references to authorities have been noted in each case. If Mr. Smith cares to take note of the Atmallik system and the Patki system of government as prevailed in the much unadvanced tract of the highlands of Orissa, he will have to considerably modify his notions. The systems have not wholly died out, and what they were may still be gauged by the Patki system still in force in some Feudatory States of Orissa. The word Mahallik in ancient Prakrit meant a old man or a wise man; how the Mahallik or Malliks or the representatives of several guilds and communities governed some states or took part in the administration of some states may be easily gathered from the State records: there is still a Feudatory State which bears the name Athamallik because of the system of administration which was in force after the time of the Marhatta supremacy in Orissa. Pataks or representatives of different communities or trade guilds are still nominated by the people, for instance in the State of Sonepur, and they are appointed as such by the Maharaja to represent their class interest to him and to be authorized to decide many questions of dispute.

To understand the judicial system of ancient India aright, one has to unlearn this proposition of European Jurisprudence that law flows out either from the King or from a similar determinate authority. It is not also true that the Brahmans legislated for the people in ancient India.

lacks the precision characteristic of science. Thus, the book opens with the sentence: "Organic means pertaining to life, or to some living organism, and hence organic chemistry originally meant chemistry dealing with those compounds and substances which are obtained from some living organism or which are the chief constituents of certain plants, animals and other objects of life." The earnest student will be undoubtedly puzzled to distinguish between the alternatives. Wherever the author has gone beyond the theory, his language has been similarly inaccurate. For instance, the first line on page 44 reads: "Ferment is a small living vegetable or animal organism present in the atmosphere and also in the yeast." After a line we are told that "beyond 30 per cent. temperature it cannot remain alive." Is it a fact? On page 156 we are told that "soap is simply a mixture of sodium or potassium salts of palmitic, stearic and olive acids with water and alkali." This cannot be the chemical definition of soap.

J. C. RAY.

THE WAR AND AGRICULTURE: by Mr. Nagen-dranath Gangulee, B. Sc., (Illinois, U. S. A.).

It is an interesting brochure of 4 chapters; (1) The War and Agriculture, (2) Increased Food Production from soil, (3) Food conservation, (4) Food Distribution; and two appendices, (A) Harvest Prices of Jute, and (B) Agricultural Reconstruction in Great Britain and Ireland. Two of these articles appeared in the *Modern Review* sometime ago. The author has described the organisations which have been made in England and other countries for the improvement of agriculture and has urged the people of India and its Government to form a definite agricultural policy.

The brochure has been well-written and shows Mr. Gangulee's extensive acquaintance with the periodicals of the day, and how he keenly watches the agricultural movement in other countries. We commend this book to the zemindars and leaders of the country.

DEVENDRA NATH MITRA.

KANNADA.

KARNATAK GATA WAIBHAWA: author and publisher, Mr. V. B. Alur, B. A., LL. B., Pleader, and President Karnatak Itihas Mandal, Dharwar. Pp. 154. Price Rupee one. To be had of the author.

The author of the book under review, is a well known writer in Kannada. This book is an outcome of his labours in research in Karnatak history for the last ten years. It is the first publication of the Karnatak Itihas Mandal, at Dharwar, which was founded in 1914 by the author himself.

The author has two ends in view: one, to create a spirit of genuine love for Karnatak in the younger generation of the Province; another, to suggest lines of research to those

who wish to toil in the thorny task of historical research. For the one, he says, he has been a bard, singing the merits of his illustrious ancestors. For the other, he says, the work is simply a sign-post pointing out the way to the temple of research.

In his first object the author has succeeded a good deal. He paints a very inspiring picture of ancient Karnatak, establishing among others the following important facts, with proper authorities in his favour:—

1. Karnatak was a great empire, extending from the Godavari in the North to the Cauvery in the South. It was ruled over by eminent and heroic kings for centuries, kings who nurtured the Kannada language and the Karnatak culture.

2. In the fine arts, such as Painting, Architecture and Music, Karnatak can boast of its special style, the remains of such arts being yet preserved at Ajanta and Ellora in the North, and Carla, Vijayanagar, Badami, Halebidu, etc., in the South.

3. Karnatak has given to the Hindu religion its three best philosophers; thus helping it to develop and conserve its culture. Again the Hindu religion and culture were first protected against Mohamedan invasion by a Karnatak Empire, resuscitated by a Kannada ascetic, the well-known Vidyaranya, who on account of the variety of subjects over which he had mastery can be compared to Aristotle of the Greeks.

The new wave of patriotism which is rolling throughout India, as a consequence of the great war, has also reached Karnatak. In such circumstances the book is very opportune and it has done its desired work. The second object however is little achieved. The young minds, though awake, are not yet forthcoming to undertake the arduous task of research in their illustrious past. But to those few who have been inspired into work, the suggestions are indeed priceless.

Considered as a piece of literature, the book is indeed epoch-making, some of the noblest of modern thoughts being expressed in a most chaste and inimitable style. The book is a specimen of oratorical and inspiring literature in the Kannada language.

The popularity of the book is self-evident from the fact that all the copies of the first edition, (about 1,000) were sold off in less than a year and a half. The second edition is soon to be out. We understand the author has taken steps to insert better maps this time in the book.

A.

MARATHI.

SURYAGRAHANA OR SOLAR ECLIPSE: by the late Hari Naryan Apte. Publisher—the Arya Bhushan Press, Poona City. Pp. 366. Price Rs. 2-4-0.

This is the eighth and alas! the last of the series of historical novels written in his inimitable style by Mr. H. N. Apte, whose death

in March last was mourned, all over the Maharashtra, by men and women, individual readers and learned societies alike, and who is still remembered as the premier Marathi novelist, a master-mind which unconsciously yet indelibly influenced the old and the young, the high and the low, a writer, who never wielded his pen without having some message to tell and who told it in a way which captured the hearts of his readers. The book under review is a historical novel, and the pity is that the thread of its plot is snapped asunder just at a point where the interest of the reader has attained its highest pitch.

It will look ungracious to make any comment on a work, when its author is deprived of an opportunity of replying to it. Moreover much comment is needless, as just three years ago, when I noticed Mr. Apte's another historical novel '*Vajraghata*,' I sufficiently dealt with the merits and demerits of the author's style of depicting men and events in history and in a general way of the secret of his success or failure in the delineation of characters looked at from different points of view. Suffice it to say here that the great historical event which forms the subject of the book under review is one of absorbing interest to the Marathas and there can be no gainsaying the fact that the author has done full justice to it. There is however one outstanding feature in Mr. Apte's historical novels, which needs special mention. It is a truism to say that history and fiction go ill together, unless the writer, be he a novelist or a drama-writer, possesses a very high regard for truth and takes scrupulous care not to sacrifice it for the gratification of a low earthly desire of playing to the gallery. That Mr. Apte never yielded to such temptation is a fact which greatly redounds to his credit.

It will not be out of place, however, to point out a few mistakes that have crept into the book. For instance, the name of Raja Jaisingh's son was not किरातसिंह but कौरतसिंह and that the Durbar hall where the great Shivaji was received in audience by the Emperor Aurangzeb

was not *Am-Khas* (in fact there is no such hall and the term wrongly used by the author has no meaning) but *Diwan-i-am* at Agra. Mr. Apte's defective knowledge of Urdu is no doubt responsible for this and similar mistakes. There has been some carelessness on the part of the person who edited and revised the book. In one place at any rate his remissness is unpardonable. On p. 184 the word महलाकाँदा is printed instead of महल आशंका. There is a world of difference in the meaning of the two words. This shows that the publisher must needs be more careful in getting further editions of this and other works of Mr. Apte revised by a competent hand.

V. G. APTE.

GUJARATI.

TAHUKAR (टहुकार) by Vasanta Vinodi, i.e., Chandal Manilal Desai, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Prajabandhu Printing Works, Ahmedabad. Thick Cardboard Cover, pp. 144. Price Re. 1. (1919).

This is a collection of poems, called by their writer, the voice of the cuckoo. The writer is a dentist by profession, having learnt his work in England for five years. Thereafter he gave up a lucrative practice in Bombay and has just joined the band of volunteer social workers in Gujarat. From his earliest days, he had a penchant for poetry, and even before he proceeded to England, he had been able to secure some fame for his productions and from the volume under notice it appears as if the stay in England and the lures of his profession have not made him forsake the Muses. The poems are written on all the burning topics of the day, and it must be said to Mr. Desai's credit that in trying to make them popular he has not sacrificed his art. They are very well written, the sincerity of the poet lies on the surface, and on the whole we think that we have no reason to be ashamed of his handiwork now presented to us; this cannot be said of a majority of those who in the present days court the goddess of poetry.

K. M. J.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The Story of the Lion and the Elephant.

Mr. Ordhendra Coomar Gangoly, B.A., the contributor of an article entitled "The Story of the Lion and the Elephant" to the September number of the Modern Review, has formed an erroneous view of the ancient history of Orissa and consequently I beg to point out the historical anachronism in connection with the reasonings adduced to prove that the architectural devices in the temples of Orissa are adumbrated as if the fall of the Elephant dynasty had taken place with the advent of the Keshari Dynasty. His statements are not based upon historical facts, but either on hearsay evidences or inaccurate

conjectures. From the palmleaf archives preserved in the precincts of the Jagannath temple at Puri it is evident that the Keshari dynasty of Orissa was supplanted by the Gajapati dynasty or in other words, the reverse of the view taken by Mr. Gangoly, presumably at the suggestion of Mr. B. C. Majumdar who though well conversant with the Orissan arts and literature has in this case suggested quite the reverse of the historical fact. The architectural device of the lion over a recumbent elephant is attributable mainly to the predominance of the beastly instincts of the lion over the elephant.

PURNA CHANDRA DAS.

PUBLICITY FOR INDIA ABROAD

LALAJPAT Rai has recently issued "An Open Letter to the Indian Leaders." While it is primarily intended to call the attention of the leaders of public life in India to the "necessity of educating world-opinion about our country and our aspirations by concerted, judicious, and effective methods", the letter should be read by all Indians with thought and respect. Lalaji points out that "no nation, however isolated she might have been in the past, can afford to ignore the force of public opinion in the various countries of the world."

The need for propaganda agencies for India in the various civilized countries has never been so great as now. There are interested people abroad who deliberately, purposely distort facts about India, and the foreign press, sometimes carelessly, often not knowing the facts, allows these misrepresentations to be made public. While these anti-Indian propagandists have been working for years and are now redoubling their efforts, practically nothing has been done to combat these mischievous, malicious poisoners of the public mind.

Lajpat Rai dwells upon this, when he says :

"I must confess with shame that so far we have not paid sufficient attention to work in this connection, even in Great Britain, Ireland, and other parts of the British Empire. Whatever we have done has been done half-heartedly. We have not used the modern methods of publicity. We have not made enough sacrifices in time and money. So far as the rest of the world is concerned, we have paid no heed to what it thinks about us and of us. We have behaved as if it did not exist for us. This has harmed us considerably. The world holds us in contempt, holds wrong and peculiar views of our history, our lives, our institutions, and our aspirations. We cannot blame them for this, as we have made no attempt to educate them on right lines. We have let judgment go against us in default."

This is true. In the daily press of New York every day there appears considerable matter furnished by the Publicity Bureaus of European countries, but rarely anything about India. The persistent efforts of a number of Indians in America in the past two years have induced the press to take some notice of India. But in spite of these attempts the papers had little space or sympathy for the millions who died of famine and disease. We have to work harder still to interest the world in our affairs.

Speaking of these publicity organizations Lajpat Rai says: "Every nationality on the face of the earth has its national organization

and its information bureau here (in New York), each of which educates, guides, and watches public opinion in the interests of its government. If mighty governments do that, well may their example be followed in an humble way by private national agencies."

One has only to look at the Directory of New York to note the large number of organizations that are carrying on the work of safeguarding the interests of and keeping the public correctly informed about their countries. The organizations listed are as varied in names as their nationalities. Some of them are:

American Hellenic Society; American Scandinavian Foundation; Australian Press Association; Bohemian National Alliance; Council of Jewish Women; Czecho-Slovak National Council; Federation of Palestinian Jews; Federation of Roumanian Jews; Finland Consolidated League of America; French-American Chamber of Commerce; Friends of Irish Freedom; Gaelic League of Ireland; Geneva Society of America; The German Society; Hispanic Society of America; Holland Society of New York; Hungarian Literary Society; Imperial Order of the Daughters of the British Empire; Irish Progressive League; Italian Bureau of Information; Japan Society, Inc.; Jewish Welfare Board; Lithuanian Alliance of America; Order of Sons of Italy in America; Polish American Association; Russian Information Bureau; Russian Soviet Bureau; Ukrainian National Alliance; and Zionist Organization of America.

Most of the European governments, especially Great Britain and France, have in addition to their diplomatic officers very efficient non-official organizations merely for the purpose of sounding, educating and persuading public opinion in their favour. The government of America being "of the people, for the people, and by the people", these propaganda organizations consider it essential that the "common people" have correct and favorable impressions of them.

The Japan Society frequently advertises its services in the daily press. Its publicity work is quite unique, inasmuch as it covers a very wide field of service. One of the advertisements entitled "A Great Purpose Well Fulfilled," runs thus: "To promote good will, to encourage amicable understanding, to extend commercial intercourse, to bring closer together through travel and educational activities the thinkers and doers of two great nations, the United States of America and Japan, such is the purpose of the Japan Society."

"How well this purpose has been fulfilled is best evidenced in the volume of date and inform-

ation disseminated by means of the Trade Bulletin, Information Bureau, Travel Bureau, Lecture Bureau, and Publication Department, conducted under its auspices.

"In the United States the Japan Society of New York has a membership in excess of 1200, of whom 1100 are Americans. The American Japan Society of Tokio is a reciprocal organization of the most representative Japanese.

"The Japan Society has extended aid to many corporations, institutions and individuals throughout the United States.

"How may we serve you?"

Another well-intentioned but rather fantastically worded advertisement to emphasize the necessity of "An exact knowledge of Japan" reads as follows:

"Some call it the land of wisteria. Some think it is a place of hysteria. It is neither one nor the other. It is far greater than either. Let us give you a proper conception of the aims and ideals, the inspirations and aspirations of this newly 'westernized' island empire whose social, industrial, and economic progress has amazed the world. The purpose of the Japan Society is to create a better understanding of Japan to encourage more friendly relations between two neighborly peoples, to foster more pleasant and profitable trade connections by a fair and impartial presentation of actual conditions.

"Here you will find a Trade Bulletin, a News Service, a Bureau of Information, a Travel Bureau, a Lecture Bureau, and a Publication Department. This society enjoys a membership in the United States of 1,000 members, of whom 900 are Americans. It extends hospitality to distinguished visitors from Nippon. It facilitates travel to the Orient. It issues letters of introduction. How may we serve you?"

This society is very persistent in its efforts. A third advertisement which gives a list of its officers and directors, all people of considerable prominence in Japan and America, says:

"The provincial mind of yesterday is developing into the international mind of to-day. Japan is a case in point. Closer business relations necessitate a more active interchange of general thought and educational and humanitarian ideas. The monthly Bulletins issued by the Japan Society bring to you first-hand and authentic information upon the subjects of trade, finance, current events, and travel. The Japan Society, New York, is an organization of Americans. The America-Japan Society, Tokio, is a Japanese organization. Both societies have a large and influential membership and are co-operating to further friendly relations. How may we serve you?"

Another example that may be cited is that of the Italy-America Society. One of its publicity articles describing "An International Mobilization," says:

"For some time past a highly beneficial international movement has been in progress. Its

purpose has been the establishing of a definite platform upon which the leading personalities of two great nations, Italy and America, might be enabled to exchange their best thought upon the questions of industry, economics, and finance as they are understood and practised in each of these separate lands. This idea has now culminated and has become an actuality in the recent formation of the ITALY-AMERICA SOCIETY, an organization composed of a group of representative individuals of both of these progressive peoples.

"That the industrial, educational, and financial interests of the two countries may achieve a more intimate mutual comprehension—that this international friendship of long standing may be increased and cemented, that a general good to both peoples may be more broadly and more surely rendered into fact, these in the main are the principles which the Italy-America Society has been designed to promulgate. To obtain the further facts pertaining to this movement, those interested may address the ITALY-AMERICA SOCIETY."

Coming to India—while not much publicity work has been done in foreign countries, there are a few agencies in England and the United States which have been carrying on fairly effective propaganda. In London the "British Committee" of the Indian National Congress and the "Home Rule for India League" and in the United States of America the "India Home Rule League" and the Hindustan Association deserve special mention and credit.

What the British Committee has done or has not done is well-known to the Indian public. In our judgment its work has not been sufficient in proportion to the amount of money spent on it by the Congress. The Indian leaders in England, specially Messrs. Tilak and Kelkar, are trying to reorganize it and give it a definite set of plans and policies to make its work more effective.

The Home Rule for India League in London has done some praiseworthy publicity from funds raised in England from the British public. It has published many books, pamphlets, and leaflets; has sent thousands of circulars to influential bodies such as Trades Unions, and to important persons, contradicting mischievous anti-Indian propaganda. Lectures in England, Scotland, and Wales, have been held under the auspices of the League, and its president Mr. George Lansbury and one of its firm supporters, Mr. D. Graham Pole, have striven to marshal the democratic forces in Parliament in support of reforms in Indian politics in consonance with Indian wishes.

There is room enough in England for a dozen other Indian agencies to awaken the interest of the British public in India. The work now being done is laudable, but it has by no means reached its maximum efficiency.

In the United States, under the leadership of

Lala Lajpat Rai, the India Home Rule League was established October 22, 1917. Its policy as outlined by its leader runs thus :

"We are engaged in disseminating knowledge of the conditions in India and in placing the Indian point of view before the American public. In doing so we have oftener than not relied upon statements made and opinions expressed by British statesmen, British publicists, and British journalists. We have never concealed our object. We are not advocating the separating of India from the British commonwealth. We have, times out of number, condemned revolutionary actions, terrorism, the use of any force or violence achieving our freedom."

The objects of the League are :

1. To support the Home Rule movement in India by co-operating with such political organizations as the Home Rule Leagues, the All India Moslem League, and the Indian National Congress,—both of India and America.

2. To secure the power of self-determination for India through constitutional methods.

3. To strengthen and support all democratic institutions that aim at making the world "safe for democracy."

4. To further all kinds of friendly intercourse—social, cultural, educational, and commercial,—between India and America.

5. To supply authentic information on the vital problems of modern India to the American people by the publication of a monthly magazine, or by such other methods as are deemed proper by the Council of the League.

During the first year the Bureau was entirely self-supporting, maintained partly by contributions from Indians, and largely by American contributions. When Lokamanya Tilak heard of the work that Lala Lajpat Rai was doing he sent \$5,000 to put the organization on a financial footing.

The League has recently started a bookshop and an India Information Bureau. The bookshop is purely a business venture and furnishes the League with some income. The objects of the India Information League are :

1. To furnish reliable *INFORMATION* of all kinds about India—political, educational, commercial, etc.

2. To serve as a *PUBLICITY* and advertising medium between India and the United States.

3. To supply *TEACHERS* of Hindu languages and Hindu topics in general.

4. To supply *LECTURERS* on subjects relating to India and arrange lectures.

5. To provide a *READING ROOM* furnishing all Hindu newspapers and magazines ; and a *LIBRARY* of books on India.

6. To undertake *TRANSLATIONS* from and into Hindu languages.

7. To teach English to workingmen of Hindu origin in America with a view to increase their

efficiency and to make them better American citizens.

It has received many inquiries about customs, trade, and other miscellaneous matters. It has issued two special news bulletins to 250 American newspapers and magazines. It is conducting a night class to teach English to Indian labourers. It has furnished articles on various topics to a large number of American dailies, weeklies, and monthlies. It is receiving through the courtesy of the Indian papers a large number of Indian newspapers, which are placed in a reading room where anyone interested in India is welcome. The Bureau is planning to co-operate with a number of foreign language newspaper syndicates to whom it will furnish articles in English, about India, which will be translated into Russian, Polish, German, and other European languages and furnished to newspapers all over the country. Thus the message of India will reach millions of people who cannot be reached in any other way. On the whole, the work it has done justifies its existence to the fullest possible extent.

Another organization, an older one, established in 1912, is the Hindusthan Association of America. Its objects are "to further the interests of the Hindustan students, to interpret India to America and America to India." Its work has been almost entirely limited to educational and social matters. It has furnished information about American universities to hundreds of students in India. Its official organ, "Hindusthanee Student", has been discontinued for a while for lack of funds. It has "Chapters" and "Nalanda Clubs" in several University towns, where Indian students can get room and board at economical rates.

Besides these there are the Vedantic Societies in New York, Boston, and San Francisco; the Maharastra Mandal of America, an organization of the Maharastra students; the Friends of Freedom for India, &c. The activities of each of them has considerable propaganda value, although it is of a limited nature.

Besides these organizations the work of a number of individuals has also been considerable. Of these Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar, and a few others, notably the Indian students of American universities,—Dr. Sudhindra Bose, Dhan Gopal Mukerji, Basanta Kumar Roy, are notable among these. In fact every Indian student abroad, if he is of the right sort, feels it his duty to act as a torch-bearer of truth about India.

Some work has been done in Japan,—but not enough. Japan, in spite of what the anti-Japanese propagandists may say, has always been very sympathetic to the aspirations of Indians. Count Okuma has, on a number of occasions, expressed himself in very friendly terms and has acted as host to many Indian students during their stay in Japan.

The Indo-Japanese Association, an organiza-

tion started by a number of Japanese businessmen in Tokyo, is not very active now. There is need of a strong, active Bureau there. Japan is a friendly field, worthy of intensive cultivation.

In South Africa, where Hindus are most discriminated against there is need of a vigorous campaign to awaken the sympathy of the public. In the Smuts-Gandhi agreement Mr. Gandhi has perhaps unconsciously given expression to this need. In a letter to Mr. Gorges, Secretary of the Department of the Interior Transvaal, he writes—"I have told my countrymen that they will have to exercise patience and *by all honorable means at their disposal educate public opinion* so as to enable the government of the day to go further than the present one does." The government, however, is going backward by attempting to enact a bill making it impossible for Hindus to obtain trading licenses for business.

In the British West Indies the newly organized "East India National Company of Trinidad" hopes to do some good work. In another distant corner of the world Dr. Manilal is keeping the problems of the Indians in the forefront in Suva, Fiji Islands. Every bit helps.

II

The object of publicity is to reach as many people as possible, to approach them in *all* possible ways, and to make the appeal continuous.

The appeal may be oral, printed, or pictured. The National Committee on Patriotic Societies, of Washington, D.C., has prepared a chart of patriotic publicity. This chart makes a survey of the entire field of propaganda. It is as follows:

CHART OF PATRIOTIC PUBLICITY PREPARED BY NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES.

I. Oral Form.

Medium	Method of Distribution
1. Lectures or Addresses.	1. Special Audiences. 2. Ready-made Audiences. Conventions. Granges. Chautauqua lecture courses. Schools and colleges. Cantonments.
2. Four-Minute Men.	1. Theatres. 2. Motion Picture Houses. 3. Churches. 4. Outdoor Audiences.
3. Songs.	
4. Phonograph Records— Speeches of National and International Leaders. Patriotic Songs & Musical Pieces.	1. Everywhere through Phonograph Record Dealers. (22,000 schools now have phonographs.)

II. Printed Form.

Medium	Method of Distribution.
1. Newspapers—including foreign language press. Advertisements. Material for reading matter.	1. Patriotic societies. 2. School children. 3. Boy Scouts of America. 4. Stores. 5. Sales forces of large organizations, e.g., Simmons Hardware Co. 6. Mercantile houses' mail. 7. Special Mailing Lists.
2. Trade Press.	
3. "House Organs."	
4. Periodicals.	
5. Circular Letters.	
6. Pamphlets.	
7. Hand-bills.	
8. Cards or slips of pay envelope size.	1. Pay envelopes.
9. Programmes.	1. Theatres, athletic meets, etc.
[10. Flags and Banners.	In parades and on buildings.]

III. Pictured Form.

1. Posters.	1. Billboards and buildings. 2. Street Cars. 3. Rail Road Stations and Steamboat Docks. 4. Official Bulletin Boards (Factories, Schools, etc.) 5. Shop Windows (Chain stores, etc.) 6. Automobile Windshields and Windows. 7. Trucks, Wagons and Buses. 8. Post Offices.
2. Poster Stamps.	1. Mercantile Houses. 2. Private Sale.
3. Cartoons.	1. Newspapers. 2. Periodicals. 3. Trade Press, etc.
4. Motion Pictures.	1. Motion Picture Houses. 2. Special Audiences, Schools, Colleges, Churches, "Open Air" Audiences, etc.
5. Slides.	1. Special Audiences, etc. 2. Schools. 3. Churches.
6. Transparencies.	1. Parades.

The United States Government during the war, in its campaigns for the Liberty and Victory Loans, for the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A. and other organizations for teaching economy, for saving food, for planting war gardens, and

for a hundred other activities whose success depended upon the co-operation and help of the public, undertook to organize a vast propaganda machine which turned out thousands of street corner orators, and billions of circulars, pamphlets, and posters. Concentrating the activities of a hundred million people to help in the business of war was a gigantic task. A very efficient and very vast organization was necessary to do it, and, much to its credit, it was done, successfully.

Molding public opinion is purely a matter of psychology. The public as a whole can think of just one thing at a time, and it can be reached and made to think by an appeal to its emotions rather than to its intellect. The ideals, aspirations, and economic conditions of India can be placed before the public most efficiently if these two psychological laws are adhered to.

Another most important thing that an Indian publicity organization abroad must have is a definite program of action. The progress, prestige, and power of an organization depend on its ability to divert efficient collective thinking towards specific tasks. A survey of the field must be made to ascertain who will be sympathetic and what lines of work must be undertaken to reach them.

Our purpose is a very definite one. We want to show to the world that the existing social, political, economic, industrial, and educational systems and conditions in India are not satisfactory. Therefore facts about India should be known abroad. Then, we desire to raise India in the estimation of the educated people of the world. We want to call their attention to the art, literature, and philosophy of India. The result of work along these lines cannot but be better understanding, more sympathy, and increase of friendly relations between India and the rest of the world.

In his "Open Letter" Lala Lajpat Rai has suggested five important methods of publicity abroad,—the establishment of Information and Publicity Bureaus and News Agencies, the publication of books written by Indians, and arrangement with foreign universities to exchange teachers and professors with India. There are agencies in England and the United States who are more or less adequately carrying out the first four things, but there is need of more organizations in other countries. Besides London and New York there should be permanent information and publicity centres in Shanghai, Tokio, Paris, in South Africa, Australia, and South America. Each centre should have branches in the important cities of those countries.

Who is to finance this work? India, of course. It is India's work and India must pay for it. The Indian National Congress may take it up, or any one of the several other organizations, such as the Servants of India Society, or the Home Rule Leagues. It is possible, of course, to obtain support from foreign countries, like Eng-

land and America, but it is not advisable, owing to the difficulty of conducting any extensive publicity work relying solely on contributions from foreigners. Our self-respect also ought to tell us not to seek foreign help for such work.

In order to insure the financial standing of these Bureaus a central organisation in India is necessary. It is advisable that this central organization be managed and supervised by the Indian National Congress. This organization will raise an endowment fund of several lacs of rupees, and should direct the plans, policies, and in many cases select the personnel of the branches abroad. Some of these, given competent business managers, may become self-supporting by inventing sources of income in their respective countries. The India Home Rule League of America has some income from its bookshop, from subscriptions to its magazine "Young India," from membership dues paid by its active, associate, and ordinary members, and from donations. The plans and policies of each branch should be under the direction of a competent Indian publicist, and the remainder of the staff should be, as far as possible, Indian. In Japan, South Africa, the United States, England, France, and one or two other countries resident Indians could be found to undertake this work.

Indian leaders either forget the force of public opinion or they are purposely neglecting to use that force. Buddha, Christ, Mohammed, preached and educated public opinion to believe in justice, brotherly love, and sacrifice, and now they have millions of followers. The right does prevail, though it seems to take much time.

Our Cause is just. It is not difficult to convert people to a just Cause, nor to urge on their energies in behalf of India and the Indians, whether these people be English, Americans, Japanese, or South Africans. Only we must go to work wholeheartedly and be willing to make sacrifices. All people need is to have the knowledge of the injustices under which we suffer, and they will act in our behalf.

Christ would not have had so many followers today if it were not for the hundreds of thousands of preachers who gave their entire lifetimes to announcing and repeating and keeping His message before the world. India cannot expect to have any adherents either in the House of Lords or in the House of Commons or in the Transvaal Assembly if we do not preach India's claims and rights at the top of our voices, from every nook and corner of the world.

We want the people of the world to *think* about us. Thinking is important because it controls causes which control consequences. The only results we desire is a favourable world-opinion, a knowledge of our present conditions and a recognition of our rights. These are to be had only by systematic, persistent and intelligent efforts.

This is an age of publicity. Now more than ever before public opinion is a real force in the

conduct of the world's affairs. If we do not use this force we are criminally delaying the recognition of our natural rights. The watchword

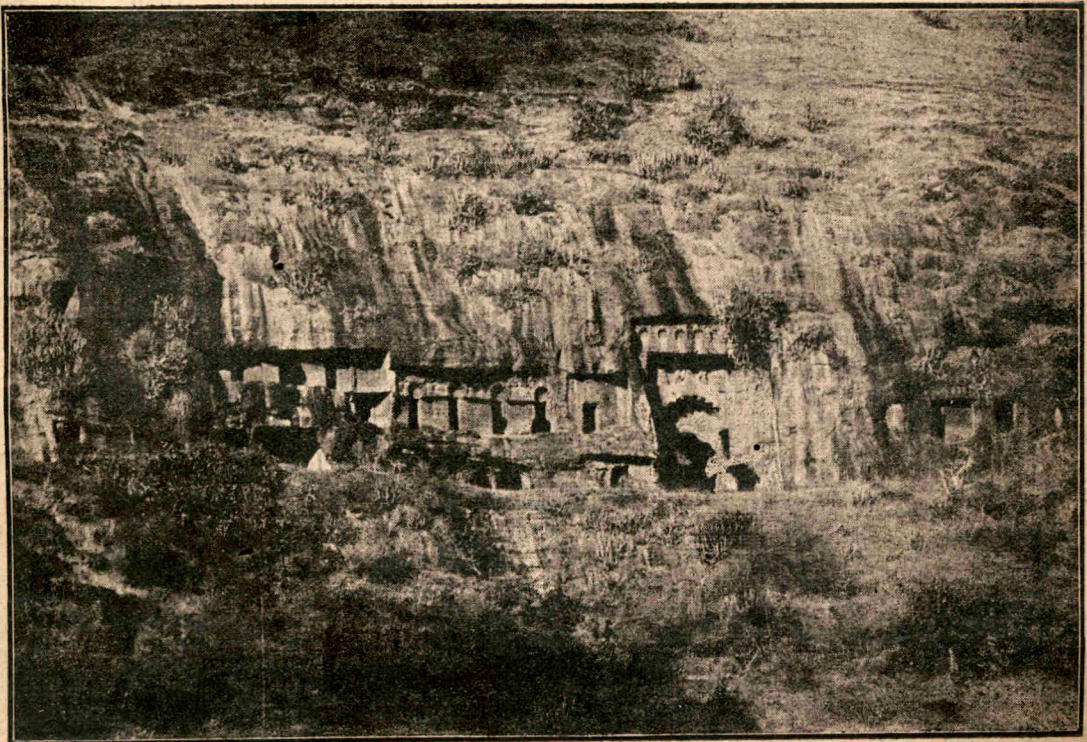
of India should be "Agitate, educate, organize."
New York City,
U. S. A. RAM KUMAR KHEMKA.

JUNNAR

SURROUNDED by a complete circle of high hills as its city walls, under the lee of another mighty flat-topped hill, lies the old city of Junnar, the holiest spot for an Indian in the whole of the Maharashtra. Junnar means "an old city". So this old city of the Deccan was itself old when the Bahmanis of Gulbarga or the Nizamshahis of Ahmadnagar conquered its well nigh impregnable fort on the flat-topped hill of Shivneri and repopled the deserted plain.

So sayeth tradition. To the opposite of that side of Shivneri on which modern

Junnar stands, people point out the site of the ancient city which was deserted when the Muhammadan invader came into the land for the first time and emptied the halls, carved out of the hills that surrounded Shivneri on all sides, of the icons and of their attendants. Later on, when the Hindus had settled down peaceably under their new masters, a new city was founded. From the old city, the very name of which has been forgotten, the new city took its name. It was called Junnar. *Juna* means old, as in Junagadh, and *nar* or *ner* is a shortened form of *nagar*.



The Cave of the Minister of the Saka King at Manmori.

On the bleak flat top of Shivneri, in a small two-storied stone house, which the Captain of the Fort occupied in the days of glory of the Kings of Gulbarga and Ahmadnagar, Sivaji, son of Shahji, was born in the year 1627 A.D. For this reason Junnar is the holiest of the holies in the ancient land of Maharashtra.

It is a strange *tirtha*, as holy places are called in the Indian language. It bears no comparison with Benâres or Prayag or Brindaban. The clamour of priests, the wailings of beggars and the mixed odours of crushed marigold and decaying vegetation do not reach you as you ascend the steep flank of Shivneri. There is a solitary temple on the hill in which Amba Bhavani is the presiding deity. A solitary shepherd may be seen tending his flocks on the ample pasture of the low hills. You have not to jostle a surging crowd which seeks entrance into temples. Shivneri is deserted. Maharashtra has forgotten its holiest *tirtha*.

The bustling tourist with the Kodak and white umbrella seldom comes to this place and therefore when you visit Shivneri you are not plagued with guides, you have to obtain your guide from the deserted streets of old Junnar or to ascend the hill without one.

New Junnar contains two or three places of interest. There is plenty of very good medieval carving in the little Jumma Masjid in the heart of the city. A mile away from it are to be seen the pleasure gardens of a fortunate Abyssinian eunuch and his palace. The tank and the fountain of the garden and a few trees testify to its departed glory. The palace itself has been converted into the residence of an industrious Deccani Hindu who has covered it with a beautiful red tiled roof, the dissonance of which with the ancient age-stained walls of the palace proclaims very loudly to the world that this is the twentieth century. At a short distance from the palace lies the tomb of the eunuch whose name can be read in the Persian or Arabic inscription on its door.

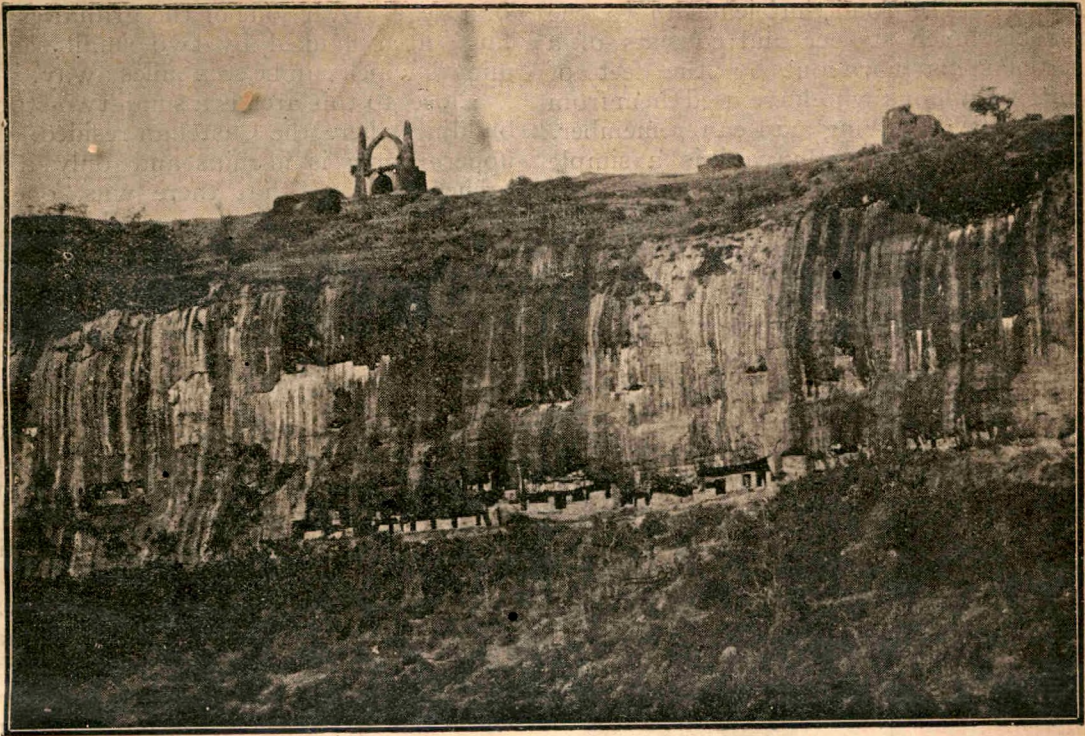
The hills surrounding Shivneri are honeycombed with cave temples and monasteries, both Buddhist and Hindu. Learned antiquarians divide it into four

groups. The first group is called the Ganesh Lena group, as Ganapati, the favourite deity of the Deccan, has been enshrined there. The pious Maharani Ahalya Bai of Indore built a series of steps along the steep hill-side so as to make the ascent easier for the pilgrim. The caves on this hill are more numerous than those in other groups. Opposite to the Ganesh Lena group are the caves of the Manmodi group. Manmodi in Marathi is said to mean "the screwed head." The hill is so high that if you want to look at the caves from the plains, there is very great danger of your neck being screwed or broken. A teacher of the local school said that here were caves carved out of the rock at the expense of opulent merchants of Bharoch (modern Broach) and an Indian Minister of a Scythic King.

On another hill lies another group of cave temples called the Tulja Lena group. Lena means a cave in the ancient language of the inscriptions as well as modern Marathi. Here, in one cave, an image of Bhavani, called Tulja Mata, has been placed. Shivaji held Bhavani Mata of Tuljapur, now in the Nizam's dominions, in great veneration, and therefore in many parts of his Kingdom temples of Bhavani were erected. In this group there is a curious cave which is circular in shape and contains a circular row of neat slender pillars which support the roof.

The fourth group of caves is that of Shivneri itself, which are full of jungle and inaccessible. The local Archaeological Department has not thought fit to provide footpaths in the case of this group only. Shepherds say that panthers reside and breed in these caves and help them materially by carrying off sheep or goats from their herds, so that even they do not venture to remain on the hill-side in the afternoon.

Junnar is not easily accessible. The shortest routes are from Talegaon from the north and the west or from Poona from the south. From Poona the route is shortest but it takes more time as you have to traverse half of the Poona-Nasik Road in bullock cart. But from Talegaon there is a motor service. Two or three



The Shivneri Hill.

furniture vans or open lorries have been converted into cars for the use of passengers. The road from Talegaon to Junnar crosses a section of the Bhor Ghauts and passes by the hill fort of Chakan closely connected with the history of Shivaji and by the small hamlet of Deu where the famous poet Tukaram was born. Hence the family of the Bangalee literateur Pandit Sakharan Ganesh Deuskar originated.

In the earlier period of British rule Junnar was a prosperous town, a big centre of trade in the Poona District and a favourite resort of rich *Seths* who were tired of earning money in Bombay. But it has fallen on evil days. Ever since bubonic plague made its appearance in this province Junnar has declined fast. Its streets are almost deserted, rows of empty and ruined houses line the roads. The once famous paper industry is well nigh extinct. The rich *Seth* from Bombay avoids it. Even the brave Christian Missionary has given up his attempts to evangelise the poor heathen and therefore the chance

traveller finds shelter in the forsaken Mission House, for Junnar boasts of no "Traveller's Bungalow" or "Rest House".

The principal attraction at Junnar is a small ruined house on the top of Shivneri hill where once the Captain of the fort resided, and where "the king" was born. If you ask "which king?" then the Maratha looks at you in surprise because the old kings are forgotten. In him lives the memory of one king, the protector of the Brahmana, the god and the cow, the death of the Musalman bigot, the great king Siva. There was but one king and that was Siva. His descendants were mere puppets and the Brahmin Peshwas were usurpers.

There is a single road along the steep sides of Shivneri hill to its top. It is a long narrow and steep road protected at intervals by a number of huge gateways flanked with bastions. There are two different forts. The lower fort containing the temple of Amba Bhavani and the Bale Kila or citadel which contains other

buildings. The road that leads up to the citadel is much steeper and consists of a series of steps worn out by the feet of countless millions who have used them from a time which no living man can remember. The temple of Amba Bhavani is a simple looking thing. It has a wooden gate at one end, and inside it there are a series of wooden pillars exquisitely carved. As one goes about in this ancient land, he sees wonderful bits of old wood carving in out-of-the-way places standing side by side with the hideous art productions of the days of the Peshwas. The carved doorway of Bhavani's temple at Junnar and wooden colonnade in its smoke-dimmed interior are objects of art which would kindle a fire in the eyes of every connoisseur.



The Temple of Amba Bhavani at Shivneri.

On the top of Shivneri, in the Bale Kila there are a number of ancient buildings. The largest of all is a building called the Ghodsala, i.e., stable. The Bale Kila is studded with a number of tanks, two of which, called the Ganga and the Jamuna, are covered. There are huge underground granaries for the storage of food in case

of a siege. Over one of the granaries is a huge arch flanked by two small slender minars which can be seen miles away.

Close to this arch is a small two-storied building where the Castellan resided. The upper storey is in ruins and only a few arches indicate that there was one at any time. Over the door of this building is a small marble tablet with the following inscription :—

“The birth place of
Shrimant Shivaji Maharaja
Chhatrapati

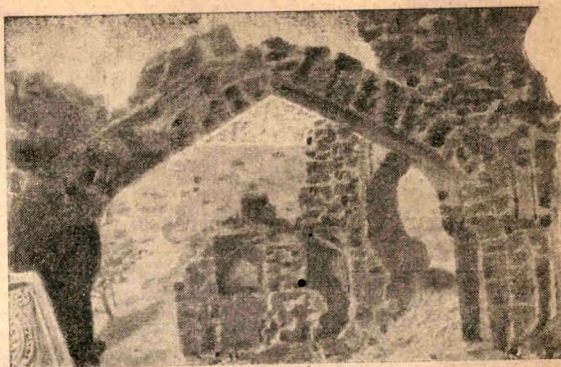
Born 1627 Died 1680.”
with a translation of the same in Marathi.

In comparison with the size and importance of the Fort on Shivneri the Castellan's quarters are very small. In some unknown spot of this ruined building Jijibai gave birth to a son in 1627 who is known to history as Chhatrapati Sivaji. At that date the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, and Bijapur, built on the mighty ruins of the empire of Bahmanis, were still existing. The Mughal had not reached the banks of the Bhima or the Tungabhadra. Nobody ever dreamed that the son of a petty Maratha Chieftain would ever dare to defy the masters of his father or the mighty Mughal of Delhi at whose very name even these masters trembled on their tottering thrones. Nobody would have believed you at that time if you had prophesied that the poor Maratha would one day wave his earth-coloured rag of a flag from the ramparts of the mighty capital of the Mughal and that one day a descendant of Nuruddin Jahangir would starve in the marble halls of his forefathers because the shoebearer of a Deccani Brahman forgot to sign the order for the issue of a dole of grain for the support of a blind man.

This little building, which was the abode of the Castellans of Shivneri under the Yadava, the Pathan, the Bahmani, the Nizamshahi and the Maratha, was very sacred in the eyes of the founder of Maratha greatness. The fortunes of war often gave its possession to his enemies. Sivaji felt the loss of Junnar very much and whenever it passed into the hands of the Mussalmans he made every attempt

to regain it. Immediately before his death, when the desertion of his son Sambhaji had made him very sore, even then he did not forget Junnar. In 1678, two years before Sivaji's death, the Maratha army invested Junnar for the last time. At night three hundred Mavalis scaled the steep walls of the hill-side but the Castellan Abdul Aziz had not forgotten his duty. He beat off the attack and the survivors of that brave band found shelter in the caves and jungle at the foot of the hill. On the next day Abdul Aziz Khan sent the survivors back to Siva with the message, "So long as I am alive you will not get Shivneri." We have learnt by heart the names of the Englishmen who after all did not die in the "Black Hole" of Calcutta in 1756, but even Maratha history does not record the names of the three hundred braves who shed their blood cheerfully at the bidding of their Lord to regain the sacred place of his birth.

Years rolled on. Sivaji was succeeded by Sambhaji. The new-born Hindu kingdom was fighting for its very existence with the entire army of Hindustan. The struggle ends with the death of Aurangzeb. The result is well known. The Hindu kingdom, though hard pressed, had not disappeared. Shambhaji had laid his head on the scaffold, Shahu was a captive, but that does not matter. The spirit is there, it is indomitable. Maratha women carry on the struggle—men are not lacking. Kambaksh is defeated—the Mughal armies return from the Deccan, the struggle is



The Qilladar's Palace—first floor

Where most probably Sivaji was born.

ended. The capable Brahman minister usurps the power. His descendants carry the earth-coloured flag northward. It speeds onwards, Gujrat is sold, Mirza Raja Jai Sing connives at the cession of Malwa. Agra is reached. It stops at Panipat. But the little house on the bleak bare top of Shivneri is forgotten. Maharastra has forgotten its greatest *Tirtha*. Sambhaji had no time to think of it and Shahu was steeped in Mughal vices. The usurping Brahman minister never thought of the little room where the mighty force which really propelled him to the banks of the Jumna or the Ganges, was born. Even to-day it is forgotten. Did, Ranade, Tilak and Gokhale think of it? No. You can identify the place to-day with the help of a marble tablet provided by the bounty of a kind foreigner.

TULSI.

SWIMMING

AS a pastime Swimming has its votaries in every country. The praise of swimmers was sung by the great poets in the early days of the world's history, and in many passages scattered through the pages left us by ancient sages are to be found references to the art. The Brahmans have always held bathing

in high esteem. The ancient priests of Egypt in like manner purified themselves by plunging into the sacred waters of the Nile, a custom derived probably by them from the early followers of Brahma. It was common amongst the women of the period; it is recorded in the Book of Exodus that the daughters of the Pharaohs were

in the habit of bathing and swimming in the Nile.

The monuments of the ancients are the best possible proofs of proficiency in the art of swimming. In the Nimroud gallery of the British Museum there are some interesting bas-reliefs depicting fugitives swimming for refuge to a fortress, and also



Fugitives Swimming to a Fortress.

the crossing of a river by Assur Nasir Pal, king of Syria, and his army. The probable date of these monuments is about 880 B. C. In the first slab, three warriors are depicted as swimming across the stream, two of them on inflated skins in the mode practised to this day by the hill-men of Simla and the Arabs inhabiting the banks of the rivers of Assyria and Mesopotamia, except that in the bas-relief the swimmers are shown as retaining the aperture, through which the air is forced, in their mouths. These men are depicted to swim in the side-stroke position as well as with the breast-stroke on the inflated skin, which strokes are considered as quite modern developments. A drawing at Pompeii gives almost the exact position of the stroke popularised in England, and now all over the world, by Trudgen, a stroke which was known and practised long before by the Indians and other nations.

By the Greeks and Romans no branch of physical education was considered more important than swimming. There are references to swimming in the poetry of Homer, in the History of Herodotus, in the Laws of Lycurgus. Swimming races were among the competitions of the Roman soldiers. Julius Cæsar, the conqueror of

Britain, was renowned as a swimmer. During one of his campaigns he swam across a river holding his invaluable Commentaries in his mouth, as did afterwards Camæons, the Virgil of Portugal, who was once compelled to swim across a river with his work in his mouth. Cæsar when attacked by Ptolemy in Alexandria swam to his fleet, and returning with his forces defeated Ptolemy and proclaimed Cleopatra queen. Shakespeare describes a race between Cæsar and Cassius :

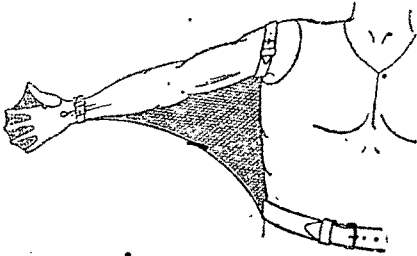
I was born free as Cæsar ; so were you :
We both have fed as well ; and we can both
Endure the winter's cold as well as he :
For once, upon a raw and gusty day,
The troubled Tiber chafing with her shores,
Cæsar said to me, "Dar'st thou, Cassius, now,
Leap in with me into this angry flood,
And swim to yonder point ?" Upon the word,
Accoutred as I was, I plunged in,
And bad him follow ; so indeed he did.
The torrent roar'd ; and we did buffet it
With lusty sinews ; throwing it aside
And stemming it with hearts of controversy.
But ere we could arrive the point propos'd
Cæsar cried, "Help me, Cassius, or I sink."
I, as Æneas, our great ancestor,
Did from the flames of Troy upon his shoulder
The old Anchises bear, so, from the waves of Tiber
Did I the tired Cæsar : And this man
Is now become a god.

This shows that, if not in the time of Cæsar, at least in the time of Shakespeare not only swimming but life-saving also was known and practised.

Seneca was a good swimmer. Plutarch in his life of Cato mentions that the philosopher taught his son to traverse dangerous gulfs. The Emperor Augustus taught his nephew to swim. The Romans even incorporated a society of divers known as the Urinatores. In the reign of the Emperor Severus, the Byzantines were besieged for three years by the Greeks, and were in such dire straits that they at length resolved to attack their adversaries' fleet with their divers. These cut the cables under water, and carried off the enemy ships, which obliged the Grecians to raise the siege.

The story told in one of the poems attributed to Musæus, of Leander, a young man of Abydos, who swam nightly across the Hellespont to visit his love, Hero, a priestess of Venus, illustrates the fact that

swimming was largely cultivated at that remote age.* This story may be a myth, but that the swim across the Hellespont is easy of accomplishment to an expert was proved beyond question by Lord Byron in 1810. The distance from shore to shore is barely an English mile, but the distance



A Webbed Glove with a webbed fin.

covered by Lord Byron and Lt. Ekenhead was upwards of four miles. Byron describes his swim in the following lines :

'If, in the month of dark December,
Leander, who was nightly wont
(What maid will not the tale remember ?)
To cross thy stream, broad Hellespont !

If, when the wintry tempest roar'd,
He sped to Hero, nothing loth,
And thus of old thy current pour'd,
Fair Venus ! how I pity both.

For *me*, degenerate modern wretch,
Though in the genial month of May,
My dripping limbs I faintly stretch,
And think I've done a feat to-day.

But, since he cross'd the rapid tide,
According to the doubtful story,
To woo—and—Lord knows what beside,
And swam for love, as I for glory.

'T were hard to say who fared the best ;
Sad mortals ; thus the gods still plague you !
He lost his labour, I my jest ;
For he was drown'd and I've the ague."

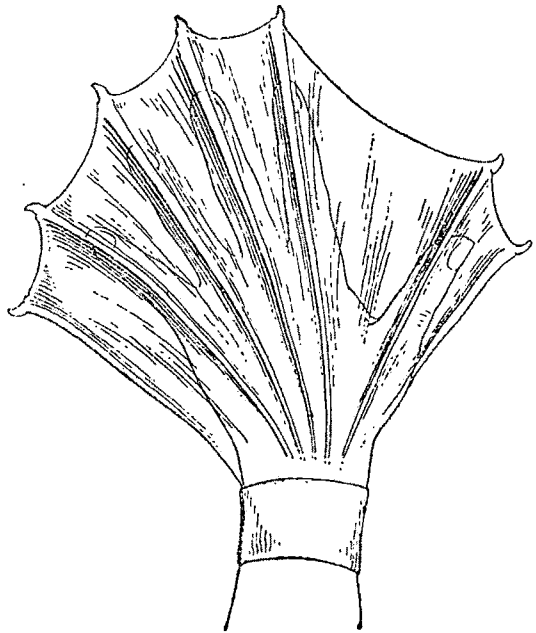
All students of history are well acquainted with the noble deed of the brave Roman soldier Horatius Cocles. His feat has thus been described by Macaulay in his *Lays of Ancient Rome* :

Never, I ween, did swimmer,
In such an evil case,
Struggle through such a raging flood,
Safe to the landing place.

That the Roman ladies also practised swimming is evidenced by the fact that Clælia, a Roman virgin, who was given

* A similar story is, we believe, to be found in the Panjabi folk-tale of Hir and Ranjha.

with other maidens as hostages to Porsena, escaped from the kingdom of Etruria and swam across the Tiber to Rome, where a statue was afterwards erected in her honour. There were many public swimming baths in Rome, called *thermæ*, which were used for various exercises. The Romans encouraged swimming as a means of health and physical training. The Roman patrician bishop poet Sidonius Apollinaris distinguishes the Franks from barbarians as "the swimmers"; and Charlemagne, their great king in later years, was known as an accomplished swimmer.

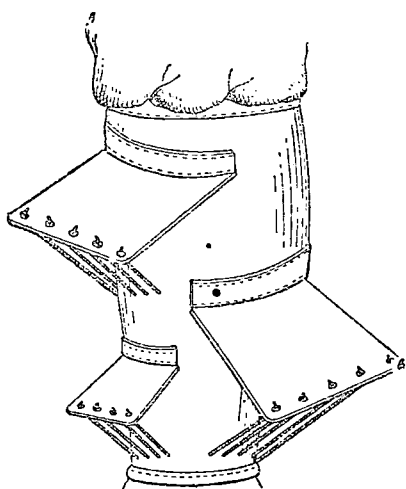


A Webbed Glove.

The tribes of Northern Europe indulged in the art of swimming to some extent. A king of Norway was a great swimmer.

Among the Mughal Emperors Babur and Akbar were expert swimmers and used to cross rivers on horseback or leading horses by their reins, which accomplishment they inherited from their ancestors in the plains of Central Asia.

Among the accomplishments of a complete gentleman swimming was considered by the ancients as one, and it particularly recommended to such as



Hinged leg-flaps.

were inclined to follow a military profession. In recent battles also many officers have distinguished themselves by swimming across rivers with despatches under heavy fire.

The inhabitants of the lake dwellings or Crannogs of Scotland and Ireland who flourished during the Stone and Bronze ages were proficient in the art of natation.

In the poem 'Beowulf', one of the oldest written in the English language, there is a long account of a swimming-match between Beowulf and Breca. They swam for five days in a raging sea.

Sir Thomas Elyot in *The Boke named the Governour* published in London in 1531 extols the art of swimming and exhorts military and naval officers to practise it.

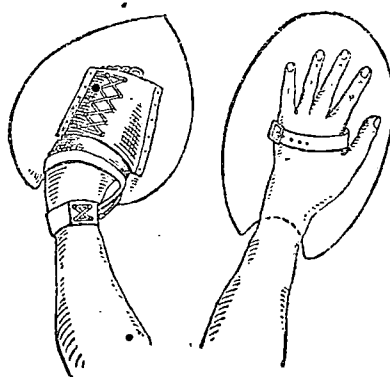
Shakespeare seems either to have been a capable swimmer or else well versed in the principles of the art, as he describes swimming in his *Julius Cæsar*, *Henry the Eighth*, *The Tempest* and several other works.

Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* prescribes swimming as a good pastime for both the gentry and the common people. Louis XI and his courtiers used frequently to swim together in the Seine, and English Kings gradually adopted the practice. In the reign of Charles II swimming became fashionable in England.

The first actual work on swimming that can be traced is one published in 1538

by a Dutchman. In 1587 a book in Latin was published in England, and it has some very curious full-page woodcuts. This work was plagiarised by a French writer in 1697, and was translated into English in 1595. After that the books on swimming published in Europe and America may constitute by themselves a big library.

Swimming is the most universal of all physical exercises. But very few persons learn and practise it on a scientific basis, which is much to be regretted. Many of the best swimmers do not know why they swim so fast and with so much ease; with a good number of them their speed is more the result of accident than the following out of the art on any sound scientific lines. They do not take the trouble to investigate and understand the mechanical laws which govern all propulsion through water.

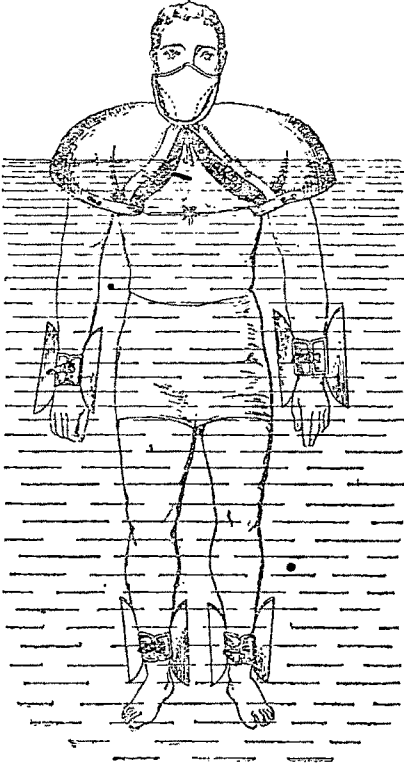


Hand-plates for swimming.

As a general rule learners think that in swimming the arms and hands are of the highest importance in propelling the body through the water, and therefore they use their arms with all the power at their disposal to push the body along. But in fact the movements of the arms are only of secondary consideration as a motive power, the leg movement being of prime necessity. A man can easily swim with his hands tied, but not so easily if his legs are tied and his hands are left free. The movements of the legs in swimming are very different from man's natural methods of progress in walking, and therefore

require a considerable amount of practice and training in mastering them.

Swimming has one great advantage—it can never be forgotten. So scientific methods of swimming should be learnt from the very outset.

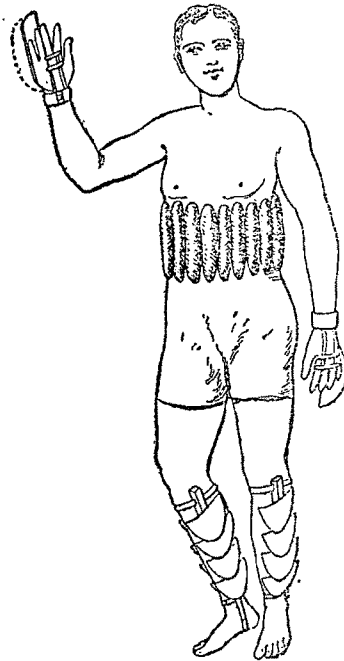


Swimming paraphernalia.

Comments on the curious fact that so many men and women are unable to swim are usually made in daily papers after some melancholy boating accidents which by nature of their magnitude appeal to the people at large; but as soon as the excitement for the time being is over, the subject is allowed to drop. The tragic accident at the Sibpur Botanical Ghat a few years ago has given an impetus to the people of Calcutta to learn swimming and several swimming clubs and an Association have been formed and the Municipal Corporation has very kindly permitted the clubs to use their tanks at College and Cornwallis Squares for the purpose of learning and practising swimming, and the Asso-

ciation annually gives away several prizes to the winners who enter for competitions.

A considerable amount of attention has been given in Europe and America to the construction of mechanical appliances suitable for use by persons desirous of becoming acquainted with the art of natation. These are all crude and illogical complicated mechanisms, good in theory but

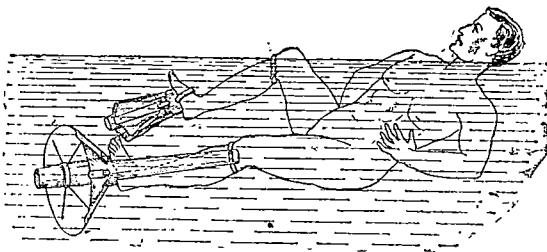


Hinged flaps for leg-wear, hand-paddles, and cork-belt.

in practice are absolute failures. An account of some of these appliances will doubtless be interesting and to a certain extent amusing.

Webbed gloves have been a favourite device. The conception is good, but the most important fact that a swimmer cannot keep the fingers extended in the water has been entirely overlooked. Others have tried to improve upon this device by adding a webbed fin. Various attempts have been made to perfect a device consisting of gaiters with flaps buckled to the leg, but most of them are unhappily so constructed and arranged as to be obstacles instead of being aids. One of these curiosities was a rod with folding flaps at one end, which,

the inventor intended, should be worked like a piston in the water. The flaps will fold up when drawn in an upward direction, and as soon pressure is applied downwards will at once extend and offer a resisting surface to the water. This device was subsequently improved upon by making the rod self-floating and buoyant, by which it keeps the swimmer afloat and free to use his arms for propulsion by moving the piston.



Swimming appliances to help leg strokes.

From time to time a large number of collapsible fins, flaps, sandals, gloves, boards and other attachments for the feet and hands have been invented. Searching through the records of the patent offices one is very strongly impressed with the idea that these inventions had their origin in the brains of those who were quite ignorant of the elementary principles which govern the movements of the limbs in swimming. Corks, buoys, belts and air-bladders as aids to teaching swimming have received special patronage from inventors.

In swimming the legs are brought together at the same time that the arms are separated from each other. It should always be borne in mind when practising the swimming strokes that every movement must be slowly and carefully executed, the circular sweep of the arms and legs properly defined, and all haste and flurry avoided. To ensure these the learner should practise breathing exercise and some sort of land drill. An inexperienced person exhausts himself by quick action and the raising of the body continually out of the water. When the whole of the body is immersed, and the chest fully expanded and inflated, the specific gravity differs so little from that of water that if a person turns on the

back, places the hands beyond the head at full stretch in a straight line with the body, and also inclines his head well back, this will suffice to keep him on the surface. It is possible to float with ease when turned on the back with the lungs inflated. Owing to the weight of the bones of the skull, the head has a great tendency to sink below the level of the water, so that when brought forward muscular force is required to keep it above water.

Women are of lesser specific gravity than men, their skeleton is smaller, and there is a greater proportion of fat; hence they can learn to float much more easily. With children the bones are much more lighter, the quantity of fatty matter is usually abundant, and they can therefore float more easily, if properly taught, than adults.

A person with a large and capacious chest floats better than one whose chest is small and contracted, for the air contained in the lungs makes the body float on water. The body of a floating person rises slightly out of the water during inspiration, and correspondingly sinks during expiration. If the lungs are emptied while the face is under water, and cannot again be replenished, the specific gravity becomes greater and the body sinks.

The movements of swimming are acquired by a man, but are instinctive and common to most quadrupeds. A dog may be taken as one of the best examples of a swimming quadruped. While swimming the legs of a dog move in the same plane as when walking or running. A man cannot learn to swim before he gets into the water, though there have been cases of persons finding themselves able to swim upon first going into the water. The propelling power in swimming is caused by the legs suddenly brought from a position placed wide apart into one close together like the blades of a pair of scissors. In fact, the mechanical power here brought into play is that of the wedge. For instance, suppose a wedge of ice were suddenly pinched hard between the thumb and finger, it is evident that the wedge of ice would shoot off in the direction opposite to that in which the sharp edge points.

The soles of the feet play an important part in the propulsion of the body through the water.

As regards arm strokes they are differently named from the style in which they are made. *Dog stroke* is a movement of the arms like the limbs of a dog while swimming; the *side-stroke* is a movement of the arms by the side of the body under water; the *Over-arm Side-stroke* has revolutionised the speed rates; in the *Breast-stroke* style the arms are moved from the breast to the sides under water; the *Trudgen stroke* with both arms entirely and alternately out of the water is an action peculiar to Indians; the *Crawl* stroke resembles much the movements of the double over-arm stroke, but with this difference that the swimmer buries his face and keeps flat on the water, using his arms at a much greater rate, which rate is brought about by the quick movement of the legs.

There are several methods of swimming too. Besides the most common method of swimming on one's belly, other methods are: swimming on the back,—legs foremost and head foremost, under water, on one side, &c.

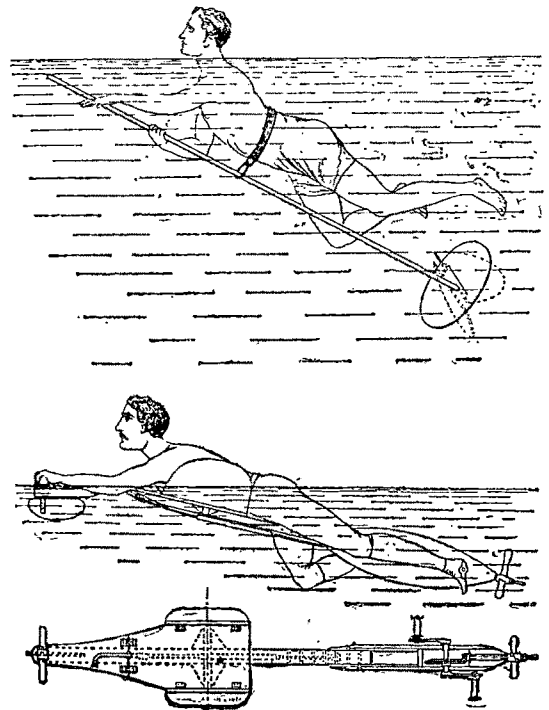
Back swimming can be easily acquired by any person able to swim on the breast, and its utility cannot be too highly praised. It is of great service in saving one's own and another's life.

The ability to swim under water is often of service in life-saving, but it is somewhat risky and should not be much encouraged and practised. The best authenticated distance performance under water is that of 340 feet by James Finney in 1882.

An expert swimmer may acquire several feats appertaining to that art, viz., Diving, Plunging, Floating and several other fancy feats.

Diving is falling headlong into the water from some height. The whole secret of diving is the possession of plenty of pluck and self-confidence. Some of the heights recorded are almost incredible. In 1871 one Mr. J. B. Johnson dived from London Bridge, which is nothing in comparison with the bridge-jumping performances of America. The Indian pearl fisheries are the most renowned in the world, and the

work is all accomplished by natural divers. Their average stay under water is about 40 seconds, the banks are at a depth of from five to eight fathoms. For the purposes of pastime the other forms of diving, such as 'headers' or diving head first, 'skimming plunge', 'low diving', 'high diving', 'diving feet first', the 'sitting jump' and 'plunging', etc., are preferable to 'deep diving'. The best method of learning to dive is to stand on the bank of a river or pond, then stoop down until the body is nearly double, stretch out the arms in front of the head, sink the head between them and gradually tumble over into the water.



Piston Propeller.

A plunge is a standing dive made head first, the body kept motionless and face downward, no progressive action to be imparted other than the impetus of the dive.

All that is necessary in motionless floating on the surface of the water is practice, continued practice, even if failure seem always to be the result.

Diving has been made graceful and

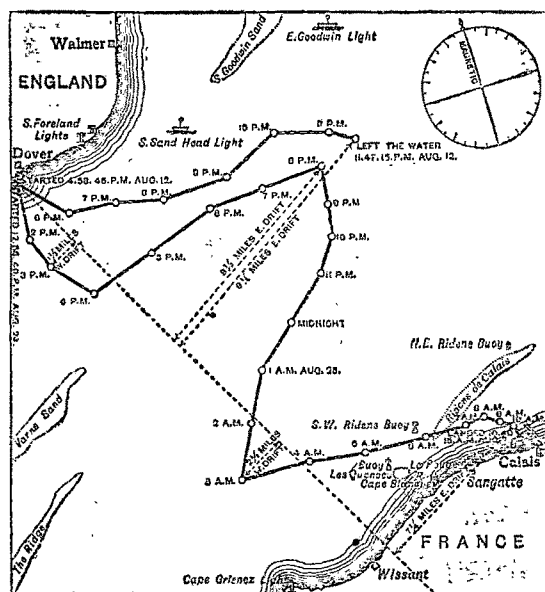
various by Swedish swimmers who are past masters in this art. They have named different methods of diving as Swan dive, Swallow dive, forward somersault, backward spring, hand spring, combination dive, &c.

A number of tricks and fancy feats can be accomplished by expert swimmers, e. g., treading water, revolving on the surface, swimming like a dog, single and double somersaults, marching on the water, swimming on the breast feet first, swimming on the back feet first, sculling, the propeller, the pendulum, the plank gliding, porpoise swimming, torpedo, sub-marine, spinning top, swimming hands and feet tied, Monte Cristo sack feat, smoking under water, eating under water, drinking under water, sinking to the bottom and rising again to the surface without any apparent motive power, hearing under water, staying under water, etc.

to twelve revolutions can be made all regularly and in quick succession without any pause between them. The ordinary somersault, either back-wards or forwards, is simply the turning over of the body when in the water. Double somersaults are performed by two swimmer locking each other's head between the legs and then revolving. In the Monte Cristo sack feat the swimmer is placed within a big sack and after tying the mouth of the sack is thrown into the water. After cutting open the sack the swimmer comes out of water. Smoking under water may be performed thus: the swimmer will dive with a well lighted cigar or pipe in his mouth and before reaching water he should dexterously place the lighted end within the cavity of his mouth and when under water if he breathes slowly smoke will rise to the surface bubbling and when coming out of water the cigar or pipe should be again turned to give an appearance that smoking was going on all along under water. Soft things may be eaten under water, breathing out slowly at the time of swallowing. Drinking under water may be done in the following way: Take a small bottle half-filled with milk and corked. Dive with the bottle, carefully uncork it and place the mouth of the bottle between the lips. If the milk does not enter the mouth easily, a little air should be blown out through the nostrils, and the contents of the bottle will then be quickly emptied into the mouth. Before coming to the surface the bottle should be recorked.

From a swimming point of view no particular merit attaches to the performance of staying under water, but some remarkable feats have been publicly accomplished by experts. The longest record of remaining under water was made by Miss Elise Wallenda—4 minutes 45½ seconds.

The longest distance crossed is the English Channel by a host of men and women. The first person to be successful, though in his second attempt, in crossing was Captain Webb, who crossed the Channel in 1875 starting from Dover on August 24th at 12. 55. 40 p.m., reaching Calais on 25th at 10. 40. 15. a. m., covering actually 39½ miles.



Map of English Channel and the routes taken by the swimmer, Captain Webb, who first succeeded in crossing the Channel.

Treading water is an exhausting feat, keeping the body in a perpendicular position and the action being the same as that of walking. Revolving on the surface depends on the capacity for balancing. Ten

The art of swimming has become much popular and interesting owing to the introduction of the game of water-polo.

The prime importance of swimming lies in the art of life-saving.

We conclude by giving below the best records made by competitors of swimming clubs of Europe and Calcutta:—

THE MILE CHAMPIONSHIP.

1871 H. Parker 24m. 35s.

HALF-MILE CHAMPIONSHIP.

1906 H. Taylor 11m. 25½s.

1918 M. L. Mukherjee 12m. 43s.

220 YARDS CHAMPIONSHIP.

1902 F. C. V. Lane 2m. 28½s.

1918 S. L. Mukherjee 2m. 54s.

100 YARDS CHAMPIONSHIP.

1907 C. M. Daniels 55½s.

110 YARDS CHAMPIONSHIP.

1919 P. C. Bhur 1m. 13¼s.

150 YARDS SWIMMING ON BACK.

1908 F. A. Unwin 2m. 1s.

110 YARDS SWIMMING ON BACK.

1919 H. Chatterjee 1m. 38½s.

1914 H. Jefford (of Calcutta) 1m. 38½s.

PLUNGING.

1906 W. Taylor 82 ft. 7 in.

1919 H. Gupta 67 ft. 3½ in.*

* Mainly compiled from *Swimming* by Archibald Sinclair and William Henry, Honorary Secretaries of the Life-Saving Society: The Badminton Library Series, Longmans, Green & Co.

CHARU BANDYOPADHYAY.

THE HILLS

The hills are my door yard and my garden,
My balustrade against the climbing dawn ;
My sunset bars o'er which the trooping stars
Cross to the large, free pastures of the night ;
My barricades to keep the sunshine in,
And shut away the prowling, threatening dark ;
They are my changing, sky-hung tapestry,
Wrought by the magic fingers of the years ;
My open playgrounds where my restless feet
Accept the challenge of far-beckoning ;
My playmates signalling mysteriously
Of secrets hidden in their forest depths.
They are the priests who teach me steadfastness,
Before whom I my lowliness confess ;
They are my towers of dreams ; they lift me up
To where, along her path of mystery,
The moon walks solemnly, and all the stars
Join merrily in their endless, dizzying game
Of ring-a-round-a-rosey. O hills of home,
O father, mother, brothers, lovers, friends,
Familiar faces shining down to me ;
My life belongs with you ; my hands are linked
With your out-reaching, intimate friendliness ;
My feet are rooted in your fastnesses
Like an ancient tree ; my heart is a warm stone
Upon a sunny slope, and my glad spirit
Is yonder tender, anchored cloud that lingers
For sunset benediction. Heaven was kind
To make one hill o'errun with trees and flowers ;
Heaven was kind and heavenly indeed
To make a world furrowed with billowing hills,
And overrun with riot of the woods.

MAJOR SEYMOUR

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The *Arya*, Sri Aurobindo Ghose's monthly organ, is not a magazine for desultory reading. It requires to be read seriously and with continuous attention from month to month. Its contents may be described, for the most part, not as independent articles, but as books published piecemeal month after month, and in some cases for years. For that reason, it is difficult to summarise or sample any month's issue. Contributions which are really books should afterwards be published in book form.

Essential Intention of Indian Culture.

The November number of the *Arya* contains the 10th instalment of "A Defence of Indian Culture" against Mr. William Archer's attack. This defence is the most elaborate, philosophical and profound we have seen. In the present instalment Mr. Ghose describes the principle, the essential intention of Indian culture, thus :—

The first thing we see is that the principle, the essential intention of Indian culture was extraordinarily high, ambitious and noble, the highest indeed which the human spirit can conceive. For what can be a greater idea of life than that which makes it a development of the spirit in man to its most vast secret and high possibilities, conceives it as a movement of the Eternal in time, of the universal in the individual, of the infinite in the finite, of the Divine in man, or holds that man can become not only conscious of the eternal and the infinite, but live in its power and universalise, spiritualise, divinise himself by self-knowledge? What can be greater aims for the life of man than to grow by an inner and outer experience till he can live in God, realise his spirit, become divine in knowledge, in will and in the joy of being? And that is the whole sense of the striving of Indian culture.

In reply to the cheap criticism that "these ideas are fantastic, chimerical and impracticable, that there is no spirit and no eternal and nothing divine, and man would do much better not to dabble in religion and philosophy, but rather make the best

he can of the ephemeral littleness of his life and body," Mr. Ghose urges :—

That is a negation natural enough to the vital and physical mind, but it rests on the assumption that man can only be what he is at the moment, and there is nothing greater in him which it is his business to evolve; such a negation has no enduring value. The whole aim of a great culture is to lift man up to something which at first he is not, to lead him to knowledge though he starts from an unfathomable ignorance, to teach him to live by his reason, though actually he lives much more by his unreason, by the law of good and unity, though he is now full of evil and discord, by a law of beauty and harmony, though his actual life is a repulsive muddle of ugliness and jarring barbarisms, by some high law of his spirit, though at present he is egoistic, material, unspiritual, engrossed by the need and desires of his physical being. If a civilisation has not any of these aims, it can hardly at all be said to have a culture and certainly in no sense a great and noble culture. But the last of these aims, as conceived by ancient India, is the highest of all because it includes and surpasses all the others. To have made this attempt is to have ennobled the life of the race; to have failed in it is better than if it had never at all been attempted; to have achieved even a partial success is a great contribution to the future possibilities of the human being.

The writer does not mistake the principle for the system of Indian culture. He knows and says that "the system of Indian culture is another thing.

A system is in its very nature at once an effectuation and a limitation of the spirit; and yet we must have a science and an art of life. The system of Indian culture was all these things in its principle and up to a certain point and a certain period in its practice. That a decline came upon it in the end and a kind of arrest of growth, not absolute, but still very serious and dangerous to its life and future, is perfectly true, and we shall have to ask whether that was due to the inherent character of the culture, to a deformation or to a temporary exhaustion of the force of living, and if the last, how the exhaustion came."

In addition to the principle and the system of Indian culture,

we have to see not only the spirit and principle of the culture, not only the ideal idea

and scope of intention in its system, but its actual working and effect in the values of life. Here we must admit great limitations, great imperfections. There is no culture, no civilisation ancient or modern which in its system has been entirely satisfactory to the need of perfection in man; there is none in which the working has not been marred by considerable limitations and imperfections. And the greater the aim of the culture, the larger the body of the civilisation, the more are these flaws likely to overbear the eye.

The Achievements of Greece, Rome & India.

Mr. Aurobindo Ghose sums up the achievements of Greece, Rome and India, as follows :—

Greece developed to a high degree the intellectual reason and the sense of form and harmonious beauty, Rome founded firmly strength and power and patriotism and law and order, modern Europe has raised to enormous proportions practical reason, science and efficiency and economic capacity, India developed the spiritual mind working on the other powers of man and exceeding them, the intuitive reason, the philosophical harmony of the Dharma informed by the religious spirit, the sense of the eternal and the infinite. The future has to go on to a greater and more perfect comprehensive development of these things and to evolve fresh powers, *but we shall not do this rightly by damning the past or damning other cultures than our own in a spirit of arrogant intolerance.* We need not only a spirit of calm criticism, but an eye of sympathetic intuition to extract the good from the past and present effort of humanity and make the most of it for our future progress. (The italics are ours.)

Calcutta's Nearest Water Power Resource.

In pursuance of a recommendation of the industrial commission, the Government of India appointed Messrs. G. T. Barlow and J. W. Meares to make a hydrographic survey of India in order to ascertain whether, and to what extent hydro-electric power may be available. Mr. Barlow having died in April last, the preliminary report, which has been issued, is almost entirely the work of Mr. Meares. *The Indian and Eastern Engineer* for November gives a summary of the contents of this Report.

India consists chiefly of a plain which slopes steeply from a height of 1,000 to 2,000 feet

down to a low-lying fringe of land on the western coast. The plain is practically flat, but slopes very gradually towards the eastern side of India, where it runs down almost to sea-level. The steep slopes on the western coast provide a series of sites for hydro-electric power, but as the rainfall is concentrated in about four months they all require storage reservoirs. Many of the hill ranges, rising out of the plains in various parts of India, consist largely of more or less isolated hills with very little high ground between them, and, therefore, do not lend themselves to the construction of reservoirs with sufficient elevation, and the same may be said to a considerable extent of the Himalaya on the north. The plateaux in southern India offer several valuable sites, one at least of which, the Cauvery falls, has been made good use of by the Mysore Government.

Mr. Meares gives a list of 36 sites which have already been to some extent examined, but the total number of sites mentioned, which require examination, is over 300.

Mr. Meares explains in non-technical language why it is impossible, except at an altogether prohibitive cost, to make use of the gigantic power represented by tidal action, and even less possible to utilise the power of the current of great rivers in their course through the plains of India, and he states with great clearness the factors which have to be reckoned with in searching for possible sites and in investigating any selected site.

Coming to northern India and particularly to Bengal, we find it stated :

The general character of the hills on this side of India is such that there is very little water power available, the principal place within reach of Calcutta is the falls of the Barabalong river in the State of Mourbhanj. This being about 140 miles from Calcutta, is not too far off to supply the Calcutta district with power.

Eleven years ago, Major C. H. Douglas formed the opinion that 40,000 electric horse power could be obtained from these falls.

The recent investigations of the Barabalong fall suggest that the site may not be capable of developing more than 10,000 h.p., which would only supply about one-eighth of the present requirement of the Calcutta area, but the examination has not been exhaustive and possibly further investigation will bring the quantity nearer to Major Douglas' estimate.

A Bengali syndicate should immediately set about the harnessing of the Barabalong river.

India's Backwardness in the Use of Power for Industrial Activities.

The Indian and Eastern Engineer writes:—

The power used in various countries for industrial (including municipal) activities, apart from railways and shipping, is put down as 75 million horse-power, distributed roughly as follows:—

United Kingdom	...	13 million h. p.
Continental Europe	...	24 " "
United States	...	29 " "
British Dominions and Dependencies	...	6 " "
Asia and South America	...	3 " "

and the backward state of electrical development in India, compared with other parts of the Empire, is demonstrated by the following figures of watts installed per head of population:—

Canada	...	148 watts.
Australasia	...	62 "
South Africa	...	57 "
British Isles	...	33 "
India	...	less than 1 watt.

Wireless Telephony.

The principles underlying wireless telephony may be understood by those who know the science of electricity from the following paragraph extracted from the *Indian and Eastern Engineer*:

Wireless telephony has been obtained by setting up in the æther surrounding a wireless station, a succession of very short waves, shorter I believe, than those of light, and superposing upon them the larger waves set up in the æther, by the variation in the current produced by the voice impinging upon the diaphragm of an ordinary microphone transmitter. The apparatus employed is simplicity itself; for sending it consists of an aerial wire which is connected to a source of very high periodicity electric currents, and which sends out very high frequency waves of very short wave length; a microphone set is also connected to the aerial. At the receiving end there is another aerial with a receiving set, including a pair of telephones, connected between it and earth. The pulses set up by the sound waves from the human voice, through the microphone, are reproduced in the telephone at the receiving station; just as with an ordinary receiver and transmitter connected by a wire.

Standard of Living and Production.

In the *Mysore Economic Journal* (which ought to be punctual) for September.

Mr. K. Kunhikannan, M.A., disputes the correctness of the assumption that production in India is low and the vast resources in India remain for the most part undeveloped largely because the average level of consumption is so low. He does not think that it is the right remedy to suggest that India should "learn to want more wants."

"The argument is plausible but cannot stand close examination. Those who accept this line of reasoning forget that Indian industries and commerce were flourishing for several centuries and that stagnation set in only so late as the eighteenth century. There is no reason to believe that the people who for so long as fifteen centuries resisted the enervating influences of nature, suddenly succumbed to her viles, spoiled by her gifts, and lulled to her languors. As for the depressing influence of Indian philosophy, even if we accept it as a correct description of what is in many respects one of the most remarkable achievements of human thought, it should suffice to point out that for all the spiritual elevation of the Sermon on the Mount, Christian Europe has remained distinctly material in aid and endeavour.

It is equally absurd to argue that in India human wants are few and easily gratified without much exertion. The fifty millions, who are said to be on the verge of starvation even in normal years, live on their one meal a day, not certainly from choice. In their case the want has all the intensity of a privation. India has certainly wants enough without learning 'to want more wants.'

People make these absurd mistakes "because the symptom is mistaken for the disease."

The standard of living in all countries, does little more than reflect the productive effort of the people. It is causal in so far as it may in its turn influence production and in India it can be shown that it has less influence in this respect than in other countries. The primary factor everywhere is production. When men produce on a large scale the increasing wealth soon manifests itself in a rising standard of living. When production is low the standard deteriorates. It does not, however, follow that when the standard of life rises, production necessarily keeps pace with it. The British workman has had a very fair share of prosperity during the last few years and his period of work has been reduced to forty-eight hours a week. There has been nevertheless a considerable falling off in the output of British manufactures which if it continues may tell heavily against England. Production depends then not so much on the standard of living. It depends rather on the proper adjustment of effort and opportunity.

Where one is weakened by physical and moral prostration, the other restricted or denied and both dislocated from their natural and healthy relation, the argument of tropical sluggishness ceases to be convincing.

"Productive effort is at its maximum in a competitive stage of society." "There can be no doubt that with the advance of India to a competitive stage, Indian efficiency would improve." The standard of living in India has not been fixed by her climate, her philosophy, or her religion.

Rather it has reached the present low level as a result of a gradually increasing deficiency in Indian wealth brought about by narrowing down her activities to the one branch of Agricultural production and by allowing the growth even in that limited field, of serious obstacles which have unsettled the connection between industry and reward. With the provision of suitable facilities and the removal of these obstacles, Indian production is bound to increase in volume and the greater wealth will soon become manifest in a higher standard of living.

Qualifications for Leadership.

In the September-October number of the *Hindustan Review* the Rev. Edwin Greaves expatiates on the qualities which go to make a leader. The first quality is vision.

The only safe leaders of a people are those who are hard thinkers and are prophets. Not the weavers of specious philosophies, not the creators of romances, but the men who can interpret aright the history of the past, who can gauge the needs of the times in which they live, estimate correctly the forces available for carrying forward projects to a successful issue, and have a defined objective worth striving for. It is not sufficient to handle the immediate present, to attempt to meet an urgent present need by tinkering up a machine which must soon find its home on the scrap-heap. The true leader is the man who looks ahead, who discerns that which *ought* to be, that which *can* be, and resolves that it *shall* be.

* The second qualification is sanity.

The value of enthusiasm is fully recognized and it may be allowed that even cranks accomplish some good from time to time by reason of their enthusiasm, but for strong abiding expanding work level-headedness is of outstanding moment. Sanity has affinity with common-sense but is a bigger thing than that; its range is larger. Sanity is something more than the temper of cool calculation, being ready on occasion to enter upon daring enterprises.

The next is the power of initiation.

Novelty is a terror to some, to others a bewitchment. There are people who are scared out of their wits at the mention of the untried, while to some neurotic souls anything which is new is simply irresistible. Novelty is *per se* a damsel dangerous to woo, disastrous to wed, but the man who shuns a course simply on the ground that it is new is no leader.

Perseverance is the fourth quality needed.

One engaged in a little public work once said to me, "I find it so difficult to start things." My reply was, "Observation and experience have led me to feel that *the* difficulty is not to start things but to keep them going when they have been started." Initiation is important, carrying a scheme through is still more so. Grit, perseverance, patience, are essential.

Public men need staying power.

Courage is another quality which must be regarded as one of the essential qualifications for leadership.

The leader is something more than an organiser, there is something of the creator and discoverer in him, frequently not a little of the fighter. Often his purpose and methods will not immediately appeal to the masses, and there will be those who, clearly perceiving the effects of his plans on their selfish prerogatives and the result to long exercised corruptions and tyrannies, will oppose him tooth and nail. The opposition may take the form of misrepresentations and calumnies, it may be manifested in open violence.

In the rectification of abuses, in attacks on corruptions, in the carrying out of reforms, courage is indispensable, courage to meet, it may be, actual violence, more often to battle against difficulties and obstacles and to wear down the attribution of unworthy motives and the charges of selfishness and folly.

The leader should be—

"One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted,
Wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake."

Sympathy is the last qualification which Mr. Greaves has noticed. He is quite right in saying, "we do need a *brotherly government*."

"Even Democracies are not always brotherly, selfishness is not the monopoly of those who have hitherto been the rulers of a land: the middle classes, the common people, as well as the aristocracy are sometimes more keen on the furtherance of their own interests than on the

good of all.....in the Indian official as well as in the case of the foreigner there is a possible danger of want of real sympathy with the masses.....It is not inevitable that the Indian should be in fuller sympathy with the great masses of India than the Britisher.....

Social life must be freed from the foot and mouth disease, the story of the birth of the Brahman and the Shudra from the mouth and feet of the Creator must be discredited and dismissed and a sound basis for the exercise of brotherliness and sympathy found in the common Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

"The Decline and Fall of the Hindus."

Such is the title of a long and important paper by Mr. S. C. Mookerjee in the November issue of the *Bulletin of the Indian Rationalistic Society*. It covers such extensive ground that it is impossible to comment on it within brief compass. The author would be well-advised to reprint it in pamphlet form, giving references to authorities or original sources. "I dreamt," he says, "that Mother India spoke to me thus:—

"The matter that is troubling you is the root of all evil in India which you do not seem to have been able to solve. Just think, is it not the want of sustained energy to remain indignant at the wrongs one section of your people get from another section of your own people? And why are not such wrongs put down with a heavy hand by the sufferers themselves?.....

"Learn to recognise that women are human and have rights.....

"Your impulse to do the right, which under social terror you refrain from doing, is like a flash of lightning which only reveals the depth of darkness in which you live, the moral cowardice, the spiritual depravity which you have made your own.

"Your manhood cannot be strengthened unless the Shakti comes from your womanhood, which can't be made strong unless its girlhood is strengthened. Girlhood is the most sacred flower of every Race, but with you girlhood is shocked, slaughtered and debased by the premature lustful touch of man.

"Let your girls grow up in the sunlight, amidst truthful surroundings, uninfluenced by lying priests. They would grow up to be women, fit to be mothers of men—fit to impart that Shakti which would make you men. Men are not being born amongst you but worms and virmins, because false teachers have encouraged you to deflower the virginity in girls who should never be touched with loveless lust.

".....By your unholy marriages. by getting

premature children amongst you, -you are committing Race suicide.

"Your Race is blind enough not to see how despicable it has become before the eyes of all humanity, let alone the eyes of God, who certainly has not made you Hindus His favoured licensees that His sacred and secret laws of generation should be violated and trampled upon by you without your getting retributive justice for it....."

Improvement of Agriculture in India.

Professor Gilbert Slater has delivered a series of lectures on industrial development of South India at the Y. M. C. A., Madras, of which *The Young Men of India* has published the first, on agriculture. He directed the attention of his audience to "five burning issues of South Indian agriculture," which are burning agricultural problems in the rest of India, too.

There is first the *question of exhaustion of the soil*. The second issue is the *question of pests and diseases*. Thirdly there is the *question of adulteration*.

It is said that there was, some time ago, a man living near Bombay who made a fortune because he possessed a pit from which he could dig clay of the same colour as Indian wheat, and that he kept a band of women there continually at work, kneading the clay into little pellets the size of grains of wheat, and sold it to the merchants to mix with the wheat they exported. It is certain that Indian wheat was largely adulterated with earth in some such way. The results of such adulteration of Indian wheat was that the price fell considerably below other wheats, although Indian wheat is, in itself, of superior quality. While the community as a whole suffers by adulteration, the tragedy is that the individual ryot or merchant who adulterates more than his neighbours makes an individual profit by so doing, and the honest man who hates the practice, and adulterates less, suffers an extra loss, as the reduction of price based on the average amount of adulteration is spread over the whole output. Similarly, when the trade in Indian indigo revived as a consequence of the war, the old practice of adulterating it with mud revived also. What dyer will prefer the Indian product to synthetic indigo in such circumstances? Specially important to our Presidency is the adulteration of hides and skins tanned here. The dishonest tanner can increase the apparent weight of the hide by soaking it, during tanning, in Epsom Salts and other similar solutions. The loss falls at first upon the foreign buyer, but he protects himself by refusing to buy from India, or buying only at a specially reduced price. So the whole tanning trade suffers.

and is threatened with extinction, unless adequate steps be taken to deal with the evil.

In some cases the trade itself can do this, but Government should protect the interest of the whole community by passing and rigidly enforcing laws against adulteration. The fourth problem is that of *excessive sub-division of land and fragmentation of holdings*. The fifth is that of *breeds of cattle*.

Some time ago I wanted to make an estimate of the amount of milk annually obtained from the millions of cows in Madras Presidency. I made enquiries in various directions, and finally worked out some figures based on the assumption that it took, on an average, no less than *twenty-five* Indian cows to produce the quantity of milk yielded by an average English cow. I showed my figures to Mr. G. A. D. Stuart, then Director of Agriculture. He immediately declared that I put the yield of an Indian cow much too high, and his opinion was confirmed by the Agricultural College, and even more emphatically by Mr. Allan Carruth, whose special duty it is to deal with cattle.

A Campaign Against Impurity and Venereal Disease.

The following is from an article in the *Young Men of India* :—

Picture the millions of adolescent boys of India being hurled over the precipice of vice, ignorant of the awful nemesis of suffering which awaits them in these traps, where disease lies in wait. Humanity demands that they should be warned and taught. But how? We repeat, *make it illegal for a man to buy or for a girl to sell herself for immoral purpose*. Flash the message into every corner of India—"Do this, and you will be punished." Social responsibility taught by law would be a strong incentive to self-control in the boy. Law would be an effective teacher of the single standard of morals; and of how to "play the game" with those at his mercy—his wife and child. We believe that purity and chivalry are inherent in man and need only to be aroused.

But it will be asked, how about the "liberty of the subject"? There is an effective reply.

All Governments have a right to interfere with the "liberty of the subject." The abolition of "sati" in India by legislation was deemed needful to protect life. Commercialised vice endangers public health and destroys more lives in a week than "sati" did in a year.

The law does not permit libel; nor the sale of certain drugs. Nor of liquor—except under cer-

tain restrictions, on the plea that it is detrimental to the well-being of citizens. A man may not commit suicide, or burn his house down; thus his liberty is curtailed. Democracy certainly does not make for the "liberty of the subject," but aims at the liberty of the whole country, by just and equal laws for man and woman alike.

Municipalities should be empowered to deal with this trade of vice. Their authority is already recognized in cities, where these centres of contagion generally are to be found. It is civic business to deal with the health of citizens; in respect to other diseases and abuses they are empowered to act, why not in this?

The Prime Minister has stated "that every obstacle, moral as well as physical, to the health and happiness of the people, must be removed." Then what reason is there for continuing virtual freedom to a trade, degrading to its agents and involving a contagious disease, which is a race poison?

There are three "P's" which will reduce prostitution and improve public health: *Publicity, Penalty, and Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic*.

We do not mean to infer that these principles alone can cleanse the nation of impurity. Every other agency is called for:—education, moral suasion, medical and sanitary propaganda, and not the least, spiritual religion.

The world is suffering for want of a pure fatherhood. Let the Church teach that purity of life is *as essential to the fathers* as it is to the mothers of mankind, if "health and happiness are to be found in the children."

An additional point which ought to be remembered is that world's moral conscience would be awakened by such legislation.

Society, which now ignores the victims of this base trade and refuses forgiveness to the women who lose all, welcomes the men profligates within its borders and marries its daughters to them. Were the publicity of law to penalize these men, Society would change its mind and social ostracism would be their lot. Here is an effective deterrent!

The Calcutta University Commission.

In *East and West* Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams gives some idea of the principal contents of the report of the Calcutta University Commission. He says:

So far as the constructive portion is concerned, there is room for differences of judgment. While no one seriously disputes the authority of the Commissioners and their competence to express an opinion, there are some who believe that the remedies suggested for the evils so startlingly disclosed do not perhaps represent either the ideal or even the most practical solution of the problem.

As Mr. Williams is an officer on Special Duty in the Home Department of the Government of India, the "some" may refer to some of the tin gods of Simla. The only detailed criticism which Professor Williams allows himself to make is contained in the following passage:—

This Board of the Secondary and Intermediate education is very ingenious; but it may be doubted whether in practice it will prove workable. So heavy will be its labours that it may be questioned whether a conscientious member will find himself with time to do any other kind of work. If this be the case, in practice the Board will probably resolve itself into the salaried President and the Director of Public Instruction, while the representatives of the various interests whose presence the Commissioners rightly regard as essential, will be conspicuous by their absence. Perhaps a practical solution would be to split the Board into two parts: a small executive committee composed of perhaps not more than four members, and a larger advisory committee, to whom the executive committee would report at stated intervals. Some such solution will probably be arrived at in practice, and it would save time and trouble if it were to be regularised from the start.

The writer anticipates that in practice the Board of 15 to 18 members would resolve itself into the salaried President and the Director of Public Instruction. But if that be so in a body of 15 to 18 men, would not the President and the D. P. I. be still more powerful in the small executive committee of four suggested by him? It is to be feared that both the Commissioners' recommendation and Mr. Williams' suggestion would in practice place secondary and intermediate education in the hands of Government.

"A New Status for India."

In the *Indian Review* Mr. H. S. L. Polak gives reasons for his faith that India has obtained or may obtain a new status. What are the facts on which his faith is based?

To begin with, India has been given great Dominion rank in the Imperial Conference, and her representatives have taken their seats in the Imperial War Cabinet. As a territorial unit of the Empire—I say nothing here of internal political conditions—she has been granted a status of complete equality with the great Dominions of the Empire. She has too now

for the first time in modern history, received independent international recognition. She was a separate signatory of the Peace Treaty, and as Mr. Surendranath Banerjea remarked, the other day, at the deputation that waited upon Mr. Montagu on the South African Indian question, she is also an original member of the League of Nations. Thus, whatever status and privileges any one of the Dominions does or may enjoy, in principle that status and those privileges are enjoyed or enjoyable by India.

Mr. Polak thinks that South African Indians would be able to appeal to the Council of the League of Nations for redress of their grievances under the second part of Article XI of the League, which reads as follows:—

"It is also declared to be the friendly right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstances whatever affecting international relations which threaten to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends."

He thinks that South African Indians now have the following means of redress: a special mission to or a permanent semi-consular agency; the diplomatic action of the Imperial Government behind the scenes; the influence and pressure that can be brought to bear within the Imperial Conference, of which India is now an equal member; finally, the Council of the League of Nations and the Assembly of the League, in the last resort. He concludes by observing:—

It may take time to work out all the possibilities and implications of India's new status; but it is there, it is certain, it is enjoyable, and it should be enjoyed and prove fruitful of much advantage to India as one of the great international factors in the world-civilisation of the future.

The Sadler Commission on the Education of Women.

Large numbers of even educated Bengalis have no idea that Bengal is more backward than some other provinces. They should read Principal Miss McDougall, M. A.'s article in the *Indian Review* for October, from which we extract the following passage:

A very serious mistake may be made if the account of such conditions in Bengal is taken as a true picture of women's education in South

India. The Report itself (Vol. II, p. 4) declares that "in this respect Bengal falls far behind Bombay" and it is only fair to say that it falls still farther behind Madras. The number of girls at school is greater in South India than in Bengal, the number of schools is greater, and the courses prescribed for them are more suitable.

She further observes :

But the most serious warning must be given with regard to the section of the Report (Vol. II, p. 21) concerning the injurious effect of collegiate education on the health and physique of the women undergraduates. This passage is written with a sympathy and compassion which all women must appreciate. But it is most regrettable that the Commission did not point out that this evil state of things is by no means true of other parts of India. If it were universally true, our plain duty would be to close women's colleges and debar women from higher education, for no advantage can compensate for the injury to the health of the mothers of the next generation. But as a matter of fact the health of women students in Madras is very good. Those who are responsible for the two residential colleges agree in reporting that the general level of health and vigour is very high, and outsiders have told me that it is far better than that of women of the same age who live at home. The medical inspection made this year shows a marked improvement in the physique of those who were medically inspected on entering college last year, and it is rarely indeed that there is any serious illness. The women of South India probably start with more vigorous health than the women of Bengal.

Let the friends of the education of girls and women find out what is wrong with Bengal.

Influence of Ruskin and George Eliot in English Education.

In *Indian Education* Sir M. E. Sadler gives some idea of the influence of Ruskin and George Eliot in English education. Of George Eliot he says in part :

George Eliot won the educational battle for girls and women. She had many helpers and allies. John Stuart Mill fought at her side. Henry Sidgwick consolidated her victories. But it was George Eliot who made the great multitude of English readers realise that the best of education is not too good for intelligent girls and women and that under the old order of things they were as a rule given the trivial and the second-rate. Somerville and Girton, Newnham and Bedford College are in no small degree the outcome of *The Mill on the Floss* and *Middlemarch*. George Eliot is one of the patron saints of the girls' High School.

In India in general and in Bengal and the adjoining regions in particular, the educational battle for girls and women, far from being won, has not yet begun in right earnest. Where and who are the fighters?

Of the many things said of Ruskin we choose the following paragraph :

Ruskin vindicated the claims of the children of the poor. In them he saw the future. To warp their bodies by ill-feeding, premature labour and neglect of physical training was to undermine the strength and happiness of the race. Volunteer philanthropies alone could not provide the education which the nation's children required. Nothing short of the power of the State could furnish the training which was indispensable to the welfare of the State. He challenged the sanguine individualism of industrial England. He denied the postulates of its political philosophy. He did not believe in freedom cheaply won without educational discipline. And the discipline thus enforced on all must be planned by authority and with a definite aim. It must fall upon the children of the rich as well as upon the children of the poor. Its deliberate purpose must be, not pecuniary profit, but a fine quality of human life, "joy in widest commonalty spread."

The claims of children, even of the children of the well-to-do, have only begun to be talked of in India. The vindication of the claims of the children of the poor is far away off. In nation-building, that would be the laying of the foundation.

Training for Citizenship.

The Rev. E. L. King asks in *Indian Education*,

After all, what is the school but a "drill ground for civic virtue and service"? What are curricula but means whereby those who are to be the men and women of to-morrow are trained to see and to undertake their share of the world's work?

For such training a mere emphasis on civic subjects in the curriculum is not sufficient.

Many classes rarely get within speaking distance of modern history, too much time having been spent on the events of five hundred years ago—starting history backwards would not be a bad scheme! Instead of the traditional essay topics—truth, the best use of time, a policeman, what I did on my last vacation—something vital may be assigned : how cholera may be prevented. some ways in which I may

serve my city, what my community has done for me, the industries of my town, the municipal committee, and so on indefinitely. Stirring biographies of men who have made history, studies of the leaders of to-day, will make far better text-books than many we are using. This, however, is merely doing the best we can with the old curricula. It does not satisfy the requirements of a training for present day civic obligation. The curriculum must be brought up to date, made aware of modern happenings and brought into line with them. We need new methods in the teaching of old subject matter badly enough but we stand in greater need of new subject matter.

The new subject matter would not be far to seek.

Instead of formal text-books we would have the daily paper, the weekly magazine. The formal recitation of chapter three or pages ten to fifteen or paragraphs seven to twelve would give way to a discussion of what happened in the world yesterday and of the multitudinous reasons why it happened and the ways of the people among which it happened and the men or the deeds which lay at the bottom of the happening. Here we could study history and geography, literature and art, science and invention, music, human nature. We could see history in the making, one event growing out of another, a living picture rather than a museum.

"It is even more imperative to find place and time for actual community service."

The suggestion has been made in New York that students in commercial courses be required, in return for what the community has done for them and as training in community service, to give three months' service without pay as clerical helpers in some city or state department office..... Volunteer aid from students in epidemics [and famines and floods and cyclones] has already pointed the way to an extensive use of their services.

"Improved Chances for Fiscal Autonomy for India."

In the *Wealth of India* for September (this reminds us that Indian periodicals are for the most part unpunctual and some very unpunctual) Mr. St. Nihal Singh discourses on improved chances for fiscal autonomy for India. He begins by showing that Britishers are in general not in favour of giving us fiscal autonomy.

Towards the close of 1916, or at the beginning of 1917, I greatly perturbed a well-known Labour leader who was very friendly towards

our cause by employing the phrase "fiscal autonomy for India."

"If you want Home Rule for India," he said, "the less you speak of fiscal autonomy for India the better." I asked why. "The reason is pretty plain," he answered. "Is it because others besides your capitalists are interested in selling goods to India?" I inquired, I am afraid, with some acerbity. He had to admit that there were others, and being frank and sincere, he told me his fear that even some of the workers in Britain who were sympathetic towards the Indian Home Rule movement might be frightened by talk for fiscal autonomy for India.

After giving the gist of other similar conversations or discussions, he writes :—

While British Industrialists and commercialists who supply goods to India are naturally averse from giving India any measure of fiscal freedom, Englishmen who have no particular vested interests in India, and who have a quickened sense of right and wrong, wish India to be given equitable treatment in that respect.

Among such Englishmen he reckons the present Governor of Bombay, Mr. Montagu, Captain the Hon. W. G. A. Ormsly Gore, M. P., and Mr. Ben Spoor, M. P. He quotes the exact words used by these persons, in the course of some debate or other in the House of Commons, to support fiscal autonomy for India. But Mr. Singh does not desire to encourage a purely optimistic mood; he conveys a warning too. Thus he says :

While some high-minded Britons are pleading for fiscal freedom for India with the highest and purest of motives, we Indians should not forget that a vigorous and concerted effort is being made to fasten upon us a preferential system of tariffs. It is being said in and outside Parliament that Britain, having granted preference to India which will benefit her industries, is entitled to have her goods received in India at preferential rates.

Again :—

As the Protectionist sentiment is rising in Britain, I am becoming more and more fearful that, unless Indians speak candidly and insist upon full justice being done to them, the grant of fiscal autonomy to India may be impaired by preference stipulations. The agitation for the introduction of the responsible element in the Government of India must also be demanded, if for no other reason than to be sure that the fiscal powers delegated to that Government will be used strictly in accordance with Indian wishes.

I find that the labour difficulties and the increase in wages and other costs of production,

are turning the thoughts of British industrialists towards building factories where raw materials are available in abundance, rather than continuing the present policy of importing them from places thousands of miles distant, and thereby paying heavy shipping and other vicarious charges. Some time ago a captain of industry told me that he had acquired land in a certain part of India with a view to putting up works there.

Indians cannot, of course, keep out capitalists who wish to build factories in India, but if they possess the requisite political power, and the will and shrewdness to use such power, they can insure that non-Indian capitalists will start and conduct their operations in a manner conducive to the best interests of Indians.

Swami Vivekananda on Art.

The Prabuddha Bharata for October reports a dialogue on Art between Swami Vivekananda and a Bengali painter who practises the European style of painting. The Swami explained the inner core of Art as follows :—

Art has its origin in the expression of some idea in whatever man produces. Where there is no expression of idea, however much there may be a blaze of external colours and manipulation, cannot be styled true art. The articles of everyday use like vessels, utensils, cups and saucers should thus be produced as expressing an idea. In the Paris Exhibition I saw a wonderful figure carved in marble. In explanation of the figure, the following words were written underneath—Art unveiling Nature—that is, how Art sees the inner beauty by drawing away with its own hands the covering veils of Nature. The figure is carved in such a way as to indicate that the beauty of Nature has not yet become wholly manifest; but the beauty of the little that has become manifest is such that the artist has become bewitched by seeing it.

In the passage quoted below the Swami explained the difference between Western and Indian Art.

It is nearly the same everywhere. Real originality is found very little. In those countries pictures are painted by the help of

models obtained by photographing natural objects. But by taking the help of machinery the power of originality vanishes. One cannot give expression to one's ideas. The ancient sculptors used to evolve original ideas by subjective vision and tried to give them an outward expression in picture. Now the picture being a likeness of photographic representation, the play of originality in idea and endeavour is getting scarce. But each nation has a characteristic of its own. In its manner, customs and way of living is found the expression of that characteristic idea. Take for instance, the music and song and dance of other countries, their outward expression is all pointed. In dance the movements of the limbs are pointed. In instrumental music the sounds are very pointed, striking the ear like a lancet thrust, so in vocal music. In this country the dance has a liquid movement like the falling of a wave, and there is the same rounded movement in the *Gamak* and *Murcchana* of vocal song, so also in instrumental music. With regard to art a different expression is found among different people. People who have a materialistic view of life, they taking Nature as the ideal, try to give expression in art to ideas in likeness to external Nature. The people whose ideal is a transcendent reality beyond Nature, try to express in art a subjective ideal by the help of the powers, the forms and lines of external Nature. With regard to the first class of people, outward Nature is the primary basis of Art; with regard to the second class, ideality is the motive of artistic expression. Starting from two different motives in art, they have each advanced in art in its own way. Seeing the pictures and paintings of those countries you will mistake them for real natural objects and scenery. With respect to this country also in ancient times, when architecture and sculpture attained a high manifestation, if you see a figure of the period it will make you forget the world of material Nature and take you to a new ideal world of thought. As in Western countries pictures like what the ancients produced cannot be seen now, so in our country new attempts to give expression to original ideas in art are not seen. For example, the pictures in your art school are inexpressive of idea. It will be well if you try to paint the figures of the objects of everyday meditation of the Hindus by giving in them the expression of ancient ideals.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Modern Indian Painting.

The Connoisseur, of London, an illustrated monthly magazine devoted to Art, writes in its October issue (p. 123) :

"Modern Indian painting has perhaps been never better illustrated than in the first parts of *Chatterjee's Picture Albums*. Each issue contains sixteen illustrations, printed on the same size paper as *The Connoisseur*, and all

admirably reproduced in colour..... Altogether, the work of about twenty-five modern artists is represented, besides that of several unknown deceased painters."

The work of Abanindranath Tagore receives special notice. Of him and his work it is said :

"A prominent position is naturally given to the painting of Abanindranath Tagore, a talented member of a talented family, who has done more than any one else to revive pictorial art in India and lead it back into paths consistent with native tradition and temperament. He is the leader of the Bengal school of painting, on which the hopes of bringing about a great renaissance of Indian art chiefly rest, and his works and those of his associates reproduced in the albums show to what a great degree these hopes have been translated into actualities. Though largely returning to methods and ideals that a few years ago would have been considered archaic, there is a vitality about his work which shows that, in adopting the ancient conventions of Indian art, Mr. Tagore is not only following the bent of his talents, but also that these conventions offer full scope to the modern artist for emotional expression. A fine colourist and draughtsman, he shows a wide variety in his themes and their treatment. In some, such as *The Kajri*, a work showing three women in long white draperies engaged in a rhythmic ceremonial dance, the effect is purely decorative, attained with a rigid limitation of bright colour ; while in others, where an effect equally decorative is attained, it is accompanied by the expression of fuller naturalistic truth and more poignant sentiment. This is especially the case in *The End of the Journey*, representing a tired camel stooping down to be relieved of its load, which, expressed in sumptuous and finely harmonised colour, is realised with a truth to animal physiognomy and a pathetic sentiment that recall the work of Landseer. A refined and characterised head of Rabindranath Tagore is more occidental in its treatment, though still keeping within the guiding tenets of Indian art. This, however, is one of the painter's earlier examples, and his later work is generally more strictly in accord with the conventions of the Hindo-Persian school."

On the work of other painters the *Connoisseur* observes :—

"In the reproductions after others a wider range of inspiration is naturally shown. *The Day's Reward*, by Mr. Jaminiprakash Ganguli, might be a peasant idyll by Millet translated to an Eastern setting ; while *At the Temple Door*, by Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore, a broad and masterly sketch in brown and yellow, shows distinct Japanese influence. Other artists whose work should not be overlooked are Messrs. Nandalal Bose, J. P. Ganguly, A. K.

Halder, [Mrs.] Sukhalata Rao, Saradacharan Ukil, Surendranath Kar, Sailendranath De, Charuchandra Ray, and Samarendranath Gupta. Indeed all the reproductions are worthy of notice, while the inclusion of a number of old works gives the reader an opportunity for comparing ancient and modern Indian art."

The following observations on modern Indian art and its appreciation also deserve to be quoted :—

"Indian painting in the past has hardly been sufficiently appreciated, and cannot be said to have been developed to the same extent as the pictorial art in China and Japan. This was probably owing to the unsettled condition of the country before the British occupation, and the occidental influence which, since then, has generally prevailed in Indian artistic education. That the modern Indian art is living and capable of a great future is shown by the reproductions in the albums. As occupying a half-way position between the art of the extreme East and that of Europe, being endowed with much of the decorative qualities of the former and the sentiment of the latter, it should form a connecting link between the two. It deserves to be widely known in England, and one cannot suggest a better way of popularising it than the holding of a representative exhibition in some well-known West End gallery. The Indian Government might take up this idea ; or, failing them, it should not be difficult to find sufficient private guarantors to ensure the success of such an enterprise."

"How Missions Denationalise Indians."

Mr. Kanakarayan Paul, O. B. E., is National Secretary of the Indian Young Men's Christian Association, and also General Secretary of the National Missionary Society which he was largely instrumental in founding. He is a Tamil by race and was educated at the Madras Christian College. He is personally known to many non-Christians in Calcutta. He has contributed to the October number of the quarterly *International Review of Missions* an article describing "How Missions Denationalise Indians." It evinces much insight and liberalism in the writer, and not a little courage. It is not Indian Christians and Western missionaries alone who need to ponder on what he has written. "English-educated" Hindus, too, would find much deplorable denationalisation amongst themselves, due, in some measure, to causes, in some cases, not

dissimilar to those mentioned in the article. The writer says more than once that Bengal is an exception. But there is some denationalisation in Bengal too. By way of preface Mr. Paul says :

In considering this question mere externals must be left out of consideration. Changes of dress or manner do often indicate the evil. But there are many in European garb and dining at tables who are Indian in every fibre of their being. Personally I prefer Indian garb and Indian etiquette in all things, because they are more truly artistic and a more normal expression of my feelings. But I am now thinking not of anything external but of the heart and the spirit.

He then goes on to observe that "the spirit of a people is expressed to a certain extent in its political history, but in essential reality in its folk-lore, its art, its literature and its religion. The school of thought from which modern missions were born was puritan and iconoclastic.... The first missionaries, of whatever sect, inculcated a holy horror of those things which express the spirit of India..... This 'horror' got softened in course of time and became 'suspicion'."

Referring to the oldest Protestant communities in the South who may be supposed to be nearer real India than the younger sections of the Christian community, he says :

Ask any of them a question in folk-lore, in art, in literature or in religion. Their ignorance will be found to be not only as profound as if they had been born in mid-Arabia, but their suspicion of it as prejudiced. They cling to caste spirit without caste culture, merely because that evil needs special grace to root out.

How can it be otherwise? Folk-lore is not what is studied, but what is drunk in with the mother's milk, breathed in the earliest atmosphere of the home. Rama and Sita and Bharata, Bhima and Arjuna, Harischandra, Shakuntala, Sivaji and a host of others, are these not the heroes of our early youth, of whom our grandmothers told us near the flickering lamp in the gloaming, of whom we heard the ballads sung in the village street, sitting out under the moon as the breeze shook the trees overhead and wove fancy settings for the stories? Are not these verses still in our blood? In the bleak fields of Flanders it was possible to collect the necessary talent from the Labour Corps and the 'illiterate' Sepoys and Sowars to stage Harischandra. Of course there was Krishna too. But it was Balakrishna, the frolicsome shepherd boy, and who can fail to love the pranks of his youth?

If there could have been and was worse, there is the analogy of the folk-lore of Greece and Rome; even that of the Hebrews was not entirely free from possible evil. Was it not the office of Christianity to purify and fulfil?

Not that there is no enrichment to the credit of the missionary.

The missionary introduced the folk-lore of the Hebrews, an enrichment of unspeakable value to young minds. The pity is that he entirely ruled out Indian folk-lore. David's heroism in his attitude towards Saul should have completed the panel in the window richly decorated with Bharata's attitude towards Rama and Yudhishtira's towards Duryodhana. Jonathan's supreme sacrifice should have fitted like a mosaic into that of Rama's. The great secret of Harischandra should have interpreted the *via dolorosa* of those three years which led finally to the tragedy of Calvary. Constituted as the Indian Christian home is at present, how is it possible to create this atmosphere? Surely the success of missions in this line is tragically complete.

He passes on to consider the missionary attitude to Indian art, particularly to Indian music.

In 1917, no earlier than that, an Englishman who had been principal of a first grade mission college for nearly ten years, asked in open council if it were not true that Indian music is inseparable from its association with evil living. Of the very few things which are really common to the whole of India, to all its provinces, races and sects, to Moslem and Hindu, to the educated and the illiterate, one is Indian music. In the water-logged villages of Eastern Bengal, the sand-driven hamlets of the Panjab, the parched and caked-up fields of the Maharashtra, and the cocoa-nut groves of Tamil land, the same Indian music I have personally witnessed to be the natural key to joy of life and devotion to God. In all our languages there has come down a rich heritage of poetry, lyric and drama to which this music is set.

The tragedy is not that Indian music is tabooed as heathen from church services, but that to Indian Christians its place in national life is absolutely unknown and its possible effects on morals truly feared: so far has isolation gone in its thoroughness. Bengal is sound and is an exception. A more reasonable attitude is seen also in the Panjab. Elsewhere, and especially in the old and well-established communities of the south, whence original streams of refreshment should by now have issued, the situation is still forbidding.

It is not Indian Christians alone but Indians of *all* sects should bear in mind the bond of unity that there is in Indian music. The writer then exposes the tragi-

comedy of the translations of foreign hymns set to European music for use in Indian Christian Churches. He proceeds next to show how in certain lives "India has expressed her genius" "in the religion and life of her children of which her Christians may well be proud."

There is in the Indian, whether Moslem or Hindu and whatever his sect, a real abiding sense of the spiritual within and behind all things and acts of sense. In the illiterate it may degenerate into pantheism. In the scholarly it may degenerate into an impersonal absolute indicatable merely by a formula. But to no Indian is the world around his everyday life ever mere matter.

This is an asset peculiar to my people. I have found far too many theological graduates from the West to whom the mystical is well-nigh frankly impossible, say even with regard to the resurrection of our Lord. It seems to be a temperamental difficulty..... It is real denationalization and a lamentable degradation, to train Indians in those habits of thought which concern physical culture, industrial organization, commercial enterprise, political advancement, mental culture or even moral progress as ends in themselves. It is truer to India to conserve the mental habit which perceives in all these things but the shadow and the expression of the spirit and the soul.

To bring home the point, let us take morality. It is not when the moral sense is awakened that the Indian seeks God. He has never been without God. If his ethics have been low it is merely because his light did not go farther or because the conception of his sect did not rise to a God who insists on personal morality, as some communities in western lands have not to this day the idea of a God who insists on business morality. The point is that all the time the Indian lives and moves, is good and is bad, in the ever-present consciousness of God. The only gospel he needs is a personal introduction to the Risen Christ.

A point of very great importance is next raised which those also should consider who are given to thinking whether a separate Brahmo community is necessary.

Is the constituting of a separate community and the consequent isolation necessary for the purpose? It should not be, from the mission's point of view. It has been inevitable from the Hindu caste point of view. But that situation is changing and one hopes for the speedy arrival of the day when there will be an ever-expanding church in India observing both sacraments, but without the social ties broken in their community, which for this reason can no longer be called 'Hindu' nor marked off as 'Christian.'

This leads the writer on to the other point he wants to make as regards the social heritage of India.

The western individual is born into certain rights; the Indian is born into certain obligations or responsibilities. This again is a conception common to the whole land irrespective of creed or sect or social position. Obligations to religion, to parents, to family, to caste, to village, often also to the *raj*. Such a thing as individual right is really almost absent, and every privilege which in the West would be claimed on the individual basis is in India conceived of in terms of the group of which the person concerned is member. This sense of solidarity, of corporate life, is a most valuable asset. It is one of the very few redeeming features of the caste system. It outlasts the breaking of caste, as can be observed in the Indian Moslem.

The western missionary comes in complete innocence of this essential difference in the whole outlook on life and society and with ease he sows seeds of revolution. The western point of view of 'rights' is so acceptable to selfishness and pride that it insidiously grips the mind and becomes a most disturbing element in society. Take family obligation as an illustration. The European seems to be incapable of understanding the implicit readiness of the Indian to accept wide responsibility for relatives of three, four or even farther removes. As for me I cannot understand how my children are more entitled to the advantage which my earnings can fetch than are my brothers and sisters and their children. This will keep one always poor, you say. Yes, if poverty is to be reckoned in money. I prefer to invest it in love which shall reach to my children when I can no longer earn or I am cut off early. I wonder if the true value of this universal sentiment in India has been studied, and mission work anywhere intelligently adjusted in suitable manner to it.

The boarding-school system is next investigated.

The boarding school takes away children from home and natural conditions at an early age, from about seven to ten, and keeps them till they are almost adult. It is supposed that the home and the village conditions offer too many counteracting influences to Christianization. Supposing that they did, supposing that Indian rural home conditions were as bad as some of the foreign sections of New York, who would think of selecting the best specimens of the youth, isolating them in 'American' conditions and expecting that the individuals so trained will bring about the necessary assimilation of their native community? The difference between a generation and its predecessor in India is in these days in every case very big: and if there is to be assimilation there should be constant, so to say daily, adjustments of ideas

and feelings. This is precisely what is happening among non-Christians. The son brought up on Spencer and Mill, on Eucken and Bergson, or even on Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells, is perfectly in place in the old home; the old father and mother understand him, make the necessary allowance for him, themselves become changed in ways which they will not acknowledge: and in all those real essentials which make for family happiness there is no serious trouble. The process is one of leavening, and while it goes on really at a rapid rate and not entirely without rumble and rupture, it is all part of a single evolution. Whereas the gulf between the boarding school and the old family is in many cases unbridgeable. The old people see the child, more often daughter than son, only during the brief holidays. They have no chance to share her new wealth or to share their old wealth with her. She develops in her own separate sphere—in a Scottish, English or American atmosphere as the case may be. Finally she is 'finished' and comes to a home which is no home, for she ever misses there the world which was the environment of all her personality in the most impressionable period of her life. She suffers greatly, often without knowing why. As for the suffering of the mother endured in silence there is no adequate language at my command. 'No complaints have been made.' Of course not. Is there any limit to the sacrifices that an Indian mother will make to obtain 'advantages' for her children? Is not education an advantage in many ways, for social advance, for livelihood and also for marriage? And is there available for our girls any real alternative to the boarding school?

In conclusion he notes with regret that "the evil of the western class system has begun to invade India."

A Justice on the bench of the High Court will go, and go with pleasure, to his little ancestral village to attend the wedding of the daughter of his brother who is perhaps the village accountant on a salary of one pound a month, or is just one of the millions of our average five-acre farmers. He would be absolutely at one with the whole group in the home. The elders of the village would come to honour him with a visit, and in congratulating him and appreciating the honour reflected by his success on their village, address him all the while in the familiar singular number as they used to do when he was a boy among them. He himself would resent being addressed in any other way. Justice Ranade used to touch his old mother's feet every morning. And his conduct was absolutely typical. Already snobbishness of a vile sort is perceivable among members of my community.....The caste system is the curse of India. We are hoping and working that it may dissolve quickly and disappear from the face of the land. But the caste system has

many good features, and I should certainly cling to it if it is to be replaced by the unchristian and inhuman class system of the West.

Throughout the article Mr. Paul says more than once that "none of the denationalizing processes set afoot by missions has been done consciously to that end."

Reform in Korea.

In the *Japan Magazine* for October Mr. J. Osuga thus explains the causes of Japan's failure and barbarities in Korea:

What the administrators of Korea failed to realize was that they were undertaking to rule a people with a proud and prolonged history, very different from Formosa and its semi-savage tribes. Korea was for many centuries an independent kingdom, with its representatives abroad, and boasted itself as the former teacher of Japan. The racial genius of Korea was powerful but narrow and ignorant. Yet the new administration tried to change the Koreans into Japanese at one blow, so to speak. Everything Korean was discounted or made light of, and everything Japanese was encouraged. Not only so but considerable discrimination was experienced by the Koreans in regard to education, commercial rivalry and the general working of the judiciary. Formosa had been united to Japan by the fortunes of war and submitted to a military government; but Korea was peacefully annexed, and yet the mistake was made of imposing on the peninsula a military regime the same as in Formosa. Japan's rule over Korea had in fact come about by a natural process of mutual understanding. Our power extended into the peninsula gradually, step by step, until finally the sovereigns of the countries recognized there was no difference between them and they had better unite under one rule. Thus the union of the two nations was brought about with the full accord of Japan and Korea. This fatal blunder of making no distinction between the people of Formosa and the people of Korea has cost Japan very dear.

As early as practicable in future the Japanese Governor and other officials are to be civilians, and

all discrimination between Koreans and Japanese is to be eliminated and education, economic opportunity and equality before the law, is to be the same for all in the peninsula. As soon as the administration has assumed a fully civilian character, the situation will, it is hoped, be all that could be desired. In matters of salary too, equality between Koreans and Japanese is to be carefully observed. Positions of trust in the army and the administration are

to be open to Japanese and Koreans on equal terms.

Assimilating Foreign Ideas.

In the *Japan Magazine* Dr. K. Kuroita tells one of the secrets of Japan's progress in the following paragraphs.

Surprise is frequently expressed at the supposedly unparalleled progress Japan has made during the last fifty years, assimilating all the best ideas of western minds and making her own the best achievements of western civilization. But this process of assimilating foreign thought and civilization was no new thing in Japan. The country had been accustomed to assimilating continental ideas for many centuries. In fact the greater part of our civilization has been assimilated from the continent. Thus in digesting and assimilating alien thought and civilization Japan has more experience than almost any other nation. Having had such vast experience through the centuries in thus assimilating the thoughts and civilization of China, Korea and India, it was not at all surprising that Japan should have so rapidly assimilated the thoughts and civilization of western countries.

What is remarkable about Japan is the fact that she has been assimilating foreign ideas for centuries without losing her own civilization or becoming any less Japanese. The Japanese national traits and spirit are as pronounced and positive today as ever; and our nationalism is perhaps more aggressive today than ever before. Thus instead of being weakened by foreign ideas Japan has been greatly strengthened and advanced. Is it not true that all nations make progress only as they come intimately into contact with other peoples and their civilization. With all these valuable experiences behind her Japan is now the most expert nation in the world at the art of assimilating divergent civilizations and thus bringing harmoniously together both East and West. This is her mission today; and she must rise to it without question, for in no other way can she so much benefit mankind.

The writer takes care to make it clear that "the Japanese while adopting foreign ideas and institutions always adapt them to their own peculiar civilization, so that they really become Japanese. We Japanize everything we receive, so to speak."

The Case for Nationalisation.

In the *Review of Reviews* Sir Leo

Chiozza Money puts the case for Nationalisation partly thus :—

The policy of nationalisation asserts these several things :

(1) The essential supplies and products of a nation must in the interests of public safety and welfare be nationally owned and controlled.

(2) It is of the utmost importance to take national action to conserve national products such as coal and timber.

(3) It is essential that every transport facility should be removed from commercial (i. e., profiteering) control, and vested in public authority.

(4) The motive of private profit as a stimulus to production and distribution is a proved failure.

(5) Throughout the world public ownership has grown apace in the last twenty years, and everywhere been so great a success that no State or City has ever sold out an undertaking once acquired.

(6) The conception of democracy is inconsistent with the private ownership of the means of work.

Case Against Nationalisation.

In the same *Review* Mr. Hartley Withers states the case against nationalisation. He says, if everyone were as devoted to the cause of the common good and as public-spirited and hard-working as the advocates of nationalisation, like the Webbs and Sir Leo Chiozza Money, are, they would be right.

But it seems to me that these champions of nationalisation base their belief in it on the quite mistaken assumption that this is so, when, in fact, the ordinary human being needs the stimulus of profit or reward, and the fear of loss or failure, to make him do his best work. This may not always be so; but if it is so now, and as long as it is so, nationalisation would fail to call out our best efforts, unless and until the whole system by which our Government offices work is altered. "Working for the community" with promotion by seniority and in an atmosphere and tradition of circumlocution and "how not to do it," seems most unlikely, as human nature is at present to improve or even maintain the industrial output on which our very lives depend.

The lessons of experience seem to me to be strongly against Government control of industry in this country. In Germany it is otherwise, but we are not in Germany.

Bureaucracy, as a matter of fact, does not choose expert workers; it chooses first-class bureaucrats.

Mr. Withers describes some of the advantages of private enterprise and competition.

Private enterprise has to seek and meet the wishes of its individual customers. Government control would produce what it listed and tell the individual to take it or leave it. The stimulating element of choice would be gone, and there would be no room for the play of individual taste. The moral and intellectual effect of this productive tyranny would, I believe, be even more baneful than the material effect of the possible reduction of output under State control of industry.

It is a common assumption among Socialists that if we nationalised the machinery of production, distribution, and exchange, we should not only be better off, but better and happier people, with a nobler outlook and finer ideals. Competition would be abolished, and with it not only its economic waste, but its low appeal to a desire to better our lot at the expense of our less fortunate fellows. Whether we should be really better off is decidedly doubtful. Competition certainly involves waste, but it may at least be argued that by stimulating each man to do his best so that he may win in the race for profit, it produces gains to the community which more than balance the waste of which it cannot be acquitted.

Education and War.

Anatole France, the famous French author, delivered a remarkable address on Education and War before the Congress of Teachers' Institutes at Tours on August 7, as reported in *l'Humanite*. Translations of it have appeared in the *Nation* of New York and the *Living Age* of Boston. The more important passages are quoted below from the latter.

In forming the child, you shall be preparing the future. What a task this means to-day, in this great overthrow of things during which the ancient societies are crumbling beneath the weight of their faults, when conquerors and conquered fall side by side into the abyss of a common misery, exchanging looks of hatred as they descend! In the social disorder created by the war and consecrated by the peace which follows it, you have everything to do; everything to rebuild. Let your courage and your spirit be high. It is your task to create a new humanity, to waken new intelligences, if you do not wish to see Europe fall back into folly and barbarism.

They will say to you, "Of what use are your

efforts? Man does not change." Yes! He has changed! He has changed since the age of the caverns, sometimes for good, sometimes for bad; he changes with his environment, and it is education which moulds him as much, perhaps, as air and nourishment. Yes, we must not allow to exist an instant longer the kind of education which rendered possible, which favored even (for it was of much the same variety in all so-called civilized nations), this fearful catastrophe under which we lie half buried. First of all everything which can make a child love war and its crimes must be banished from the school, a task, this, which will require your long and constant effort, if it is not some day accomplished by the whirlwind of universal revolution. Among our bourgeois, greater and less, among our proletariat as well, the destructive instincts, with whose possession we reproach the Germans, are carefully cultivated.

A few days ago M. La Fouchardiere went to a bookshop and asked for some books for a little girl. They could give him only tales and pictures of killings, throat-cuttings, massacres, and exterminations. On next Mid-Lent day, you will see at Paris, on the Champ Elysees, thousands and thousands of youngsters dressed as generals and marshals. The cinematograph will show them the beauties of war; the children will be thus prepared for a military career, and as long as there are soldiers there will be wars.

My friends let us break with these dangerous practices. It is the teacher's task to lead the child to love peace and its works and to detest war. He must banish from education everything that leads to hatred of the stranger, even to the hatred of yesterday's enemy, not because one should be easy with crime or ready to absolve the guilty, but because a people, no matter what it may be, is composed more of victims than of criminals, and because the punishment of the guilty ought not to be extended to innocent generations, and generally, because all peoples have much to pardon and be pardoned for.

My friends, cause hate to be hated! This is the most necessary and the simplest part of your task. You must, without hope of finding either comfort or aid or even consent, be prepared to change education from roof tree to foundation stone in order to form *constructive lives*. Only workers have a place in modern society; the rest will be carried away in the whirlwind. Form intelligent workers, learned in the arts they practise, knowing what they owe to both the national community and the human community. Burn! burn all the books which teach hatred. Exalt toil and love. Form for us men who are reasonable, men capable of trampling upon the empty splendors of barbaric glories, capable of resisting the sanguinary desires of those nationalisms and imperialisms which crushed their fathers.

Let there be no more industrial rivalries; no

more wars; let us have work and peace. Whether we will it or not, an hour is at hand in which we must choose between being citizens of the world or spectators at the death of civilization.

Reason, wisdom, intelligence, forces of the intellect and the heart, you whom I have always piously invoked, come to my side, help me, sustain my feeble voice, carry it whither it will go, to all the peoples of the world; let it be heard wherever there are men of good will to hear beneficent truth.

A new order of things is born. The powers of evil are dying, poisoned by their own crimes. The avaricious and the cruel, the devourers of peoples perish of an indigestion of blood. Nevertheless, sorely stricken by the fault of their blind or guilty masters, mutilated, decimated, the people stand erect; they will unite to form one universal people, and we shall see the accomplishment of the great Socialist prophecy—"The union of the workers will bring peace to the world."

Prepare for War and You get War.

"As long as there are soldiers there will be wars," says Anatole France. A military officer says practically the same thing in the *League of Nations Journal*. He is General Sir F. Maurice, late Director of Military Operations. He quotes from an address which he himself delivered in New York a few months ago.

"I speak to you as a soldier who entered the British Army believing that if you wish for peace you must prepare for war. Now after a close study of the causes and events of the Great War, I believe that if you prepare for war thoroughly and efficiently, as the Germans prepared for war, you get war."

Pacifism as painted by its opponents.

The following characterisation of pacifists is taken from the *International Review*:

We can all see now what was the matter with the pacifists. They lacked the nerve of the Irish, who are ever to be found.

Fighting like devils for conciliation
And hating each other for the love of God.

They had, in fact, a totally exaggerated estimate of the value of human life. We know that it is often worth just nothing at all, unless it be laid down. The whole essence of pacifism is materialism. It is a denial of all the faiths of all the ages of all the world. It fears those that kill the body instead of those that hurt and destroy the soul. But the fighter knows better. And he knows in his heart, even if he has never reasoned it, that when he kills his enemy in fair fight he has done the latter no wrong.

China's Definite Foreign Policy.

The definite foreign policy which China has formulated can be gathered from an article in *Asia* by Mr. Patrick Gallagher. He writes:—

"China approaches the future as a reconstructive asset, not a liability. Peace, not war, is on her tongue and in her heart; but she declines to be dominated by any Power. She is quietly determined to exercise her right as a sovereign nation to choose her own friends and associates. She neither needs, nor will she accept political tutelage offered in any guise. She comes before the world in full comradeship, not to lean upon the world, but that she may bear her full share of the world's burdens. To that end, there must be respect for Chinese integrity, in fact as well as in assurance, throughout the length and breadth of China. She does not ask for the return of ceded territory, but she does ask for the termination of all the leases wrung from her against Chinese interests and in jeopardy of the peace of the world as a direct consequence of Germany's act of war in 1897 in Shantung."

"She insists upon three points: (1) territorial integrity; (2) political independence; (3) economic independence. She invites western co-operation of fair terms—her own terms; not terms made for her, without her counsel or consent. She desires to throw all China completely open to foreign residence and foreign trade; and to that end she asks that her officials be helped and not be hampered in their efforts to bring her laws and their administration up to the highest point of modern western efficiency, as rapidly as possible. She seeks technical assistance, not direction or tutelage. China will enter the League of Nations as a man, not as a mendicant."

NOTES

Autocracy and the Colour-line.

With the exception of the American administration of the Philippine Islands, the government of "coloured" dependencies by white men in modern times has generally taken a more or less autocratic form. It is believed or pretended that "coloured" people appreciate autocracy or despotism best. It has been also thought that the "coloured" races are incapable of managing their affairs according to democratic methods. The Japanese, the Filipinos, and to some extent the Chinese, have knocked the bottom out of this modern selfish assumption. But as the obsession still persists, the following extract from a noteworthy book by a member of the Anglo-Saxon race may be found useful :—

"The conquest of a territory by force and its retention without regard to the wishes of the inhabitants is of course in flat contradiction with all the principles of citizenship. The democratic State which sends an autocratic governor to rule a great dependency is employing two distinct methods of rule, one for use at home, the other for use abroad. My own country may be regarded internally as a qualified democracy. The British Empire as a whole is as much an oligarchy as Sparta. The Indians are its Perioeci and perhaps the Kaffirs its helots. The government of white people by this method has, however, been abandoned. It was virtually destroyed by the American Revolution, and the renewed experiment in this direction may be said to have been brought to a conclusion when autonomy was extended to the Transvaal and the Orange Colony. The despotic principle tends now to coincide with the color line, and much of the future of the modern state, particularly of my own country, must depend on the relation of the white to the colored and non-European races. Until the rise of Japan as a modern power, it was almost universally believed that the characteristics of European civilization were a monopoly of race, and that, whether we liked it or not, non-European peoples were for ever destined to a type of civilization and a form of government totally different from ours. Probably the greatest social change now in progress in the world is the rise of a new spirit in the East which altogether repudiates this view, and the re-action of these changes

upon the West will, I am convinced, in a statesmanlike spirit, be bracing and beneficial. We are not, however, concerned with speculation as to the future. We have only to note the fact that, as it stands, the principle of citizenship is crossed in the empire states of our own time with that of the authoritative government of dependencies, and that this fact has important re-action on our own domestic constitution. We cannot deny principles of liberty to Orientals, or, for that matter, to Zulus, and yet maintain them with the same fervor and conviction for the benefit of anyone who may be oppressed among ourselves. We cannot foster a great bureaucratic class without being impregnated at home by its views of government. We cannot protect a great dependency from without except by remaining a great military and naval power; and to all these necessities our own body social must accommodate itself." (*Social Evolution and Political Theory*, by L. T. Hobhouse, Prof. of Sociology in the University of London, being the Julius Beer Lectures before the Columbia University for 1910-11. Columbia University Press. 1913. Pp. 143-45).

The Nizam and the Berars.

The address of His Exalted Highness the Nizam delivered on the occasion of the inauguration of his Executive Council contains the following significant passage:

"My contributions to the war are too well known for me to dwell upon. The Council will therefore find itself in a happy position to approach the all-important question of the restoration of Berar. My claim to the possession of this integral part of my dominions is based on absolute justice and it is inconceivable that on an impartial examination it can be ruled out. I shall therefore await the advice of the Council on this momentous question with deep interest."

It will thus appear that the present Nizam is not disposed to consider the thorny question of the Berars as closed or to allow it to lapse into the limbo of 'settled facts'. The whole matter will be found dealt with in chapter ix of W. S. Blunt's *India Under Ripon*, and the details of the intrigues connected with it read like a thrilling romance; for the author, himself a trained diplomat, took a prominent part

in obtaining from Lord Ripon an assurance that justice would be done to the young Nizam [the father of the present ruler] whom he had installed in the *gadi*. It was Lord Curzon who succeeded in inducing the late Nizam to grant a perpetual lease of this fertile province to the Government of India, in exchange for which he was decorated with the G. C. B., which some wag explained as an abbreviation of 'Gave Curzon Berar.' Mr. Blunt says [page 207] that the Nizam refused to take food for four days after this occurrence, and no wonder, for the Berars formed the richest third of his dominions. The greatest statesman that Hyderabad has yet produced, Sir Salar Jung, devoted his life to the patriotic effort of recovering Berar from the Government of India. He might or might not have succeeded in his efforts, but all hope of success was lost owing to his sudden and unexpected death under suspicious circumstances when he was about to carry his plans for the recovery of Berar to the point of success. [P. 200, *India Under Ripon*.] By good administration he was able to save enough to pay all claims urged by the British Government for Berar. The Berars had been annexed by Lord Dalhousie, against the strenuous protests of the then Nizam, as security for the payment of the arrears of the charges of the subsidiary force maintained in the British interest, and admitted by him to be extravagant; and the cotton-growing qualities of the country were adduced by him as a reason for the annexation [Kaye and Malleon, *Sepoy Mutiny*, Vol. I., page 62, footnote, Silver Library edition; see also Torrens' *Empire in Asia*, Ch. XXVI]. Yet the services rendered by Sir Salar Jung at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny were conspicuous. When the Mutiny broke out, the telegram received by the Resident at Hyderabad was brief but significant:—'If the Nizam goes, all goes'. "For three months," say Kaye and Malleon in their history [Vol. V, p. 89], "the fate of India was in the hands of Afzal-ud-Dowlah and Salar Jung, his prime minister." But the hopes built by Sir Salar on his loyalty to the British connection were destined to prove futile. Let us hope that the

'eminent services' of the present ruler in the recent war to which pointed reference was made by his 'sincere friend and emperor,' His Majesty King George V, on the occasion of conferring on him the special style of "Exalted Highness", will receive more substantial recognition by the restoration of the rich cotton-growing districts of Berar on which the present Nizam seems to have set his heart.

The Nizam's Executive Council.

The Nizam's Executive Council is to consist of a President, Sir Ali Imam, seven ordinary members, and an extraordinary member without a portfolio. Of these, only one appears to be a Hindu. Yet Hyderabad is a predominantly Hindu state, so much so that in consideration of this fact Lord Ripon, in his installation address, did not dare to make any allusion to the undoubted fact that the Nizam is the head of the Muhammadans of India [Blunt, *India Under Ripon*, p. 192]. It may be said, with some justification, that in the vast dominions governed by the Nizam, there are few Hindus capable of holding such high office. But this in itself is a discredit to any civilised and enlightened administration like that of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, who has moreover an abounding love for his subjects, as he takes care to say in his address to his Executive Council referred to above.

The fact is that the mass of the population in the Nizam's dominions, as in most other Native States, with a few honourable exceptions, are sunk in the deepest ignorance. To them, the new Usmania University, with Urdu as the vehicle of instruction, will prove but a doubtful boon. A widespread system of primary and secondary education is what is required to raise them to the level of the people in the surrounding British territory,—a fact, which has not escaped the attention of His Exalted Highness's Government. British India can now boast of an educated middle class, from whose ranks have come statesmen, politicians, orators, reformers, scientists, authors, captains of industry, and men distinguished in every walk of life except the army and the navy, which were

so long absolutely prohibited to Indians. Why is it that we do not generally hear of such men in the Native States, and whenever their services are required, they have almost invariably to be requisitioned from British India? There can be no denial of the fact that an *intelligentsia* like that of British India has yet to be built up in the vast majority of the Native States. Though in the Native States all the highest posts are open to men of the soil, these men are not always the best available, and in this sense it cannot always be said that the careers are open to talent. Intrigue is the order of the day, and there is little security of tenure, and underhand practices are largely prevalent. In spite of all its drawbacks, British rule affords greater scope for the development and training of individual capacity and for filling men's minds with useful and ambitious ideas, and generally speaking, a British subject in India breathes a purer and freer atmosphere, where equality before the law among Indians and stability of administrative policy are better maintained and enlightened ideas of Government are more prevalent, public life is consequently more developed, and above all, the government is more impersonal. The inauguration of council government in the premier native state of India is therefore to be welcomed. Though the fact of the ruler being a native of the country mitigates to a large extent the evils of despotic government, yet in these democratic days the necessity of representative government is manifest, and we sincerely hope that under the enlightened administration of Sir Ali Imam Hyderabad will ere long introduce a scheme of full representative government and thus cease to be counted among the backward states, which is a stigma and a reproach to the foremost Native State in India.

The introduction of representative institutions is necessary in the Native States in the interests of the rulers themselves; because unless the subjects are free, educated, capable, and fully developed in all respects to take part in the modern struggle for existence, the rulers are bound to remain weak and their importance in the

eyes of the sovereign power as well as the outside world is likely to suffer. Everywhere in the modern world it is the ruler of the state where the people are most powerful who is also most honoured and respected abroad; and it is this selfish consideration, if not the welfare of the people committed to this charge, which demands that the people should be thoroughly organised by education and industrial enterprise to equip themselves for marching in the van of progress.

Perpetual Leasing of Berar.

The following extract from Mr. Wilfrid Seawen Blunt's *India Under Ripon* (T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1909) contains information relating to the leasing of Berar in perpetuity to the Government of India :—

"N. B.—The following is the account given me by an Indian gentleman in whom I have confidence, of the final act of the long official intrigue here described [chapter IX] at Hyderabad, which had for its object the permanent retention of the Berar provinces by the Government of India: twenty years after Lord Ripon's visit, another viceregal visit was paid to Hyderabad, and the Nizam was pressed by Lord Curzon at the close of an entertainment at the palace to accord him a perpetual lease of the Provinces for the Indian Government, and the Nizam, in deference to his guest, verbally consented. In the morning, however, he would have recalled his promise, and it was only on compulsion, and on threat of deposition, that he signed the treaty laid before him as a binding document by the Resident. The form of a lease was chosen to evade Lord Ripon's honest assurances at the time of the installation [at which Mr. Blunt was present, and had a private interview with Lord Ripon], and there are many precedents for the subterfuge. The Nizam, my informant added, refused for four days to take food after this occurrence."

T. N. Mukherji.

By the death of Mr. T. N. Mukherji, retired superintendent of the Indian Museum, the country has lost a self-made man of vast information in various fields of knowledge, who used his intellectual resources for the good of his people. As a young man he had known the pangs of going without food for days during famine and had also seen with his own eyes the terrible ravages of famine. This made him resolve that he would apply himself to



T. N. Mukherji.

such labours as might tend to lessen famines in India. He did much for the progress of agriculture and for finding a market among Europeans and Americans for the products of the Indian arts and crafts. This saved many decaying arts and crafts from extinction and brought money to those who followed them. At the request of the Government he wrote a book on the "Art Manufactures of India." It was he who first began to compile the "Dictionary of Economic Products" which was subsequently brought to completion and published by Sir George Watt. Mr. Mukherji had a wider and more accurate knowledge of indigenous drugs than Sir George Watt. As an assistant of Sir W. W. Hunter Mr. Mukherji collected much information for the Imperial Gazetteer. His "Visit to Europe" is an interesting volume giving an account of his travels in England, Scotland, Holland, Belgium, France, Germany, Austria and Italy. He and his brother Rangalal Mukherji first began to compile and publish the Bengali encyclopaedia named *Visvakosh*. He was a voluminous contributor to periodicals

and newspapers on useful subjects. His Bengali stories named "Kankabati," "Bhut O Manush," &c., are very popular.

Woman Suffrage.

As the Joint Committee has recommended that electoral rules are to be so framed that if any provincial legislative council decided by resolution in favour of women's franchise women should be put on the register of that province, it may be claimed on behalf of the advocates of woman suffrage that they have practically gained their object. The services of Mrs. Annie Besant and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu have been invaluable to the cause. Later, in accordance with a resolution adopted at a public meeting of the women of Bombay, Mrs. Hirabai A. Tata and Miss Mithibai A. Tata, B.A., went to England as the representatives of the Bombay women and the forty-three branches of the Women's Indian Association. Their readiness, energy and self-sacrifice are worthy of praise. In England they submitted an accurate and reasoned



Mrs. Hirabai A. Tata.



Miss Mithibai A. Tata, B.A.

statement of their case to the Joint Committee and spoke from many a platform.

First Oriental Conference in India.

The first oriental conference organised by Indians and held under Indian auspices recently met in Poona. It is reported to have been a great success, and even to one disposed to be somewhat critical it "was in most respects a success." Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the great indologist and scholar, prepared the presidential address, though owing to ill health he could not personally preside and deliver it. Many learned papers were either read or taken as read.

Dr. Bhandarkar criticised the attempt on the part of some occidental savants "to throw discredit on the ritual prescribed in the *Grihyasutras* and *Srautasutras*, by tracing them to the practices of savages like the Red Indians of America," and he also complained that "even the *Upanayana* and the marriage ceremonies of the domestic rites and the *Diksha* ceremony are treated similarly." He gave reasons why they should not be so treated. The follow-

ing passage from his address explains why he thinks Indians are more fit to pursue Vedic studies than foreign nations.

Notwithstanding such aberrations of scholars as we have noticed, European scholarship deserves our highest respect, and the erring individuals are corrected by other scholars and on the whole no great harm is done. Still we Indian scholars ought to devote ourselves strenuously to Vedic study. Yaska tells us that a science should not be taught or communicated to a fault-finding or prejudiced man and the mood to be observed in studying a subject is, according to the *Bhagavadgita*, that of *Sraddha*, i.e., a disposition to receive whatever strikes as reasonable or an attitude of open-mindedness. We are likely to be more actuated by this spirit in the study of our Vedas than any foreign nation.

One misses in Dr. Bhandarkar's address references to American and Japanese Sanskritists and their work. An adequate appreciation of Pali literature and Jaina and Buddhist scriptures was also wanting. The Chinese and Tibetan literatures also are expected to make increasing contributions to a proper study of the history and meaning



Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.

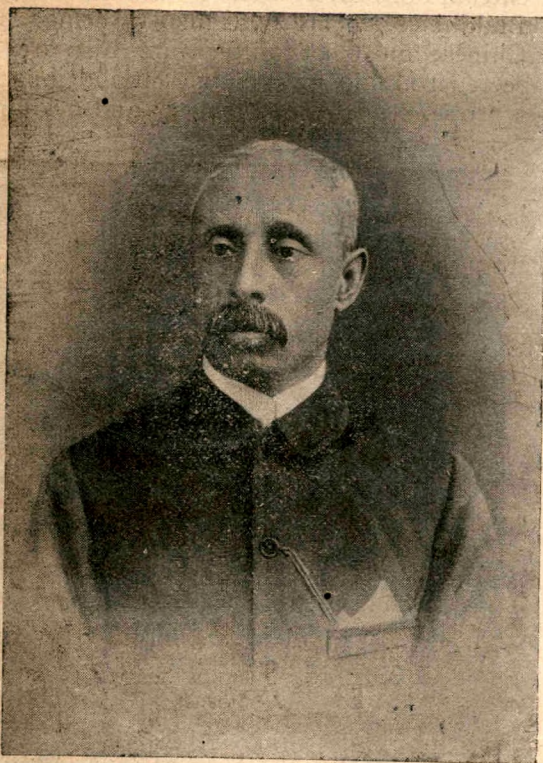
of Indian culture and religions. The extinct literatures and civilisations of Central

Asia, of which Dr. Stein and others have unearthed important remains, have much to tell us. The presidential address gave all these a wide berth. It was also incomplete in that it failed to direct attention to numismatics and iconography as branches of indological study. In fact, numismatics is indispensable for the reconstruction of ancient Indian chronology.

But these are details. The great fact is that a good and sound beginning has been made, and Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and the younger men who worked under his guidance and the inspiration of his example, deserve to be warmly congratulated on the success achieved.

Jatramohan Sen.

By the death of Babu Jatramohan Sen the country has lost a prominent and



Jatramohan Sen.

truly public-spirited citizen. He was the most distinguished vakil of the Chittagong bar and was known for his munificence. He worked for religious and social reform

and for educational and economic advancement, besides being an active supporter of the Congress cause. The Khastgir High School for Girls in Chittagong was built at his expense on a site given by him to the institution, to perpetuate the memory of his father-in-law. The high school for boys in the same town, named Jatramohan Institution, was also established by him.

A Christian Missionary Attack on the Indian Home Rule Movement, and its Refutation.

Mr. Sherwood Eddy, the Christian Missionary, is not unknown in India. It appears that in America he has been attacking the Indian movement for self-government or home rule. Dr. J. T. Sunderland, that ever vigilant friend of India, has exposed his misrepresentations, in the columns of the *Chicago Unity* and the *Boston Christian Register*. Almost the whole of Dr. Sunderland's reply is quoted below :

THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT.

Mr. Eddy represents the Home Rule movement in India as an attempt to drive the English out of the country. Unless he is absolutely ignorant, he knows it is nothing of the kind. It proposes to leave all foreign affairs and the army and navy entirely in the hands of Great Britain, and also the management of all affairs and the adjustment of all relations between the different states and provinces into which India is divided. What the Indian people ask is simply the privilege and the right to manage their own home affairs,—a right which belongs in justice to every civilized people in the world.

Says Mr. Eddy : "If the British withdraw to-morrow, India would welter in blood from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin." Why does he make so uncalled-for and so misleading a remark ? The Indian people are not asking the British to withdraw. And as to the country "weltering in blood," does he not know that there is not a more peace-loving and orderly people in the world than the people of India ? If ever they show signs of revolt or resistance to the government, it is only when they feel that tyranny and cruel injustice are being inflicted on them ; and as soon as the injustice is removed, there is no more law-abiding people on earth than they always show themselves to be.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR IT ?

Mr. Eddy declares that the people of India are not capable of ruling themselves because of three things ; namely, their illiteracy, their castes, and the number of languages spoken among them.

1. As to their illiteracy,—who is responsible for it? The government, not the people. The foreign rulers of the land tax the people to the extreme limit, but refuse to give them schools. After one hundred and fifty years of British rule there are schools for only one boy in eight and one girl in one hundred and forty. It is to get rid of their illiteracy, among other evils, that the people want home rule. In such native states as Baroda and Mysore, where home rule exists, there is universal free education for both girls and boys. Give British India home rule and her illiteracy will rapidly disappear; but unless the people are permitted to control their educational affairs, no one can see any prospect of its disappearing within any discernible future.

BIRDS OF PASSAGE.

But the illiteracy of India (regrettable as it is, and disgraceful as it is to the government which is responsible for it) does not justify the withholding of home rule from the people. As a fact, there are in India more than fourteen million literates. These are scattered in all parts of the land and are the people's natural and trusted leaders. Can anybody believe that these millions of intelligent men who know India and are wholly identified with its interests are not better fitted to shape its laws and to rule it than are foreigners who are ignorant of the land till they get there, who never make their permanent home in India, who never identify themselves with the country's interest, who, to use the language of Edmund Burke, are mere "birds of passage," who come to India for a few years of high-salaried service, and, as soon as their terms of office are over, hurry back to England, which they have never ceased to regard as "home," to find their real interests there, and to live there the rest of their lives on the pensions which they draw from the extremely impoverished Indian people?

CASTE.

2. Mr. Eddy declares that the Indian people are not fit for home rule because of their many castes. Does he not know that caste in India does not apply to political matters (as it does not to business)? It applies only to religion and to certain social customs. In political and business affairs the different castes mingle freely. It is only ignorance or something worse that cites caste as a reason why the people of India should not manage their own affairs.

MANY LANGUAGES.

3. As to the many languages spoken in India, that is no more an argument against home rule there than is the many languages spoken in this country an argument against home rule here. As a fact, there are fewer languages spoken in India than in the United States. In order to get the misleadingly large number of Indian tongues that he mentions, Mr. Eddy has to

include the languages of all the small unimportant hill and mountain tribes that live in remote and often almost inaccessible regions—similar to the small tribes of our own American Indians. In the United States we have people who speak all the languages of Europe, most or all those of Asia, and many of the tongues of Africa and the islands of the sea. Add all these languages to those of our numerous little Indian tribes and we far outdo India in our number of tongues. But shall we argue from this that we in America are incapable of self-government, and need to be ruled by some nation in a distant part of the globe?

INDIA'S CIVILIZATION.

The truth is, the main languages of India are few, fewer than in Europe. The great state of Bengal has fifty million people, and one language, with a fine literature. Why, then, should not Bengal have home rule? Most of the other great states have a single main language, of a high order, which is the vernacular of nearly the entire population. Why should not all these great states,—states equal in size and population to France and England and Italy, and possessed of a civilization hardly less high,—why should not they all have self-rule?

To say that these great civilized states are not fit to rule themselves (rule themselves better than any foreign state can possibly rule them) is wholly without warrant. They have been civilized states for three thousand years. They ruled themselves before the British came. Has one hundred and fifty years of British control caused such degeneration in them that now they must be ruled by foreigners? The truth is, by far the best government that now exists in India is in some of the Native States, like the two that I have already mentioned, which have home rule.

A NATIONAL INDIAN PARLIAMENT.

There is no lack of ability in India. There are plenty of men capable of filling every office and every position of trust and responsibility in the land, even to the very highest. It would be easily possible to create legislatures in all the great leading states essentially the equals of the state legislatures of the country or the provincial legislatures of Canada, and to create a national Indian Parliament, little if any inferior to the fine Parliament of Japan, or to the national Congresses and parliaments of France, Great Britain, and the United States.

WHY NOT TO GREAT INDIA?

The greatest war in history has been fought to give the power of self-determination to subject peoples. If to little Belgium and Armenia, why not to Great India? If thirty million civilized Poles have a right to govern themselves, why not the three hundred and fifteen million civilized people of Hindustan? Will not free America

give her sympathy to India struggling to be free?

The Library Movement in Baroda.

In the course of a description of the Viceregal visit to Baroda, the *Library Miscellany* writes :—

From railways to libraries is not a far cry in the Baroda State; on the other hand, the two are most intimately interconnected. Wherever the railway has penetrated in the State, there have gone our public libraries also. In fact, the railways have helped immensely the spread of our libraries in the remotest parts of the Baroda State. The two systems—the Railway and the Library—have some common features between them. The one reduces isolation in space and brings the new light of enlivenment in the backward rural communities; the other removes intellectual isolation and introduces a new spiritual enlightenment in the distant ignorant communities. The one hastens material prosperity; the other, intellectual advancement. While in places which are not yet ready for railways, His Highness' Government is proposing to introduce a motor-service, the motor-service of the Library System—viz., our Travelling Libraries scheme—has already been very active and has penetrated far and deep into the State.

After the Viceroy had been shown the various departments of the Central Library, the "children's corner" in the library, a village library book-case, small travelling library boxes, the collection of apparatus of the Visual Instruction Branch, stereoscopes, stereographs, the radio-opticon with picture post cards, the magic lantern and slides, the "KOK" parlour cinematograph machines, &c.,

His Excellency asked one of his secretaries if he had seen anywhere in India any scheme of popular instruction of this kind. Of course the answer was in the negative, as Baroda has had the honour of pioneering this movement in India.

A radio-opticon is a kind of magic lantern which does not require specially prepared slides but can enlarge and throw on the screen any picture post-card, any illustration from a book, a page of hand-writing, a photograph, &c. Every people's instructor ought to have this machine.

In adopting and pushing forward the library movement and the visual instruction scheme, Mysore comes next after Baroda. As Mr. C. Nagappa, State

Library Organizer for Mysore, said at the recent first All-India Libraries Conference :

I may safely claim credit to Mysore for the next movement in India after the pioneer movement started in Baroda. I am not unmindful of the Andhradesa Library movement which has even an earlier history than either the Baroda or the Mysore movement.

The Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore having allotted a sum of Rs. 30,000 for the organisation of a suitable scheme of Visual Instruction, arrangements are in progress to organise the scheme. The present equipment of the scheme is as follows: 2 Cinema machines, 4 Magic lanterns, 1 Radio-opticon, and 1 Projectoscope.

There are about 35 sets of lantern lecture slides on various subjects comprising in all about 4,000 slides foreign as well as local. Besides, we have 53 complete sets of stereoscopic views of the different countries of the world.

Joint Committee's Recommendations Relating to Government of India Bill.

Two long telegrams received by the Government of India from the Secretary of State and published by the former give the public an idea of the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill. It is clear that the Bill as recommended to be amended and expanded by the Committee is an improvement on the original Bill, though the improvement is not such as to make us go into raptures over it or make us change our attitude towards the Bill. Let us take note of some of the principal recommendations whose adoption may be of advantage to the country.

(2) While laying great stress on the necessity of clearly demarcating and fixing the responsibility of each half of the executive for its own sphere, the Committee regard it as of the highest importance that the Governor should foster the habit of free consultation between both halves, and that he should insist upon it in all important matters of common interest.

The Rules.

(4) The Committee recommend the immediate constitution of a Standing Joint Committee of both Houses for the purpose of securing closer Parliamentary touch with Indian affairs. One of the most important points on which consultation with this committee will be required is the examination of the draft rules under the Bill and for examination of the first rules they recommend that the present committee should be re-appointed as in existence.

This is undoubtedly better than leaving

the rules to be made entirely by the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. As the scheme of the Bill leaves much to be carried out by rules, they are of vital importance. But they are neither to be drafted by us or our representatives, nor to be examined and criticised by us or our leaders and representatives. This is not self-determination in any sense. Whatever the importance attached to Indian public opinion, the Montagu-Chelmsford joint report and the Government of India Bill were at any rate published for criticism and suggestions, but the rules are to be beyond the range of Indian criticism and suggestions.

Transferred Subjects.

(6) The Functions Committee's lists of subjects, as revised after consultation at the India Office, and put in as evidence by Mr. Feetham, are accepted. This involves the recommendation that the whole of education (subject to reservations about universities) and the development of industries should be transferred subjects.

As too much is being made of this recommendation, let us see what it exactly amounts to. We do not have before us (we doubt if any Indian publicist has) "the functions committee's lists of subjects, as revised after consultation at the India Office, and put in as evidence by Mr. Feetham". We possess only the original lists prepared by the functions committee and published by the Government of India.

Education.

It may be assumed that the revised lists are not substantially different from the original ones. In the latter, so far as education in the widest sense is concerned, the following are included among All-India Subjects :

"30. Central Institutions of scientific and industrial research, including observatories and central institutions for professional or technical training."

These institutions would have the resources of the Government of India at their back and would help in the making of leaders in science and captains of industry. But as in the Government of India there are to be no transferred subjects, it is to be understood that the transference of education to Indian ministers, does not mean that these central

institutions would be under even nominal popular control. These may be reserved for patronising "eminent" (?) experts from abroad. The exact denotation and connotation of the transference of education as a provincial subject should also be clearly understood. Let us quote from the list of transferred provincial subjects.

"4. Education, other than European and Anglo-Indian education, (excluding—(1) the Benares Hindu University (2) Chiefs' Colleges), subject to Indian legislation—

(a) controlling the establishment and regulating the constitutions and functions of new Universities; and

(b) defining the jurisdiction of any university outside its own Province;

[*Those among the people of Bengal who are disposed to be very enthusiastic please note what follows.—Editor, M. R.*]

and, in the case of Bengal, for a period of five years from the date when the reforms scheme comes into operation, subject to Indian legislation with regard to the Calcutta University and the control and organisation of secondary education."

So whatever the transfer of education may mean in the other provinces, in Bengal for 5 years it would mean only the transfer of primary schools to the Indian minister! As, whatever the political heresies or sins of Bengal may be, it cannot be pretended that the Bengalis are more backward in university, collegiate and secondary education than the people of every other province of India, the reason for depriving them of what would fall to the lot of the other provinces cannot be educational,—most probably it is political. We are not ignorant of the historical facts of the appointment, labours and report of the Sadler Commission. What we must protest against and condemn is that the fate of the higher and highest education in Bengal is to be determined not by Bengalis for the most part in their legislative council but by a legislative body where their voice cannot be predominant.

The reservation regarding new universities also means that even when these universities (e. g., Dacca, Nagpur) are to have their jurisdiction confined to only one province, it is not provincial legislatures but the Indian legislature which would

legislate about them. Of course, inter-university legislation may be undertaken by the Government of India, if the different universities concerned cannot agree among themselves.

Industries.

The development of Industries is recommended to be another transferred subject. Let us try to understand what this, too, exactly means. For the development of industries institutions of scientific and industrial research and for professional or technical training are indispensably necessary. But the *central* (that is to say, the highest and best) institutions of the kind are, as we have shown above, to be under the Government of India, and therefore beyond popular control or effective popular influence. No doubt, among provincial subjects we have "24. Development of industries, including industrial research and technical education." But technical education has hitherto meant, in the Anglo-Indian bureaucratic dictionary, the training of foremen mechanics, typists, carpenters and men of that class,—who are undoubtedly very useful persons, but cannot develop industries.

A thorough and detailed geological survey of the whole country is required as a preliminary to industrial development; because the latter has greatly to do with the mineral resources of the country. But the country has not yet been geologically surveyed in a thorough-going manner, *with the direct object of ascertaining the industrial potentialities of the land*. India is so large a country that this can be done only if the different provinces can have their own adequate staff of geological surveyors; as an All-India staff must either be too small and inadequate, as now, or too cumbersome and unmanageable and thus inefficient. But though it is thus clear that a geological survey, to be adequate from an industrial point of view, should be provincialised, it has been kept, as now, as an Imperial or All-India subject. We know, geological regions have not and cannot have the same boundaries as administrative divisions. But there can be no harm in the survey of portions of the same geologi-

cal tract spreading over two or more provinces by the staffs of these provinces. If in a large country like India interests are narrowed down, they are likely to be more earnestly attended to.

That the development of industries has been made a transferred provincial subject, only in name would be clear on considering the fact that the following, too, have been listed as All-India subjects :

"18. Commerce, including banking and insurance.

19. Trading companies and other associations, [Do companies formed for manufacturing purposes come under this heading?—Ed., M. R.]

20. Control of production, supply and distribution of any article in respect of which control by a central authority is declared by or under Indian legislation essential in the public interests,.....

21. Control of petroleum.....

23. Control of mineral development, in so far as such control is reserved to the Governor-General in Council under rules made or sanctioned by the Secretary of State, and regulation of mines.

24. Inventions and designs."

All the above subjects are directly or indirectly, more or less, connected with industrial development, but have been classed as All-India subjects. It may be necessary that some of them should be so classed, but our point is that without control over them the transfer of industrial development as a provincial subject would be practically of not much use.

With reference to item 23 above, it should be noted that the following *Provincial* subject, too, viz.,

"23. Development of mineral resources which are Government property, subject to rules made or sanctioned by the Secretary of State, but, not including the regulation of mines."

is a reserved subject in all Provinces. Of the Provincial subjects, again,

"25. Industrial matters included under the following heads ;—

- (a) Factories :
- (b) Settlement of labour disputes :
- (c) Electricity :
- (d) Boilers :

(e) Gas :

(f) Smoke nuisances ; and

(g) Welfare of labour, including provident funds, industrial insurance (general, health and accident) and housing ;

subject as to (a), (b), (c), and (d) to Indian legislation."

are Provincial *reserved* subjects. So that those who are overjoyed to find the development of industries a transferred subject must derive all the consolation that they can from the bare heading "Development of industries, including industrial research and technical education." It seems that industries are to be developed by the Provincial Indian ministers in charge without the needful means and accessories.

It has all along been a complaint of Indian industrialists that the railway administrations in India instead of helping indigenous industrial efforts practically hinder them. Railways and other means of communication and transport, however, would continue to remain for the most part All-India subjects. Customs, cotton excise duties, and currency are also All-India subjects. *Vide* the extracts from the list of All-India subjects given below.

"6. Communications—to the extent described under the following heads:—

(a) Railways and tramways, except tramways within municipal areas, and except in so far as provision may be made for construction and management of light and feeder railways and tramways, other than tramways within municipal areas, by provincial legislation enacted in accordance with procedure to be prescribed by standing orders of the provincial Legislative Council:

* * * *

(c) Aircraft :

(d) Inland waterways, to an extent to be declared by or under Indian legislation.

7. Shipping and Navigation (including shipping and navigation on inland waterways in so far as declared to be under Indian control in accordance with 6 (d).

10. Ports declared to be major ports by or under Indian legislation :

12.....customs, cotton excise duties,.....

13. Currency and coinage."

Other Transferred Subjects.

Other transferred subjects in the Functions Committee's original list are : local self-government, medical administration, public health and sanitation and vital statistics, public works, agriculture, civil veterinary department, fisheries (except in Assam), co-operative societies (subject

only), excise (except in Assam), registration of deeds and documents (subject to Indian legislation), registration of births deaths and marriages (subject to Indian legislation for such classes as the Indian legislature may determine), religious and charitable endowments, adulteration of food-stuffs and other articles (subject to Indian legislation as regards export trade), weights and measures (subject to Indian legislation as regards standards), and museums (except the Indian Museum and the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta) and zoological gardens.

The *reserved* subjects are : irrigation and canals, drainage and embankments, and water storage ; land revenue administration ; famine relief ; land acquisition ; administration of justice ; provincial law-reports ; administrator-general and official assignee ; judicial stamps ; development of mineral resources which are government property ; industrial matters included under the heads factories, settlement of labour disputes, electricity, boilers, gas smoke nuisance and welfare of labour ; ports ; inland waterways ; police ; miscellaneous matters ; control of newspapers and printing presses ; coroners ; criminal tribes ; European vagrants ; prisons and reformatories ; pounds ; treasure trove ; government press ; franchise and elections for Indian and provincial legislatures ; regulation of medical and other professional qualifications and standards ; control of members of All-India services serving within the province, and of other public services within the province ; new provincial taxes ; borrowing of money on the sole credit of the province ; imposition of punishments by fine, penalty or imprisonment for enforcing any law of the province relating to any provincial subject ; any matter which though falling within an All-India subject, is declared by the Governor-General in Council to be of a merely local or private nature within the province.

Agriculture is a transferred subject but irrigation and water storage are not. Nor land revenue administration! Development of industries is a transferred subject, but factories, &c. are reserved subjects!

A Joint Purse.

The Indian Deputations laid great stress on a Joint Purse for the two halves of the Diarchy. It may seem that they have got their hearts' desire. But is it certain that a Joint Purse would really materialise from the recommendation quoted below?

(7) The Committee do not endorse the suggested separation of sources of revenue, but recommend that the Governor be empowered, if a joint purse is found to produce friction at any time, to make an allocation of a definite proportion of the revenue and balances, to continue in force for at least the whole life of the existing Legislative Council. If the Governor requires assistance in making allocations he should be allowed at discretion to refer the matter for decision to an authority to be appointed by the Governor-General. Until mutual agreement between both halves of the Government has been reached, or until allocation has been made by the Governor, the total provision of the different expenditure heads in provincial budgets of the preceding financial year to hold good.

It seems to us, on a careful reading of the recommendation, that the Joint Committee, instead of bluntly saying that there should be a divided purse, have given the Governor the power of dividing the purse. What is discretionary with the governor is certainly not a constitutional arrangement which can satisfy the advocates of people's rights.

Governor and Ministers.

In the telegraphed summary of the main recommendations, and of the revised clauses, we find the following :—

(9) A Minister will have the option of resigning if his advice is not accepted by the Governor, and the Governor will have the right of dismissing a Minister whose policy he believes seriously wrong or out of accord with the views of the Legislature. If the Governor resorts to dissolution to find new Ministers, the Committee hope that he will be able to accept the view of the new Ministers regarding the issue which forced the dissolution. Ministers will certainly be at least two in number in every province, and the fact that they undoubtedly will act together had been recognised, and provided for, as a desirable position. The Governor should never hesitate to point out to Ministers what he thinks is the right course, or to warn them if he thinks their proposed course is wrong. But if Ministers decide not to adopt his advice, the Governor should ordinarily allow Ministers to have their way. Mistakes will doubtless follow, but will bring ex-

perience. The status of Ministers should be similar to that of Executive Councillors.

Clause 4 corresponds to the old clause 3 with the following changes :

(1) The salary of Ministers to be the same as that of Executive Councillors in the same provinces unless the Legislative Council votes a smaller salary.

There are several improvements here. The salary of ministers is to be the same as that of the Executive Councillors in the same Province *unless the Legislative Council votes a smaller salary*, and they are to be at least two in number. The words italicised by us appear to show that the ministers are to be made responsible to the legislature from the first. The committee hope that the Governor will be able to accept the view of the new Ministers regarding the issue which forced the dissolution; the committee also say that "if ministers decide not to adopt his advice the Governor should ordinarily allow ministers to have their way." But this "hope" and this advice to the Governor find no place in the original or the revised Bill. The ministers would owe their appointment to the Governor, irrespective of their influence or following in the country. He may choose *Jo-Hukums*. The Governor may advise the ministers, warn them, disregard their advice, and dismiss them at his discretion.

Franchise Amendments.

Theoretically the anxiety displayed for larger representation of the rural population and of the urban wage-earning classes may be all right. But this may result in practice in the larger return of the landholding members in rural areas (as the cultivating classes are under the thumb of their landlords) and of the foreign mill or factory-owners in some urban areas, because there large numbers of wage-earners have to seek the good graces of the former. This may or may not be a device for lessening the political influence of the educated middle-class, to whose efforts mainly the birth of political consciousness in the country is due and who may justly claim the greatest share of the credit for all progressive constitutional changes. As a class, they are more fit to be the people's

representatives than any other class and also possessed of greater political knowledge, capacity and courage. We speak of classes, not individuals.

The arrangement suggested for providing a larger share of representation to the depressed classes is not the best possible. Nominated representatives cannot be expected generally to courageously stand up for the rights of those they are supposed to represent,—far less representatives who are public servants. It would be better to confer the franchise on persons belonging to the depressed classes on lower electoral qualifications than would be ordinarily required, and in this way secure to them political representation and power.

What is suggested in relation to the representation of non-Brahmins in Madras and Marathas in Bombay will not probably satisfy them. But as communal representation, it seems, must be accepted as a necessary evil, the joint committee's recommendation may be given a trial.

The suggestion regarding women suffrage, referred to in a previous note, is the next best to giving them the franchise on the same qualifications as to men. It is now up to our women to make their influence felt in every province. Bombay women are sure to get the vote. We have fears for Bengal.

Other Changes.

The endorsement of the maintenance of the Lucknow compact is welcome.

A complete and stringent corrupt practices Act is also worthy of support.

The rejection of the Grand Committee does not reduce the power of the Governor to have any law passed that he thinks necessary and to prevent the passage of any law which he does not like. But still the substitution of a transparent trickery method by a straightforward one is to be preferred.

Similarly, the rejection of the scheme of the Report and Original Bill for the operation of the Council of State does not in reality constitute any reduction of the power of the Governor-General. He can have his way in legislative matters as in the original Bill. But we prefer this frank

way of doing things. Other improvements in connection with the Council of State are, that there is to be in it at least a two-thirds majority of elected members of the Council of State, that a Bill is not to be held as passed in the Indian Legislature unless assented to by both the Chambers. The recommendation that the Council of State is to be constituted as a true revising chamber from the start, would most probably lead to retrogression if aristocratic noodles generally became its members. They do not possess the capacity to truly revise the decisions of the "lower" house. They would only serve as cat's-paws for delaying or preventing the materialization of the decision of the people's representatives.

The expansion of the legal qualification for membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council by the addition of High Court Pleaders of 10 years' standing is an improvement, as also the following :—

(18) The Committee recommended that in future not less than three members of the Governor-General's Executive Council should be Indians.

though this increase in the number of Indian members may be to some extent counterbalanced by the repeal in the Bill of the provision in the Government of India Act of 1915, clause 36 (2), fixing the maximum number of Executive Councillors at six. The number may now be larger.

The retention of the Council of the Secretary of State is greatly to be condemned, though the increase in the number of Indian members is an improvement.

Qualified Fiscal Autonomy.

In the following passage a kind of qualified and indirect fiscal autonomy is recommended.

Thus the Secretary of State in the exercise of his responsibility to Parliament, which he can not delegate, may reasonably consider that only in exceptional circumstances should he be called on to intervene in matters of purely Indian interest in which the Government of India and the Indian Legislature are in agreement. A particular instance of this convention would be tariff arrangements. Fiscal autonomy cannot be guaranteed by statute without the unconstitutional result of limiting the ultimate control by Parliament or the Crown's power of veto.

it can only be assured by an acknowledgment of the convention that the Secretary of State should, so far as possible, abstain from intervention in fiscal matters when the Government of India and the Indian Legislature agree and should only intervene to safeguard the international obligations of the Empire, or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party.

This is theoretically good so far as it goes and is an improvement on our present position. But the question is, how often and how far will the Government of India agree with the Indian Legislature in protecting the interests of the people of India? What we want is that the views of the Legislative Assembly in fiscal matters should prevail as a matter of course, even if the Governor does not accept them.

Statutory Commission.

In the original Bill, at the expiration of a period of ten years after its passing, the appointment of a statutory commission is provided for. Its appointment is

"for the purpose of inquiring into the working of the system of Government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions, in British India and the provinces thereof, and matters connected therewith, and the commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to extend or modify the degree of responsible Government then existing in any province. The commission shall also inquire into and report on any other matter affecting British India and the provinces, which may be referred to the commission by the Secretary of State.

In relation to this commission the two telegrams from the Secretary of State contain the two following paragraphs :

Clause 41 reproduces old Clause 28 with amendments requiring a commission to survey the whole field, and report whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish, extend, modify, or restrict Responsible Government, and as to the advisability of establishing two chamber legislatures in the Provinces.

(23) The appointment of a Statutory Commission at the end of ten years is endorsed. The Commission should include the Government of India in the scope of its enquiry, and consider generally what further advance can be made. Meanwhile no substantive changes should be introduced.

So far as the survey or the inquiry is concerned the original Bill *did* contemplate

the inclusion of the whole field and not merely the provinces, as the Joint Committee seem to think. The suggestion, however vague, to consider whether any advance can be made in the Government of India, is new and a distinct improvement, —assuming, of course, that there is such a vague suggestion, which is not quite clear. We are opposed to the establishment of "two-chamber legislatures in the provinces," and are not therefore in favour of considering its advisability.

Land Revenue Assessment to be Made Statutory.

Agriculturists and their friends should consider the following recommendation an opportunity to endeavour to place land revenue assessment on the basis of equitable principles :—

(26) The principles governing the revision of assessment of land revenue should be brought under closer regulation by statute as soon as possible, as part of a general policy bringing within the purview of legislation the imposition of new burdens.

Other Improvements.

The following may also be considered improvements :

(10) Normally the Executive Council is expected to consist of two members. If in any case the Council includes two service members, neither of whom is an Indian, the Committee think it should also include two non-official Indians.

All proposals for provincial taxation should be considered and agreed upon by both halves of the government before submission to the Legislative Council.

The Governor's power [for reserved legislation] is to be exercised only after opportunity for full discussion in the Legislature, and the Standing Committee of Parliament should be specially consulted on acts of this kind by the Secretary of State.

Council secretaries to receive such salaries as the Council votes.

Governor is not to be a member of the council.

In the legislative Council a 70 per cent. minimum for elected members and a 20 per cent. maximum for officials are to be maintained.

Clause 9 provides for the President and Deputy President of Legislative Councils. The Deputy President is to be elected from the start, subject to the Governor's approval. The President is to be appointed by the Governor for the first four years and elected thereafter subject to the Governor's approval. The salary of the appoint-

ed President is to be fixed by the Governor and of the elected President and Deputy President by an Act of the legislature.

Similar provision made for the President and the Deputy President of the Legislative Assembly.

Composition of the Indian Legislative Assembly to be : Total 150, elected 100, officials 26, with power to vary without limit subject to the maintenance of proportions of at last 5/7 elected and at least 1/3 of the balance non-officials.

The Voting of the Indian and the Provincial Budgets.

It is some advantage that the Indian and the provincial budgets are to be in part voted in the Legislative Assembly and the provincial councils respectively. But the joint committee take good care to say :

(17) The voting of the Indian budget is not introduced as establishing any measure of responsible Government in the central administration, and the power of the Governor-General to disregard adverse votes is to be understood to be real and intended to be used if and when necessary.

That the voting will not in any way reduce or fetter the Governor-General's power of expenditure will be clear from the following :

The proposals of the Governor-General-in-Council for the appropriation of revenue or moneys relating to the following heads of expenditure shall not be submitted to the vote of the Legislative Assembly, nor shall they be open to discussion by either chamber at the time when the annual statement is under consideration, unless the Governor-General otherwise directs :

(1) Interest and sinking fund charges on loans and (2) expenditure of which amount is prescribed by or under any law and (3) salaries and pensions of persons appointed by or with the approval of His Majesty or by the Secretary of State in Council and (4) salaries of Chief Commissioners and Judicial Commissioners and (5) expenditure classified by the order of the Governor-General as (a) ecclesiastical, (b) political and (c) defence.

If any question arises, whether any proposed appropriation of revenue or moneys does or does not relate to the above heads, the decision of the Governor-General on the question shall be final.

The proposals of the Governor-General-in-Council for the appropriation of revenue or expenditure, not specified in the above heads, shall be submitted to the vote of the Legislative Assembly in the form of demands for grants.

(6) The Legislative Assembly may assent or refuse its assent to any demand or may

reduce the amount referred to in any demand by a reduction of the whole grant.

(7) The demands, as voted by the Legislative Assembly, shall be submitted to the Governor-General in Council who shall, if he declares he is satisfied that any demand which has been refused by the Legislative Assembly is essential to the discharge of his responsibilities, act as if it had been assented to, notwithstanding the withholding of such assent, or reduction of the amount therein referred to by the Legislative Assembly.

(8) Notwithstanding anything in this section, the Governor-General shall have power in case of emergency to authorise such expenditure as may, in his opinion, be necessary for the safety or tranquillity of British India or any part thereof.

As for the provincial budgets, the Bill after revision does not after all give the people's representatives the power of the purse in any real sense. The summary of recommendations says :—

(13) When the Council reduce or fail to vote a budget demand for a transferred subject, the Committee consider that the Governor will be justified if so advised by his Ministers, in re-submitting the vote to the Council for reviewing its decision. The Governor's power of restoration of reduced reserved votes must be regarded as real, and its exercise as not arbitrary.

It is not stated what will be done in case the Council adheres to its first decision relating to a budget demand for a transferred subject.

In the revised Bill sub-clause 2 of Clause 11 requires that annual estimates should be laid before the Council in the form of statement and estimates of expenditure, and the estimates of expenditure to be submitted to the Council for assent by a vote in the form of demands for grants. The Council may assent to or refuse assent to a demand, or may reduce the amount either by reduction of the whole demand or by the omission or reduction of items of grant. But "the local government shall have power, in relation to any such demand, to act as if it had been assented to, notwithstanding the withholding of such assent, if the demand relates to a reserved subject, and the governor certifies that the expenditure provided for by the demand is essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the subject."—The

Governor also possesses power in cases of emergency to authorise necessary expenditure "for the safety or tranquillity of the province, or for the carrying on of any department." Moreover, the following heads of expenditure are excluded from vote procedure: first, provincial contributions; second, salaries of High Court Judges and Advocate-Generals; third, interest and sinking fund charges on loans; fourth, expenditure of which the amount is prescribed by or under any law; and fifth, salaries and pensions of persons appointed by or with the approval of His Majesty or by the Secretary of State in Council. The revised Bill gives final decision to the Governor in case of dispute as to whether appropriations relate to these heads.

Retrograde Recommendations.

We consider the following to be reactionary recommendations:

(g) Special representation of land-holders in the provinces to be reconsidered by the Government of India in consultation with the local Governments.

(i) European representation is accepted, except for Bengal. The Government of India should consider with the Bengal Government its readjustment in that province.

BURMA EXCLUDED.

(24) The Committee do not advise the inclusion of Burma in the scope of the scheme and, while not doubting that the Burmese have deserved, and should receive an analogous constitution, they are impressed with the essential differences between Burma and India.

There are essential differences between America and the Philippines, Japan and England, yet the same democratic spirit is admittedly at work in all these countries. So Burma's dissimilarity does not mean that the democratic leaven has not worked successfully there. Burma may in some respects differ from India. But as it is sufficiently similar to India to have formed part of the same empire with India and been administered under the same viceroy according to *the same bureaucratic system and laws* for long years, why its differences should now be perceived to be so great as to make it unfit to come under *the same scheme of 'responsible' government with India* is both a mystery and not a mystery. The

Joint Committee admit that Burma should receive an analogous constitution. Where is that constitution? Why should there be any delay in the case of Burma? Why should it not receive a progressive constitution simultaneously with India? There should not be any intention that Burma should continue to be the scene of unmitigated European domineering and exploitation.

When the committee say that criminal conviction to more than six months' imprisonment is to disqualify a man for five years from the date of expiry of the sentence, their recommendation can be approved in the case of crimes involving moral guilt; but many political offences are not of this description. An exception ought to be made in the case of persons sentenced for political offences of this character.

• Why we are not satisfied.

We have given as much credit to the recommendations and the revised clauses as we honestly can. Let us now say why we are not satisfied.

The first paragraph in the telegraphic summary of the recommendations states that "the committee endorse the general scheme of the Bill as an accurate interpretation of the announcement of the 20th August, 1917." We have never been convinced that either the Montagu-Chelmsford Report or the Bill correctly interpreted the announcement in not introducing even the smallest particle of responsibility in the Central Government. The actual words used in the announcement are, "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India." Just as democratising the municipalities and district and local boards (they have not been fully democratised) alone cannot be spoken of as the beginnings of the progressive realisation of responsible government in India, so democratising of the local governments (they are very far indeed from that goal) alone cannot be considered a first step in the realisation of responsible government in India. Some measure of responsibility, however small

should be introduced in the Government of India. The Aga Khan thinks, "for example, Public Works and Education could be handed over to responsible ministers at the Headquarters." Of the revenues of the country, the Government of India spends the largest items. Unless popular control is able to introduce economy, and right distribution and allotment among its departments according to their usefulness and importance, national regeneration must remain a dream. The very least which ought to be done is to make a definite promise as to when this element of responsibility would be introduced. Without it, it cannot by any stretch of language be contended that India is certainly on the way to the attainment of responsible government.

Functions which are the most essential and important for the life, liberty, enlightenment, happiness and prosperity of the people are discharged by the Government of India, and that government ought therefore to be speedily brought under popular control. Besides those incidentally mentioned in previous Notes, a few more may be mentioned here: criminal legislation, including criminal procedure; central police organization; civil legislation; public debt of India; emigration and immigration and interprovincial migration; control of possession and use of arms. We ought to have mentioned first the defence of the country, that is to say, the organization of the naval, military and air forces of India, and naval and military works; but as our politicians, guided by considerations of expediency, have chosen to exclude this subject from the scope of home rule, it cannot be made a grievance of now. But all the same men who cannot make their own arrangements for the defence of their country can never be truly self-ruling. Sir Abbas Ali Baig says:

Until India, like Japan, is stimulated to develop internally her military and naval strength for self-defence and has a mercantile marine to serve her extensive sea-board of 9,000 miles, she can never be in a position to stand on her own feet, and self-government will continue to be a camouflaged unreality.

Moreover, military expenditure is our

biggest item of expenditure. Without bringing it under the vote, sufficient money can never be found for education, sanitation, industrial development, &c.

With the more numerous section of politically-minded Indians, we have repeatedly urged that personal liberty should be safeguarded by means of a declaration of rights embodied in the Government of India Act. Many of those who were not formerly of this opinion have now come to be convinced by recent events that personal liberty should be guaranteed. Without such a guarantee the Government of India Bill as drafted and revised cannot prevent the massacre of 500 men and the wounding of 1500 more, as in Amritsar, without even the proclamation of martial law. Such a guarantee is not unusual in Acts granting autonomy or self-government. For instance, in the Organic Act for the Philippine Islands, commonly known as the "Jones Law," section 3 provides in part:—

That no law shall be enacted in said islands which shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or deny to any person therein the equal protection of the laws. Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.

That in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to be heard by himself and counsel to demand the nature and cause of the accusation against him, to have a speedy and public trial, to meet the witnesses face to face, and to have compulsory process to compel the attendance of witnesses in his behalf.

That no person shall be held to answer for a criminal offence without due process of law; and no person for the same offence shall be twice put in jeopardy of punishment, nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself.

That all persons shall before conviction be bailable by sufficient sureties, except for capital offences.

That the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when in case of rebellion, insurrection, or invasion the public safety may require it, in either of which events the same may be suspended by the President, or by the Governor-General, wherever during such period the necessity for such suspension shall exist.

That excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

That the right to be secured against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated.

That no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for redress of grievances.

It is a great defect of the Government of India Bill that it does not guarantee personal liberty, and freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of association and movement, &c.

It is sad that not a single province should have been considered fit for complete autonomy from the start. There is not even any definite declaration as to when the provinces shall have full internal autonomy. The Bill leaves it possible that the rights now conferred may be partly or wholly withdrawn. As freedom is every people's birthright, and as self-determination is only a restatement of that fact, the mind cannot but be embittered at the thought that the Indian people should have to depend on the good graces of others for small mercies.

Other causes of our dissatisfaction may be gathered from what we have written in previous pages. Repetition is unnecessary.

Rejection or Acceptance.

When the people of a country or their representatives make its laws, a declaration on their part that they would or would not accept a Bill has a meaning, which a similar declaration in a despotically governed country cannot have. The declaration in the former country means that the popular representatives would or would not vote for the Bill, so that it would either become or not become law. In the latter country it cannot have that meaning or result. So that in the case of the people of India, if they or any section of them said that they would not accept the Government of India Bill, that declaration in itself could not perhaps seal the fate of the Bill,—particularly as it is well understood that the proposed constitutional changes were thought of at least as much in the interest of the people of the United Kingdom as in that of the people of India. Thus there never was, nor is there now, any real meaning in the use on our part of the words rejection or acceptance

in connection with the changes or the Bill—though it must be said that the vociferous laudation of a seriously defective Bill by a section of Indians increases its chances of passing. What could be and can be properly said, besides pointing out the adequacy or inadequacy, the harmfulness or beneficial character of the Bill, is whether we were or are satisfied or dissatisfied. Our answer is that we are not satisfied. But it must also be said that as the revised Bill could have been worse, as it was feared it would be, it has given many persons the satisfaction to note that there has been an improvement in so many details. Perhaps the secret of the rejoicing which the joint committee's recommendations have caused among a section of Indian politicians lies partly in the falsification of that fear. Many persons who are not satisfied with the revised Bill are cultivating a mood of resignation or self-consolation, thinking that, in the words of the Bengali proverb, an one-eyed uncle is better than no-uncle. But this may not always be the last word of speculative wisdom. The passing of a defective law stands in the way of our soon getting a better law, as, for one thing, the defective law lulls the consciences of "boon-givers" to sleep. There are good reasons to believe that next year there will be a general election in England, and it is anticipated that a party more progressive than the present one now in authority will come into power. It has been argued that if the present Bills were withdrawn or thrown out, the next government would be likely to give us a better Government of India Act. If from the day when Mr. Montagu made his announcement in the House of Commons right up till now, all politically minded Indians had been of the same mind with regard to the terms of the announcement, the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and the original and revised Bills, it is just within the bounds of possibility, though not probability, that the present government would either have introduced a better bill or refrained from legislation altogether. As, however, the different Indian political parties have not been unanimous at

me since August 20, 1917, it is idle to speculate now as to what the result of unanimity might have been. It would be more profitable to consider what ought to be done at the present juncture. As the Bill is likely to be passed into law in the course of two or three weeks, there is no time to lose. No doubt, the progressive members of deputations still in England would try to further liberalise the Bill by informing and rousing public opinion and by persuading friendly members of parliament to move amendments in our favour. But we, too, have our duty. The All-India Congress Committee, the similar Committee of the Moslem League, and all other progressive All-India or provincial public bodies should, without delay, send cables to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State, and Lord Sinha, to the principal dailies which are disposed to be fair, and to the Indian reputations and friendly M.P.'s, briefly recounting our principal demands, after expressing appreciation of the liberal amendments. Stress should be laid on the inclusion of a declaration of rights, on the introduction of some substantial measure of responsibility in the Government of India, or failing this, on definitely laying down the year when such a measure would be introduced, on making some provinces autonomous from the beginning, on stating definitely the period after which the provinces and India would, respectively, be granted autonomy, &c. We are not sanguine that the course suggested would be productive of much appreciable result. Nevertheless, the effort is worth making.

In whatever form the Bill may pass, our attitude should be that of energetically making the best of a bad bargain. Let us make full use of and stretch to the utmost limit whatever powers we may get. And let us, by all peaceful and righteous means, make the Government of India Act that is to be, a stepping-stone to something higher and better.

"Sri Krishna and Sudama."

In the old metrical Bengali *Bhagabata* by Dwija Parasurama there is a story (which our frontispiece illustrates) that

the boy Krishna had a friend and playmate named Sudama. Krishna subsequently became king at Dwaraka, whilst his friend Sudama continued to pass his days in dire poverty. One day Sudama's wife, half unconscious with hunger, said to him, "Why do we suffer such pangs when you have so great a friend in Dwaraka? All our sufferings would be over if you go to him and seek his help." Sudama replied, "It is a great good fortune that I have such a friend. But how can I go to him with empty hands? Have we anything in our house which I can lay before him as a present?" As there was nothing in the house, the poor woman went forth to beg in the town, and got four handfuls of broken rice from four houses. With these tied in a corner of his upper cloth, Sudama went to see his now royal friend. When he saw him in all his magnificence in his splendid palace, the poor man's heart failed him, and he either could not muster courage or forgot to make his present. Krishna was greatly moved when he saw and guessed what was in the small bundle. He took the handfuls of broken rice from the abashed and hesitating Sudama by affectionate force, and ate a handful with great delight. Thus was Sudama set at ease by his august friend. Believers in Krishna's divinity explain the story to mean that the humblest offering or sacrifice is acceptable to God. The story is parallel to that of the widow's mite in the Bible.

Mr. C. F. Andrews on the Panjab Atrocities.

At the public meeting held in Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore, to give Mr. C. F. Andrews a send-off before his departure to Africa to work for the Indian cause there, he gave the following as his considered opinion on the atrocities in the Panjab:—

COWARDLY AND BRUTAL.

I hold as strongly as possible, that no provocation whatever can excuse the cowardly and brutal murders of Englishmen by the mob which occurred at Amritsar and elsewhere, nor the burning of the holy places of the Christian religion. Most cowardly and dastardly of all, I regard the murderous attack on Miss Sherwood, who was loved by every Indian who knew her and who was a true follower and disciple of the gentle Saviour, Christ.

MASSACRE OF JALLIANWALA.

But just as I condemn, without one single word of palliation or excuse, these acts, so all the more utterly and entirely do I condemn the cold and calculated massacre of the Jallianwala Bagh. The massacre of Glencoe in English history is no greater a blot on the fair name of my country, than the massacre at Amritsar. I am not speaking from idle rumour. I have gone into every single detail with all care and thoroughness that a personal investigation could command, and it remains to me an unspeakable, indefensible, unpardonable, and inexcusable disgrace.

THE CRUELITIES.

I am obliged to go on from that incident to what followed under martial law. I have seen with my own eyes very many who have endured the crawling order, the stripping of their persons naked in public under compulsion, men who had to grovel on their bellies in the dust, men who underwent public flogging, and a hundred other desecrations of man's image, which according to our Christian scriptures is made in the likeness of God.

RUTHLESS EMASCULATION OF MANHOOD.

This ruthless and deliberate emasculation of manhood by the brute force of the military and police, appear to me no less an indelible stain on the fair honour of my country than the massacre at Jallianwala itself. These are the very few words which I have felt compelled as an Englishman to say with regard to the culminating acts of disturbance.

The words of condemnation used by Mr. Andrews are not stronger than they ought to be.

His parting words of advice ought also to be quoted.

I would urge you as you go forward, and face all the deeds of evil which have been done, not to dwell merely upon vengeance, but rather upon forgiveness; not to linger in the dark night of hate, but to come out into the glorious sunshine of God's love.

O'Dwyerian Theory Disproved.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Anglo-Indians of that ilk promulgated a theory that the disturbances in Delhi and the Panjab were engineered by outsiders from beyond the boundaries of those provinces. The evidence of official witnesses has exposed the falsity of this theory.

Observations on the Amritsar Atrocities.

A European official questioned by a member of the Hunter Committee with

reference to the firing on a particular crowd on a particular day in Delhi replied that it could have been dispersed without firing. Similarly, questioned with reference to a far bloodier incident, namely, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre at Amritsar, General Dyer, the "hero" of that most shameful one-sided use of arms, admitted that the meeting could have been dispersed without firing. He gave it as the reason for firing that if the crowd had been dispersed in that bloodless manner, the men would have come back again and laughed at him and he would thus have made a fool of himself. So, in order to save himself from that great indignity and calamity, he ordered his soldiers to fire at the gathering, which resulted in the instantaneous death of some 500 persons, including boys, and in some 1500 other casualties. He made his choice between foolishness and fiendishness. (Knowledge of history does not enable us to recall another example of such cold-blooded massacre for such a trivial reason. The people had gathered there for listening to speeches. A notice, it is officially alleged, had been issued before, prohibiting the meeting. There is no proof that the vast majority of the gathering knew of this prohibition and even if they did, assembling there in spite of the notice was certainly not an offence in any penal code of any modern (or ancient?) government punishable with shooting without warning. For, in spite of the use of the word "rebels" by General Dyer and others, the men were not rebels; no evidence has been brought forward to prove that they were rebels, they carried no arms, even the possession of sticks by them was not distinctly noticed or remembered by official witnesses, and they had come together for the non-militant purpose of listening to speeches. The meeting could have been prevented altogether by posting a few constables or soldiers at the entrance to the Jallianwala Bagh some time before the hour fixed for the purpose. That was not done. The General went to the place, placed his soldiers on high ground, and then ordered them at once to begin firing. He could have ordered the crowd to disperse on pain of being shot. He did nothing of the

and. On the contrary, he told his men to take aim at the densest part of the crowd, showing that he intended to kill the largest number of men possible. At the first shot fired, the men began to run for their lives. But, as it was not in his plans to give quarter to the "enemy", the firing was kept up for ten minutes, until 1650 shots had been fired, and there was no more ammunition left. Many men lying on the ground received several shots each. *All this was done many days before the proclamation of martial law by Government*, which explains why the benefit of the indemnity Act has been extended to what took place days before the proclamation of martial law. The General has said in his evidence that he intended to fire well and fire straight. He also said that it was a horrible sight. But in the whole tone and tenour of his evidence there is nothing to show that he did not enjoy the performance of this horrible duty and the narration of his doughty deed. When the massacre was over, he went away from the scene, taking no thought for rendering medical help to the wounded and the dying. "That was not his job." Questioned as regards ambulance arrangements, the Deputy Commissioner (the magistrate of the district) too said that that was not his job. Another British functionary of the place gave the same reply. Evidently, though the German wounded were taken care of by their British enemies, the armless non-militant inhabitants of Amritsar were beyond the pale of humane feelings.

It would serve no useful purpose to use strong language, though it may be natural under the circumstances and not unjustifiable.* It is necessary, however, to inquire

* In Roget's *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*, the following words are grouped together in section 949 as being of somewhat similar import :—

"rascal, scoundrel, villain, miscreant, caitiff; wretch, reptile, viper, serpent, cockatrice, basilisk, urchin; tiger, monster; devil, &c; devil incarnate; demon in human shape, Nana Sahib; hell-hound, hell-cat; rake-hell."

As a proper name has found its place in this group it may be incidentally asked whether the year 1919 in the Punjab is going to enrich this group.

what had made the local British officials so furious and revengeful. No doubt the murder of some Englishmen and the assault on an English woman of the place were brutal, cowardly and unjustifiable. But the strong and long arm of the law was sure to overtake the culprits, as it afterwards did. Why then kill and wound so many hundreds of innocent persons? "Teaching the people a lesson which they will not forget for 50 years", as in England some British soldiers from the Punjab are said to have boasted having done, has never succeeded in its objects in any country. The people remember the "lesson" without being cowed down by it for ever. History tells that the lesson of "frightfulness" (a word used by Mr. Justice Rankin in relation to the Jallianwala Bagh massacre) was not new in the Punjab or in any other province of India. But the old lessons could not prevent the recent murders of and assaults on Europeans in that province and elsewhere. It is only the firmness which is combined with justice and humanity which succeeds, and does not leave any provocative memories behind. And it is far easier for the stronger party than for the weaker to be just and humane. Is it then the consciousness of their unnatural position which makes most Anglo-Indians think of "frightfulness" as their strongest armour?

A similar enquiry as to why Indian mobs got so infuriated as to kill some Englishmen and burn churches, &c., would be useful. Such acts, as we have said before, are brutal and cowardly; but a mere condemnation does not enable one to get at their etiology. Immediate causes of provocation are generally, though not always, easy to ascertain. But these do not explain the aggravated brutality of methods of killing and their sequelae, such as burning, &c. What are the causes of deep-seated feelings of bitterness, resentment, revenge, &c.?

Without entering into details of the inquiry as to why Europeans hate Indians or Indians hate Europeans (not all Europeans or all Indians, but many), it may be said by way of remedy, that better feelings can prevail

only if natural human relations are established. Neighborliness is natural; the relation of master and slave, of the exploiter and exploited, of the bully and the bullied, of those who are privileged and those who are discriminated against, of those who have all opportunities and those who have few is unnatural. What is unnatural cannot but produce evil results.

The immediate political remedy of punishing the guilty officials has been made impossible by the Indemnity Act. The officials concerned are unrepentant and without any pity even how, particularly the military; they are even jolly. The lasting political remedy lies in our attainment of full internal autonomy including the subordination of the military to the civil popular authority even when they have to be employed in quelling internal disorders.

The Congress Session at Amritsar.

That the people of the Panjab and particularly of Amritsar are going to hold the Congress in their midst this year shows that their mind has not been crushed or killed.

People who have their minds awakened, especially those whose minds are politically awakened, can fight only as citizens, not as mercenaries. As the Panjab is the foremost recruiting ground and as Anglo-Indian bureaucrats of the O'Dwyer type want soldiers but not citizen-soldiers,—because, to use the words used by the Marquess of Hastings in his *Private Journal*, what is wanted by them is “the manly spirit” “unsustained by scope of mind”—therefore a strenuous attempt has all along been made to keep that province free from political agitation. But modern man is a political animal. The political consciousness is bred in his bones and will out at any suitable opportunity. So though “pestilential agitators” and “pestilential” newspapers may be kept out, the Punjab is bound to be politically-minded, and it *has* become politically-minded.

It may be conjectured that there was another reason for O'Dwyerism. Man in his history has many a time fought injuri-

ous autocracy with material weapons physical force, and has been sought to be crushed by the autocrats with similar weapons and force. The modern Indian, however, wants to fight with intellectual weapons and spiritual force, bristled *satyagraha* or passive resistance. At its wit's end to find weapons suitable for this novel and bloodless warfare, O'Dwyerism may have thought must needs be bloody, and so used the old familiar militant methods. However, though blood has been drawn, the intellectual weapons and the spiritual force remain intact and unimpaired. So it is hoped the Punjab will put up as undaunted and strenuous a fight on the intellectual and spiritual plane as it has hitherto done on the physical plane.

Party ought to be no consideration. Men of all parties ought to assemble at Amritsar,—if for no other reason, at least in brotherly recognition of and respect for the public-spirit of Amritsar and the Punjab.

In whatever form the Government of India Bill may pass, Pandit Motilal Nehru, the president elect, may be depended upon to give expression to the nation's opinion of it in language quite unmistakable. He will also have something very unequivocal to say as regards Punjab affairs. The presidential address will deal with other important topics, too. There will be no doubt, be appropriate resolutions and delegates' speeches on all these matters. There is one simple matter which may, however, be lost sight of. There ought to be publicity work done in as many countries, including England, as possible. A Lala Lajpat Rai and his co-laborers may not always be available in America or elsewhere to do publicity work or to prevail upon a Citizen Malone to place India's case before a civilized public. The political publicity workers should, in co-operation with the Industrial Conference, do publicity work in the field of commerce and industries, too.

The Varendra Research Society.

The Varendra Research Society, of Rajshahi is, in its chosen field of work, the

NOTES

wadeshi cultural enterprise in Bengal. Museum building was opened by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal on the 1st November. From the report read on the occasion by its honorary secretary Prof. Jagovinda Basak, M.A., it appears that the Society has for its object the organisation of a special study and research of the history, Archaeology, and Ethnology of Bengal. It has published several valuable works on the subjects of its research and has made some discoveries by excavations. Its museum contains many important finds. Its president, Kumar Roy of Dighapatia, is not only a worker, but has spent about Rs. 15000 on his work, besides meeting the cost of buildings and land amounting to Rs. 3,000. Such munificence is worthy of high praise. He has been helped by his brother, Raja Pramadanath Roy of Dighapatia, with building materials worth Rs. 5000 and also by his elder brother, Raja Kumar Roy, M.A., B.L., with Rs. 5000 in cash. The Raja has donated a plot of land worth Rs. 1000. Thus the whole family has shown the gratitude of the public. Active members of the Society like Babus Akshay Kumar Maitra, Ramaprasad Chanda and Jagovinda Basak are well known for their erudition and literary achievements.

Addition to Bengal's Educational Difficulties.

It has been shown in a previous note that for a period of five years from the date when the reforms scheme comes into operation secondary and university education in Bengal would be practically directed by the Government of India. The work of educational reconstruction or rather revolution which is to be accomplished during these years will, in the main, follow the lines laid down in the Sadler Commission's report. The recommendations of the commission may be good or bad; opinions may differ. But that they will make education a very expensive affair admits of no doubt or difference of opinion. It may be indisputably necessary for the people of Bengal to pay more for education than

they do now. They may have to pay for themselves. But is it right or equitable that the present Anglo-Indian bureaucracy should decide from Delhi and Simla how much more expensive education in Bengal should be made and leave Bengal to foot the bill? As education of all grades is to be a transferred subject in all provinces, why should Bengal be deprived of the right to repair and reconstruct her own educational edifice? In any case, if the Government of India must needs deal with the contemplated changes in Bengal's university and secondary education, it ought to be the Government of India reconstructed according to the reforms scheme. The Dacca University Bill also should be dealt with either by the reconstructed Bengal Legislative Council or by the reconstructed Indian Legislature.

• The Khilafat Conference.

At the Khilafat Conference held at Delhi it was resolved not to participate in the Victory celebration, and to render all possible help to the All-India Anti-Peace-Celebration Committee of Delhi to disseminate the reasons for abstention from the victory carnival. It was also resolved that in the event of a satisfactory settlement of the Turkish question not taking place the Musalmans of India shall progressively withhold all co-operation from the British and to give practical expression to their sense of dissatisfaction a progressive boycott of British goods should be instituted. Further, that as early as possible a deputation on behalf of the Musalmans of India be sent to England with the consent of His Excellency the Viceroy with the object of laying before the responsible British Ministers and others the true sentiments of the Musalmans with regard to the Turkish and Khilafat questions and also that the deputation, if necessary, should proceed to U. S. A., to further the objects of the deputation.

Mr. Gandhi dissented from the boycott resolution, giving his reasons.

The Musalmans, and others naturally and rightly in sympathy with them, are justly sore at heart and anxious. As Hakim Ajmal Khan said at the Conference:—

Hardinge gave an assurance of the maintenance of the Turkish sovereignty over religious places; so also did Mr. Lloyd George. President Wilson also gave such an assurance in his fourteen points. But now things were different and according to the present arrangement the entire Turkish power was being curtailed and the Sultan was being reduced to the position of the Pope of Rome.

Mr. Gandhi said:—

I was deeply pained to see the telegraphic summary of the Prime Minister's speech which seemed unnecessarily to wound Muslim susceptibility and to forecast a settlement of the great question in contravention of his own word given with due deliberation and at a time when that word steadied Mahomedan loyalty and possibly stimulated recruiting among the warlike Mahomedan classes.

Mr. M. H. Kidwai has pointed out in a letter to the *Westminster Gazette* that in Thrace, a Turkish possession, the Muslims are in a majority of at least three to one and that they prefer to be under Turkish rule. Why should "self-determination" be denied to them and Thrace handed over to Greece or Bulgaria, their deadliest enemies? In proof of the just use of the last three words, he states

that in 1878 there were 100,000 Muslims in Thessaly, now there is almost none, that there were 90,000 Muslims in Crete in 1897, and at the present time there are only 30,000 of them in existence in that island. The Carnegie International Report tells how the Muslims were massacred or exterminated by hundreds of thousands in Macedonia when the Balkan nationalities won the last Balkan war against Turkey. One million five hundred thousand Muslims took refuge in the Ottoman territories and some of them were settled in the Sandjak of Smyrna, where the misfortune seems to have found them out once more. The recent massacres in Smyrna of the Muslims by the Greeks are used (?) with great indignation among British and American eye-witnesses,

Sir P. C. Ray to Assamese Students
In spite of his engrossing labours in his laboratory and the factory (or factories, for he is now a director of a dozen or more manufacturing companies) Sir P. C. Ray has in recent months appeared so often before students and the general public that it is difficult for him to keep his lips without practically quoting him. Nevertheless, what he says is always worth listening to, worth storing in the mind, and worth following. His presidential address at the fourth Assam Students' Conference held at Tejpur testified with sound advice. After drawing attention to the need of thinking for themselves and improving their capacities in industry, patience, courage and self-control, he exhorted them to take to the path of industry, commerce and trade, and to go at length on the ample field which it provides for such careers and activities. On the cry of "Assam for the Assamese" he observed, in part:—

It has simply degenerated into a scramble for the spoils in the shape of the disposal of petty ministerial offices and glorified clerical posts, e. g., Deputy Magistrate-ships and Munships. You have a legitimate claim upon a number of these provided you are educationally fit gentlemen, you should bear in mind that the wealth drained away from your province by such office-holders from outside is mathematically almost zero compared to what you have to lose with every year by the foreign exploitation of your rich mineral resources. You must yourselves learn to take an active part in the working of your own mines and forest produces.

Dr. Ray paid a well-deserved tribute to the old literature of Assam. He reminded the students that they were to consider themselves Indians first and Assamese afterwards.

ERRATA

(In "The Eugenics of Hindu Marriage" which appeared in the last issue of the Review.)

Pages	Col.	Line.	for	read.	Pages	Col.	Line.	for	read.
493	1	27	thoughts of	thoughts	"	2	40	leave	learn
"	2	31	Gallon	Galton	"	"	48	Here	There
494	1	25	practical	parental	503	2	44	"Given	"Give
495	1	40	obligations	obligation	"	"	30	their	this
497	2	2	element	elements	(In "The Two Saisunaga Statues")				
498	1	20	let	led	At p. 518, second column, 10th line and also 15th line from the bottom, the two words "coins" are in both places misprints for the words "icons."				
501	1	last line	mills	milk					
502	1	29	conflicting,	conflicting					